[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]RTON

3 1111 00578 3764

R390 Hammerton, J. A. ed.
H Manners and customs of
mankind Vol. 3

Marin County Free Library
San Rafael, California

The few rules of the library are for the convenience of our patrons.

Adults may take any reasonable number of books on a card.

Boys and Girls may take two books or two magazines at one time.

Books are issued for 2 weeks, and are subject to renewal of 2 additional weeks. New fiction is for 7 days, and is not renewable.

A fine of two cents a day is charged on books kept overtime. Five cents a day is charged on books kept overtime in the 7 day collection.

Two cents will be charged for damage to "Date due" slip and three cents for damage to this pocket.

Two cents will be charged on all books reserved and on special requests.

R 390
Hammerton, John Alexander,
Sir, 1871-1949
Manners and customs of
mankind : an entirely new
pictorial work of great

MARIN COUNTY FREE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012

http://archive.org/details/mannerscustomsof03hamm

MANNERS *and* CUSTOMS
of MANKIND

MANNERS *and* CUSTOMS *of* MANKIND

An Entirely New Pictorial Work of Great Educational Value
Describing the Most Fascinating Side of Human Life

Edited by

J. A. HAMMERTON

*Over Fifteen Hundred Photographic Illustrations
from All Over the World—and Twenty-Seven Plates In Color*

Volume Three

LONDON
THE AMALGAMATED PRESS, LTD.

PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY
WM. H. WISE & CO., NEW YORK

Printed in the U. S. A.
by PANTAGRAPH PTG. & STA. CO.
Bloomington, Ill.

20450

CONTENTS OF VOLUME III

PAGE
Graves and Their Decoration 688
Passion Plays of Christian Peoples 700
Monasticism in Non-Christian Religions 710
Superstitions About Animals 722
The Beggar in Many Lands 729
The Harvest Home in Europe 739
Totems and Totemism 749
Marriage Customs of The South Sea Islands 757
The Dance in Tribal Life 766
Medicine Men and Their Magic 778
Military and Naval Customs 789
Gambling Games, Civilized and Savage 800
Ceremonies of Consecration and Dedication 809
Passion Plays of The East 819
The Vintage and Its Celebration 827
Tree and Stone Beliefs and Customs 837
Curious Customs of Famous Cities 843
Harvest Time in Savage Life 853
Mother-Right and The Matriarchate 863
Marriage Customs of South-Eastern Europe 869
Folk Dances of The British Isles 877
Magic in Love and War 889
Man-Made Gods: The Fetish and The Idol 895
Hallowe'en, All Souls' and All Saints' Days 909
Distinctions of Rank 917
Marriages That Are Forbidden 925
The Rites of Circumcision 931
Superstitions About The Heavenly Bodies 939
London's Ancient Customs 943
Custom in Housing and Furnishing 957
Customs of Armistice Day 969
Customs of Savage Trade and Barter 977
Mystical Societies, Savage and Civilized 985
Hunting The Tame and The Wild 991
Death and Burial Customs of The Far East 1001
Monasticism in The Christian Church 1015

COLOR PLATES—VOLUME III

FACING PAGE

Harvest Celebration in Hungary: Presenting the Wheat Crown 742

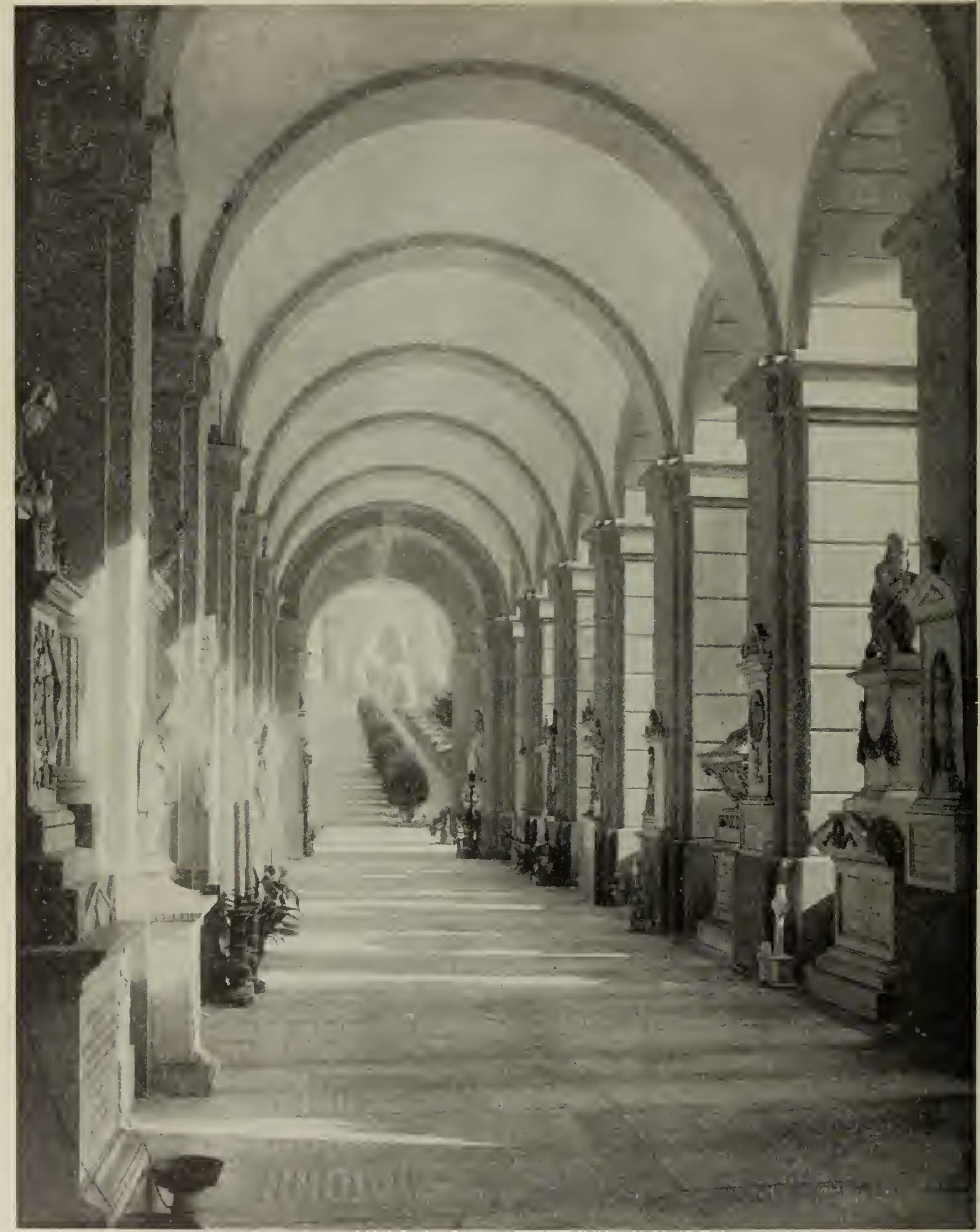
Fantastic Feathered Headgear that Andine Indians Flaunt at Festivals 774

Villain of a Hindu Passion Play Slain by an Arrow of Fire 822

Gods Made by Hand that Command the Adoration of Millions . . 902

Heralds Proclaim the Arrival of the Lord Mayor at Guildhall . . 950

Priestly Splendour and Elaborate Ceremonial at a Taoist Funeral 1006



E.N.A.

STATELY CORRIDORS WHERE GENOA'S DEAD AWAIT THE RESURRECTION.

In austere dignity and architectural appropriateness to its solemn purpose the Campo Santo, or Staglieno Cemetery of Genoa, constructed in 1838, is unsurpassed by any public burial place in the world. It is situated on the north bank of the Bisagno, contains many superb tombs, and is famous for its imposing aspect, for the rotunda that crowns it, and for its arcades flanked with finely sculptured monuments and paved with inscribed stones that cover coffined dead.

GRAVES AND THEIR DECORATION

Other chapters in this section have dealt with the motives that underlie and have done much to shape burial customs. Here we consider the forms and dressing of tombs and graves and the attention paid to them by relatives and descendants of the deceased. National homage paid in this and other fashions to great personages is the subject of the chapter entitled How the Nations Mourn Their Heroes.

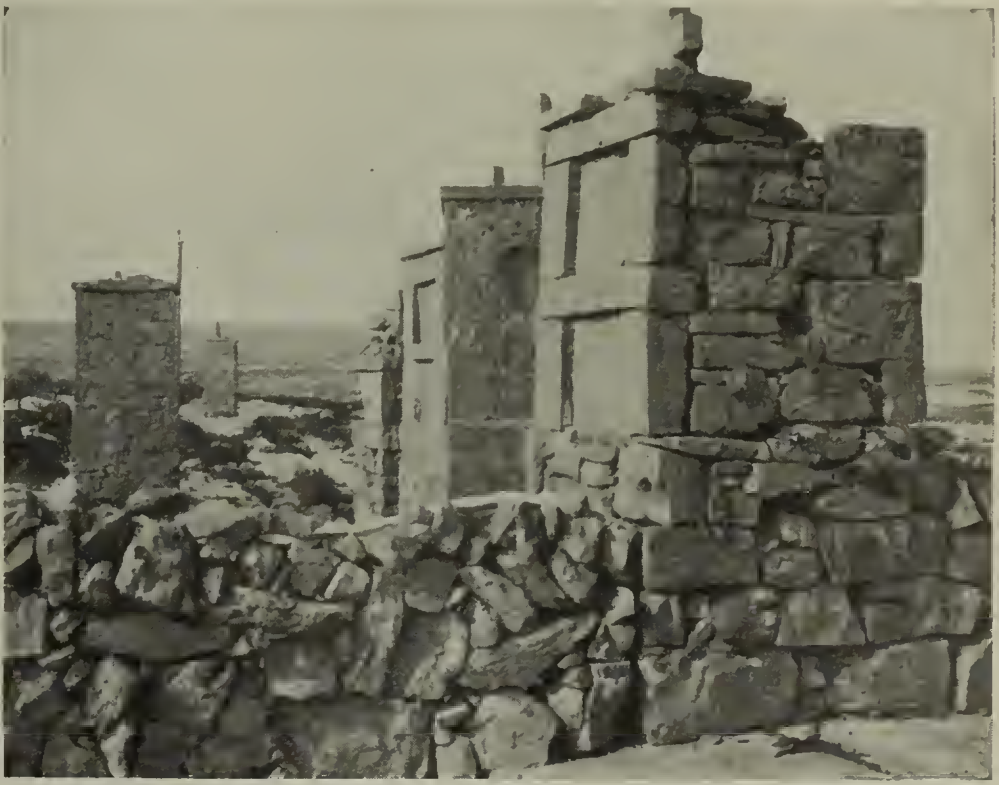
When Shakespeare in his 'Romeo and Juliet' made one of his characters tell of another, 'He came with flowers to strew his lady's grave, our great poet was, no doubt, drawing upon his wealth of knowledge of old English customs. Aubrey, the 17th century antiquary, knew of the Surrey practice of planting red roses on the graves of lovers, and suggested it was a survival from the Romano-British period, the Romans, like the Greeks, having been in the habit of dressing graves with flowers. That such a custom flavoured of Paganism, being originally an expression of a concept regarding life-substance in plant form, is made evident in the ballad of 'Lord Lovel':

> Lady Nancy was laid in St. Pancras' church,
> Lord Lovel was laid in the choir;
> And out of her bosom there grew a red rose,
> And out of her lover's a briar.
>
> They grew, and they grew, to the church-steeple top,
> And then they could grow no higher;
> So there they entwined in a true-lovers' knot,
> For all lovers true to admire

The early Christians endeavoured to arrest the custom, but found it too deeply rooted and had to be content to impart to it a Christian significance. 'I will not sprinkle his grave with flowers,' declared S. Ambrose in a famous funeral oration, 'but pour on his spirit the odour of Christ. Let others scatter baskets of flowers: Christ is our lily, and with this will I consecrate the relics.'

Grave-dressing continued down the centuries, and we still meet in rural areas with the traditional idea that a white rose should be planted upon a virgin's grave, and a red one on that of an individual distinguished for religious fervour and benevolence. Nor has it been forgotten that when cut flowers are deposited they should be of the sweetly scented variety Artificial flowers are nowadays common for grave-dressing, but centuries ago flowers of wax and paper were used in connexion with winter burials. It is not merely on aesthetic grounds that cemeteries are nowadays so well kept. A traditional urge has been constantly operating.

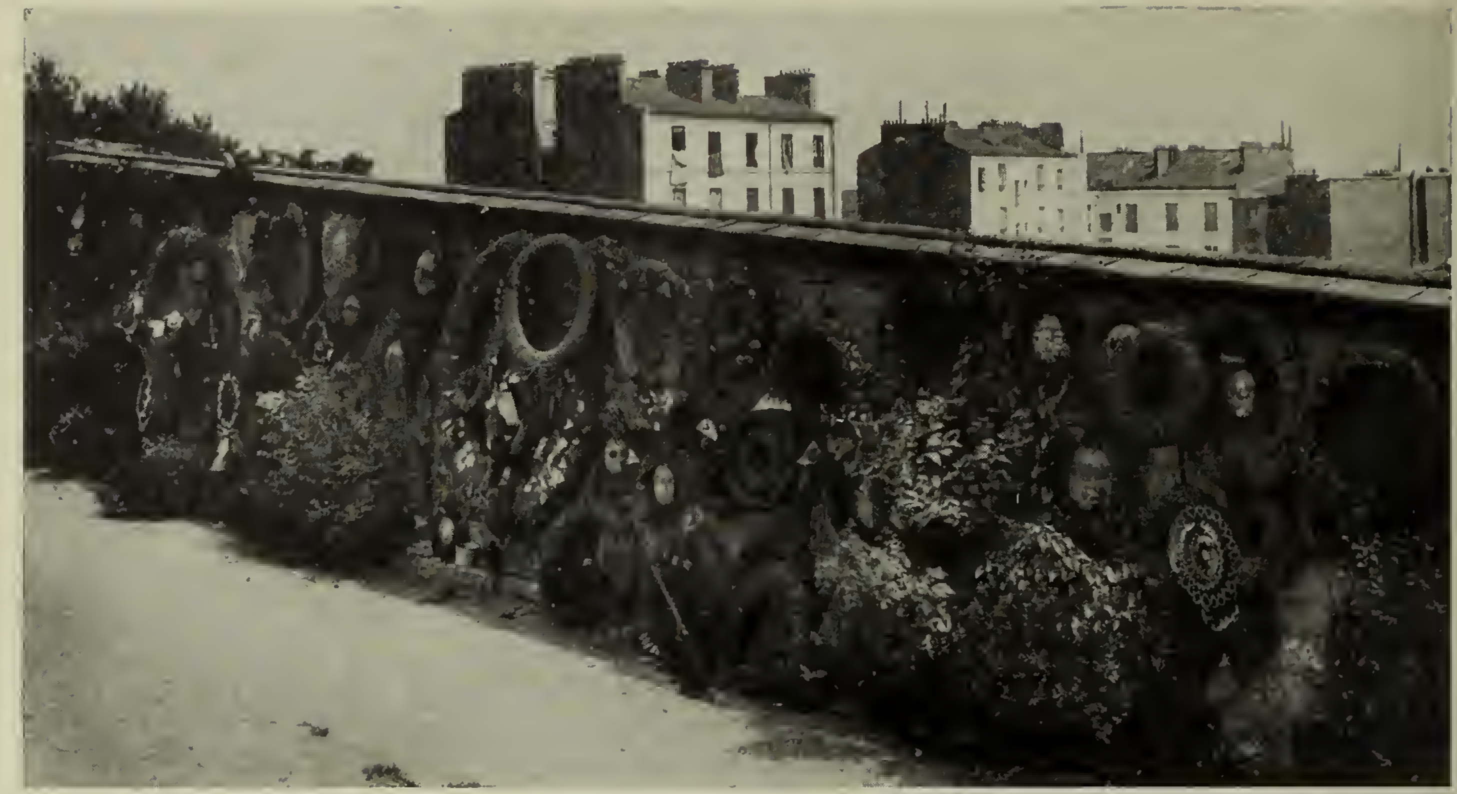
In the remoter parts of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands the custom still prevails of walking around graveyards and graves 'by the right' when floral and herb offerings are to be deposited. As in England, Easter and Whitsuntide are periods especially favoured for this purpose. The rebuilding or repairing of cairns and the white-washing or painting of stones then receive attention In the Aran islands in Galway Bay, Ireland, where nature grudges soil, the dead have long been interred in somewhat ponderous stone structures surmounted by crosses, and on these simple floral tributes are laid for the remembered ones. An old Irish custom is to pray for the souls of drowned fishermen on All Souls' Day and cast into the sea garlands of flowers. A similar practice is perpetuated in Brittany, where the mourners put out to sea towards the areas where tragedies have occurred It is a growing custom in our Navy to drop wreaths into the sea at points associated with heroic happenings in the Great War.



E.N.A.

FUNERAL STATIONS ON AN IRON-BOUND ISLE

Actual earth burial is impracticable on the Aran Islands, which are merely ridges of bare rock with no soil save that brought laboriously from the mainland to make 'fields.' The islanders therefore place their dead in stone coffins and immure them in stone-built funeral stations erected along the roadside. Funeral parties halt at these stations and recite prayers.



E.N.A.

TRIBUTES TO THE MEMORY OF MARTYRS OF THE COMMUNE

On All Saints' and All Souls' Days crowds estimated to number more than 100,000 people visit the cemetery of Père-Lachaise in Paris, the tombs in which constitute an open-air sculpture gallery with examples of the work of most of the French sculptors of the nineteenth century. Against the wall shown here, known as the 'Mur des Fédérés,' in the east corner of the cemetery, the last of the Communards were shot on May 28, 1871, and on every anniversary the Socialists of Paris cover it with wreaths of laurel and immortelles and artificial flowers.

Grave-dressing with flowers is a regular practice in the churchyards of Brittany until, after a certain number of years, the bones are removed and the skulls placed in boxes Some skull boxes are carried in processions at the celebrations of the feast of the dead, and herb and floral symbols are afterwards left on them. The floral decoration of graves and graveyard walls is, throughout France, on a lavish scale.

In Spain, all the gloomy, high-walled cemeteries are visited on November 1 and 2, when fresh deposits of cut flowers and wreaths are made and prayers repeated A similar practice is perpetuated in Portugal. The Dutch and Belgians decorate graves periodically, and in Germany and Czechoslovakia wreaths are laid, or flowers planted, in even the most neglected cemeteries. After the winter has passed there are gatherings of relatives in the graveyards of Norway and Sweden and a dressing of graves. A Finnish custom is to erect over graves memorials of wood with small protecting roofs, and to paint them periodically Easter is the period favoured in Lapland for attending to graves and for renewed lamentations.

Albanian Moslems and even Christians lay offerings of money on grave-slabs of saints, and these are collected for religious purposes. Offerings of green apples, which are favoured in localities, accord with some very ancient custom connected with the feeding of the dead In Serbia planted roses half-smother many cemeteries Mourning parties, consisting chiefly of women, pay visits on a Saturday, a Sunday or a saint's day, until the period of decay has passed, to deposit dishes of cooked rice, bread, fruit and bottles of wine. Tapers of wax are stuck in graves and lighted and incense burned. After the 'death songs' have been sung, the food is ceremonially eaten and the wine drunk, beggars receiving a share.

OLIVE leaves and flowers are appropriate offerings at Greek graves. Regular visits are made during three years, the period of dissolution fixed by the Greek Church instead of the early pagan period of forty days. In many Greek cemeteries the custom is still observed of keeping the 'unsleeping lamp' burning all day and all night inside a built tomb, or in little houses beside graves. As a rule, the lamp is attended to each night and morning In centres of population this custom is substituted by keeping the 'unsleeping lamp' burning in houses instead, in some instances for forty days and in others for three years Grave-offerings include cakes, fruits and other eatables, which are carried into cemeteries adorned with flowers and coloured ribbons. The dead is supposed to share in a graveyard feast. Water and wine are poured on graves, and there are modern instances of leaving new clothing for the ghost. Greek graves are lovingly tended and regularly dressed with blooms

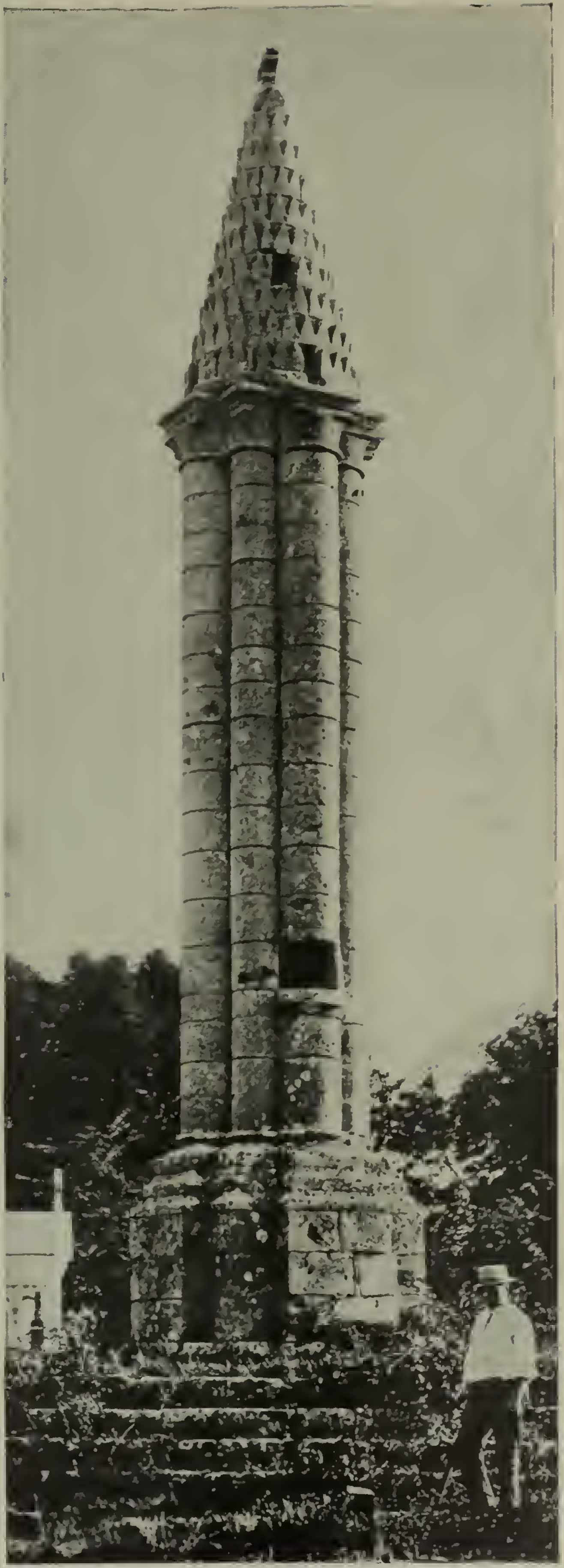
Regular visits are made to Egyptian tombs, at which are deposited broken palm branches, or sprigs of myrtle or jasmine, roses, henna-tree blooms, etc. In Upper Egypt rope girdles as well as flowers and broken branches are placed upon tombs Throughout

Egypt food and money for the poor are offered in cemeteries on festival days. Berber and other North Africans pray when visiting tombs, in which there are holes for offerings of food and water, so that the ghost may know he is remembered. In the southern Sudan a Dinka widow erects a spirit-house over a husband's grave and beside it on a mound of earth erects bullock horns and plants a sapling. Elephant tusks are appropriate for the grave of a chief or king The Nubians between the White and Blue Niles place banners, held fast by stones, above the graves of saints.

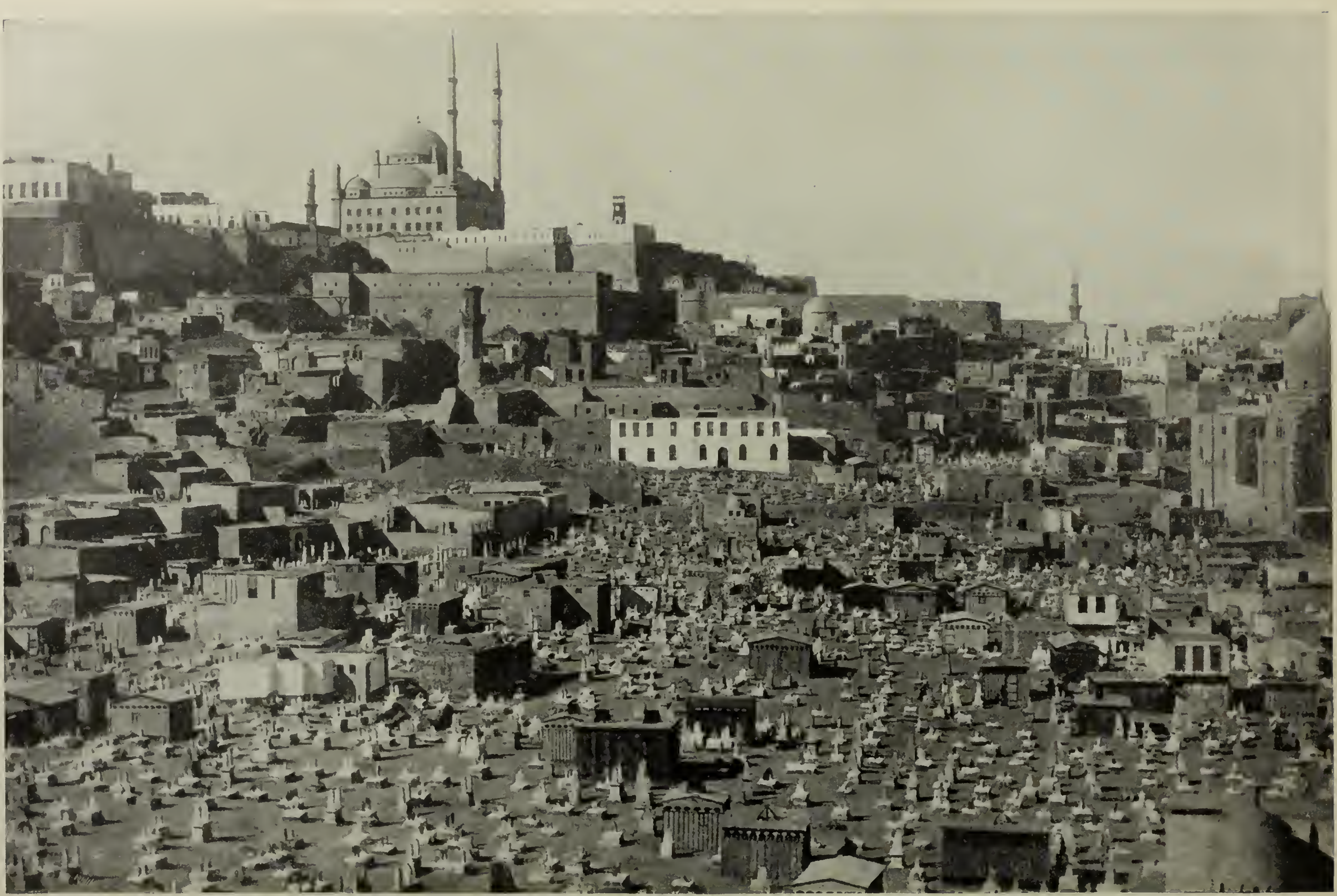
Fetish objects and food are deposited at the tombs of chiefs in Sierra Leone. Drinking ceremonies beside graves are common, and empty bottles that contained European liquor are sometimes seen adorning the last resting place of the distinguished dead. The Hausa people erect a memorial pole, which they adorn with skulls taken on head-hunting expeditions. A big vessel of brass for liquid and other offerings was a prominent object in front of the carved and elaborately built tomb of the Ashanti kings. Small shrines with spiral carvings and the head of a totemic animal are to be seen in Central Africa. The Busoga people build grave houses for chiefs and warriors, but not for women, and hang rags of bark cloth on the grave tree, at the roots of which beer is poured out from a vessel kept for the purpose. Skulls and jawbones of chiefs are placed in the tomb house and worshipped. Shrines with offerings mark the resting places of chiefs and medicine men of the Banyankole people. In Kenya beer and blood are poured on graves, before sunrise, at stated intervals, and fetish objects deposited, a common custom throughout Africa. In Somaliland headstones are erected at graves, and cemeteries in the interior are protected by palisades and covered with boulders to prevent hyenas attacking corpses. Offerings of twigs are laid at graves. In Abyssinia graves all face the east and are marked by stones. Flowers and herbs are strewn upon them during the mourning period and at festivals.

Turkish tombstones in the Near East and Anatolia are elaborately carved with symbols and religious texts, and women mourners make regular visits to repeat prayers and leave floral and other offerings. In Syria and Palestine Arab graves are marked by headstones, and a coffee pot may be left to indicate the hospitable character of a departed sheik Women make frequent ceremonial visits. At Jerusalem the Jews bury their dead on the Mount of Olives, where a stone structure with conical top is reputed to be the grave of Absalom and symbolises the Jewish habit of remembering and lamenting for the dead.

When in Persia a tree springs up beside the table-tomb of a saint or sheik, visitors attach rags to its branches. Votive offerings of pots and jewels are suspended at tombs, including the ancient tomb of Cyrus, reputed to be that of King Solomon's mother. Tombstones are erected at graves on the fortieth day after a burial. Cairn graves are common in



LANTERN OF THE DEAD AT CELLEFROUIN
In and about the Department of Haute-Vienne in France there are some fifty of these cemetery lantern towers. They date from the twelfth century and are hollow pillars, cylindrical, square, hexagonal, or octagonal in form, with a pyramidal or conical lantern-cap in which a lamp was kept perpetually burning.



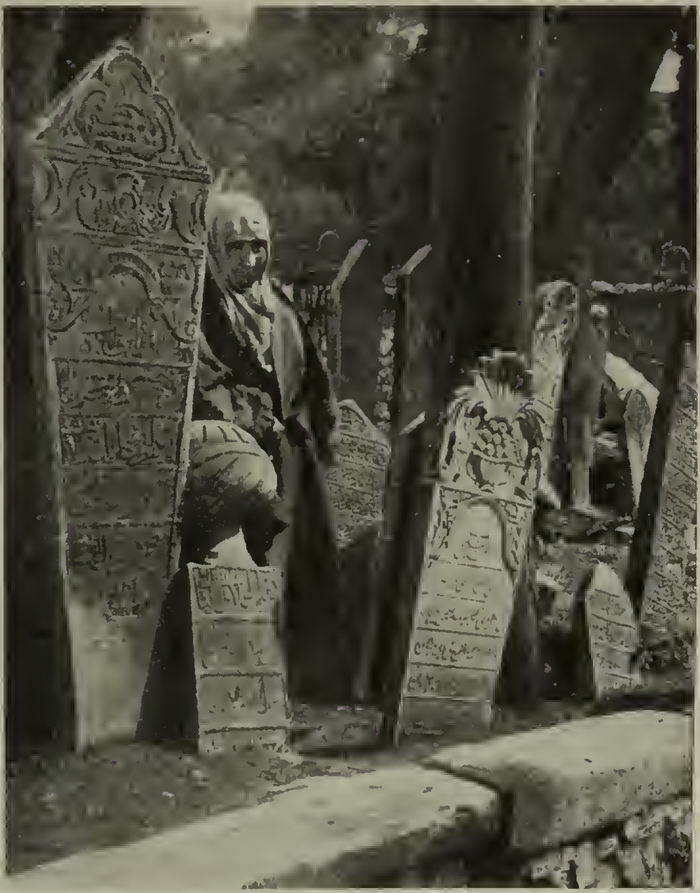
E.N.A.

PALATIAL HOUSES IN A CAIRENE NECROPOLIS WHERE THE DEAD HOLD PHANTOM RECEPTIONS

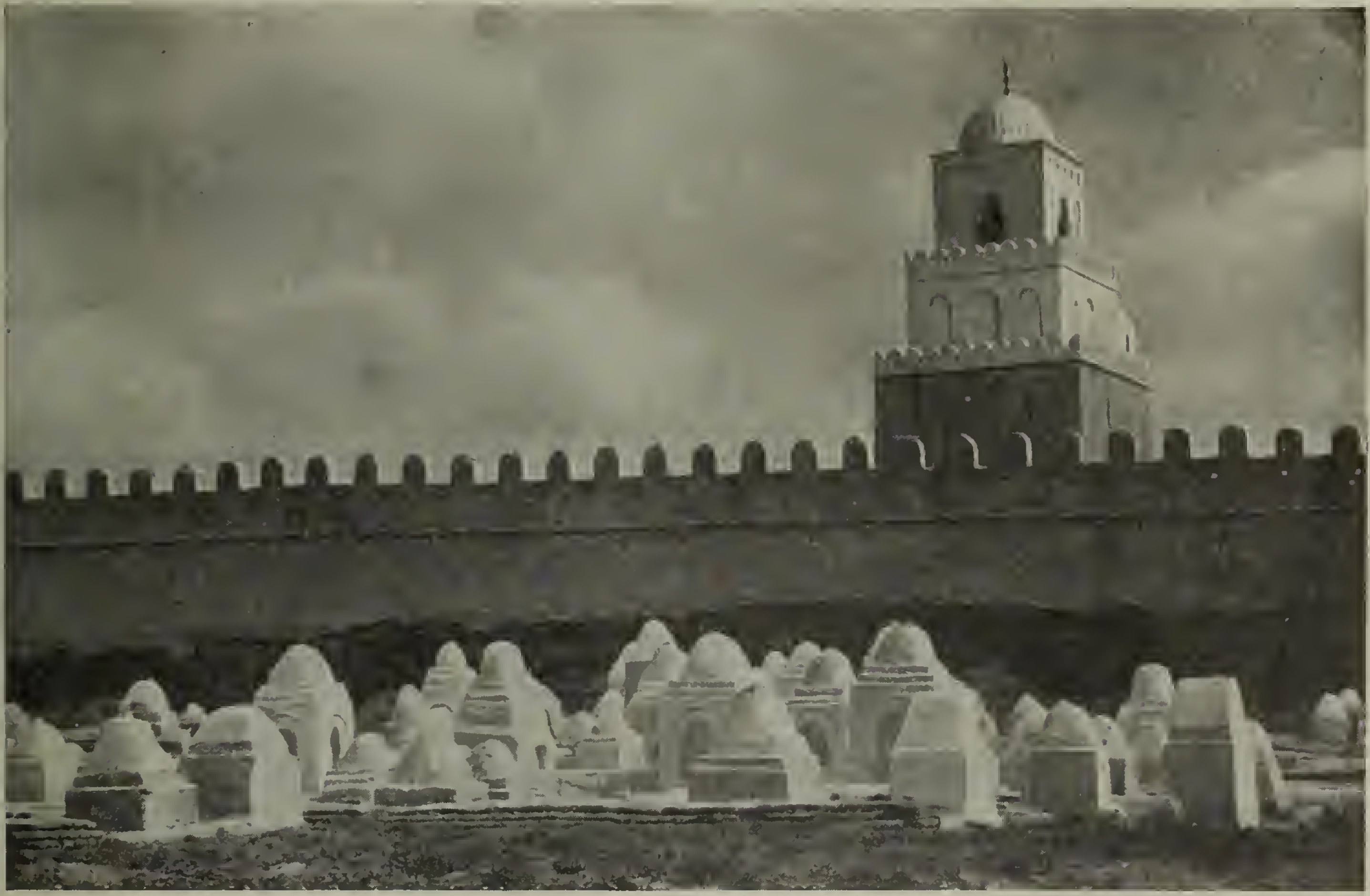
Cairo has no fewer than four great cemeteries, veritable cities of the dead, with houses for the inanimate occupants far more stately and imposing than many occupied by the living even in good districts. Some of them contain palm-studded courts and rooms furnished luxuriously as reception rooms in which the dead repose in tombs heavily draped with superb tissues and stuffs. At certain periods of the year the surviving relatives pay visits, sometimes of several days' duration, to these houses where the dead hold phantom receptions, and on every Friday throughout the year Egyptians usually repair to the cemetery and lay palm branches and flowers on the graves. On festival days food and money for the poor are offered in cemeteries throughout Egypt.

Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and on those of saints can be seen erect poles, to which pieces of cloth are attached, and the horns of wild sheep. The great shrine of Sakhi Sarwar in the Dera Ghazi Khan area, north-west India, marks the resting place of a saint and attracts pilgrims from Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab, being revered by Hindus, Moslems and Buddhists alike. Moslem burial places in India are often protected by irises, which, when in bloom, make a brilliant show. Their pointed leaves are reputed to drive off evil spirits. On poles and trees beside the stone built tombs of Moslem saints offerings of pots are placed by those who have had their prayers answered. Regular visits are paid to graves. Some Hindu sects do not burn their dead, but bury them cross-legged in an upright position. A headstone is erected and water is sprinkled daily on the grave for a time and offerings of rice and flowers regularly deposited. In the Central Provinces some perpetuate the custom of keeping a lamp burning nightly for a year beside the headstone.

Among the primitive peoples of northern India the custom prevails of placing over graves cairns of stones and masses of thorns. There are also built shrines at which offerings of sesame seed are placed. With the exception of those of saints, most ghosts are malevolent and the thorns impede their



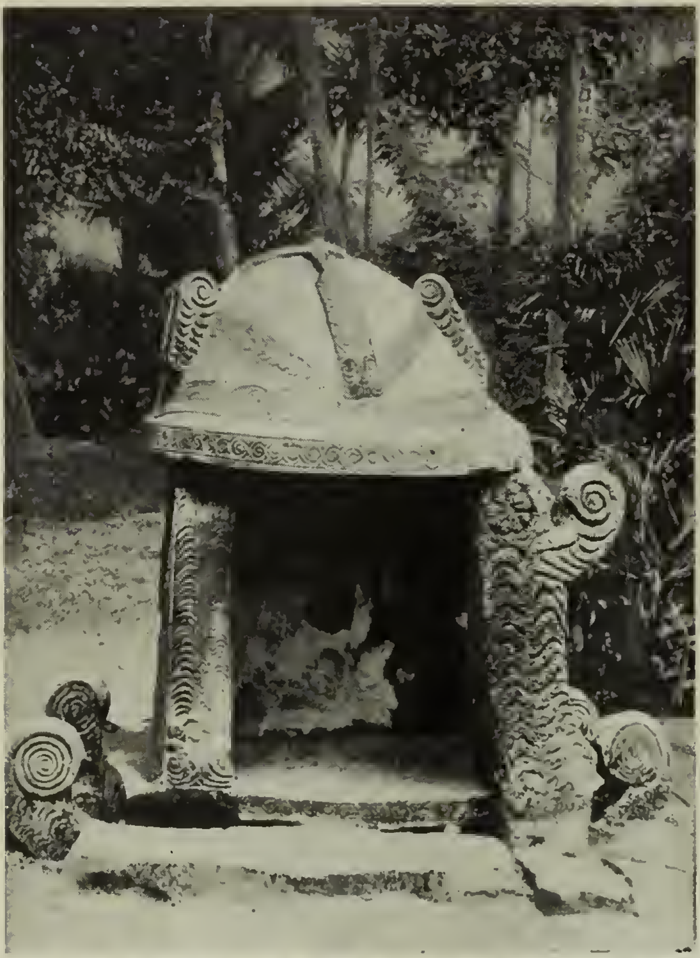
E.N.A.



Ufa

FOOD AND WATER AND FRUITS FOR THE GRAVES OF DEVOUT MOSLEMS

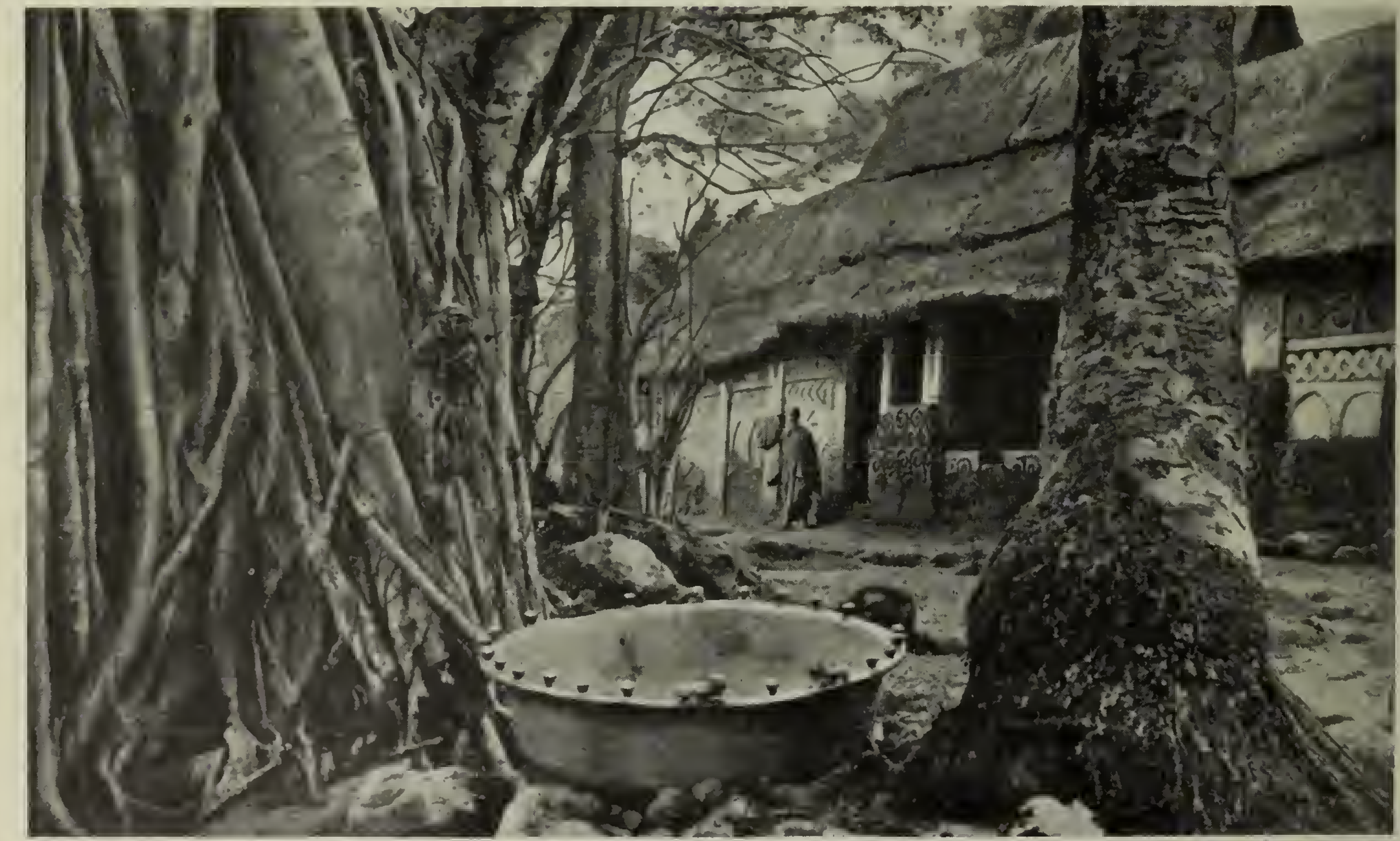
This graveyard at Kairwan (Kairouan) in Tunisia is situated just outside the city gate. All the graves face towards Mecca in order that at the Resurrection the dead may rise with their eyes turned in that direction. On the top of every gravestone is a receptacle in which food and water are placed as intimation to the departed spirit that it is held in remembrance. Above is an example from Scutari of the elaborate way in which the Turks adorn their tombstones with sculptured texts and symbolic fruit.



G.P.A.

movements. The Todas of Southern India erect small wooden houses with thatched roofs over graves. The Nayādis of Malabar erect stones around a mango tree in memory of the dead. Others who burn their dead place the ashes under the standing stones. A wooden pillar, carved with symbolic figures and surrounded by stones, is another favoured tribal memorial. On the west coast stones represent ancestors, who receive offerings of cereals and fruit laid upon leaves assigned to each particular individual. The Sinhalese of Ceylon place thorns on grave mounds but make no offerings. Brick structures are erected over the graves of specially revered Buddhist monks and saplings of sacred trees planted beside or upon them.

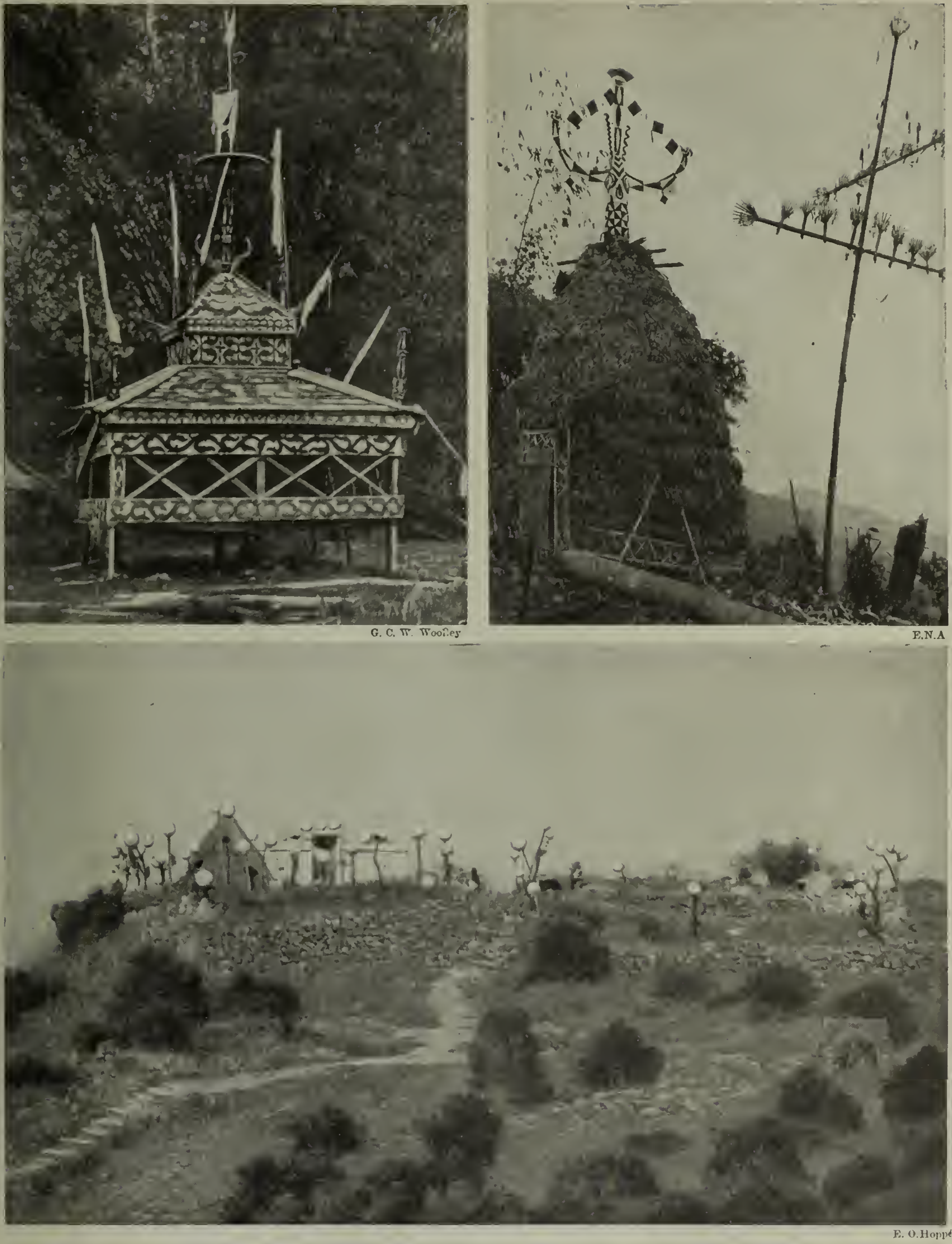
Burmese Buddhists burn their dead. Posts or brickwork pillars mark the graves of commoners and small pagodas those of monks and other notables. In northern Burma high circular mausoleums of bamboo and leaves are erected for the wealthy and surmounted by picturesque symbols indicative of the extent of possessions. In French Indo-China graves of chiefs and headmen are covered with roofs resting upon posts. Some are surrounded by palisades and posts which have been carved to represent mourning women, peacocks, jars, elephant tusks and other sacred objects The custom of burning lamps in houses or at graves, for at least seven days and seven



Clarendon Press

GRIM HONOURS FOR DEAD ROYALTY IN SAVAGE AFRICA

On the death of an Ashanti king an army of wives and attendants was slaughtered to accompany him to the other world. The victims were slain at certain spots, one of them being beside this great brass vessel before the royal mausoleum at Bantama (taken from Captain R. S. Rattray's 'Religion and Art in Ashanti') A year later the king's skeleton was deposited in the mausoleum and there 'fed' and ministered to by living 'wives' and servants. The mausoleum was destroyed by the British in 1895, and the brass vessel is now in the United Services Museum in London Above is one of the ornate tombs provided for chiefs by the Malunga tribe of Central Africa.



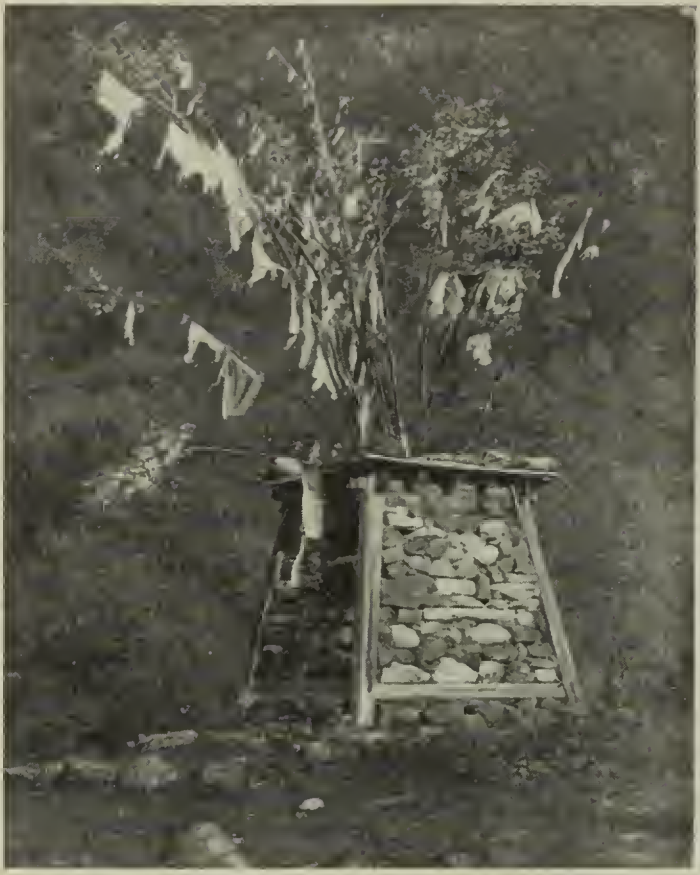
G. C. W. Woolley

E.N.A

E. O. Hoppé

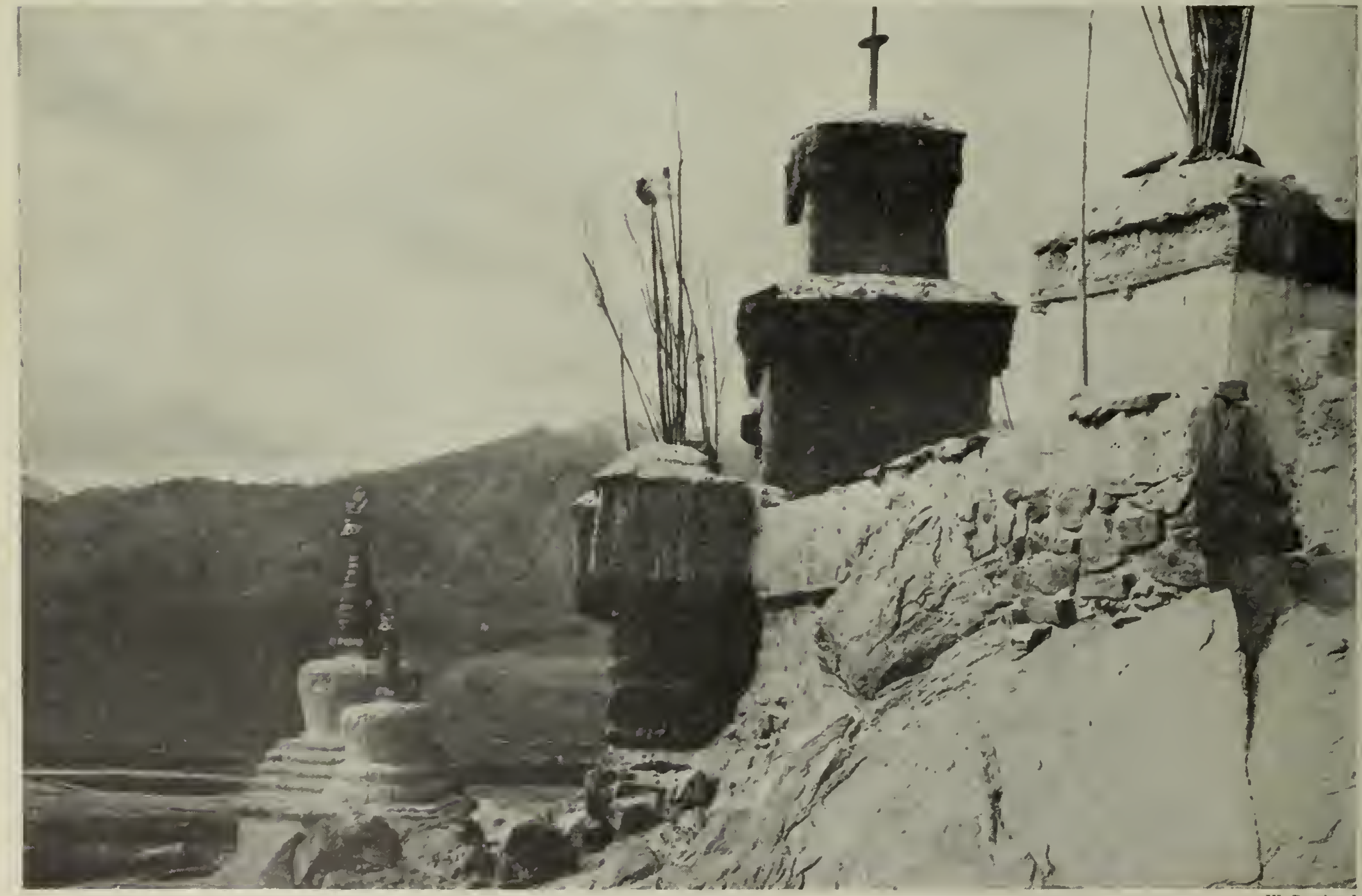
DEMONSTRATIONS OF GRATITUDE AND KINDLY CONSIDERATION

In India the stone-built tombs of Moslem saints, like this one near Delhi, are often ringed round by poles and trees thus decked with pots by those who have had their prayers answered. In the Triangle of Northern Burma the tombs of eminent Kachins are lofty circular structures of bamboo and leaves (top right), topped and set about with picturesque symbols indicative of the dead man's wealth in slaves and other possessions. The coastal Dusuns of Borneo inter their dead in jars and over the grave raise wooden structures (top left), decorated with scroll designs in vermilion on a white ground. An open umbrella surmounts the structure to keep the departed spirit dry.


F. Kingdon Ward

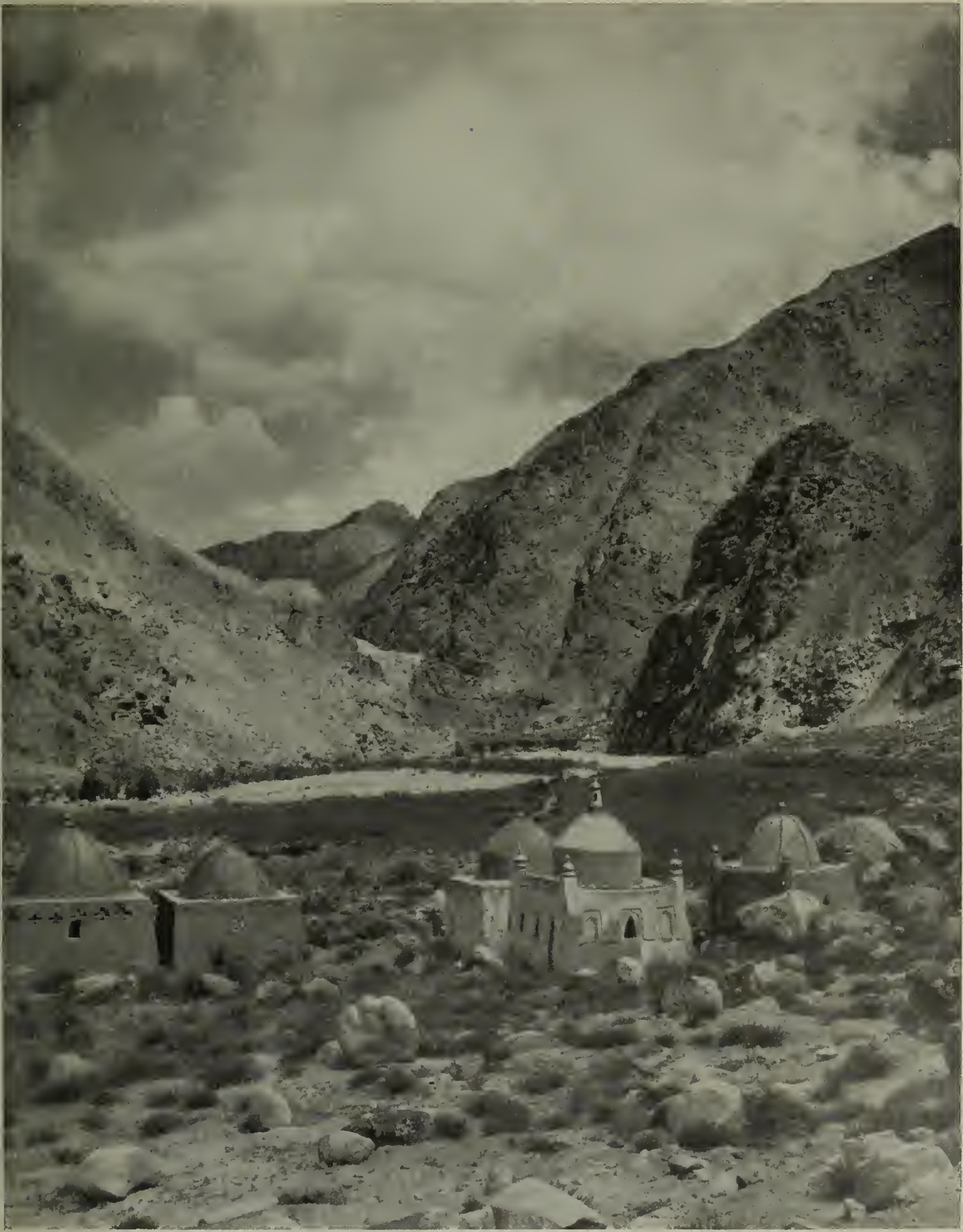
nights, is known in Malaya. Grave posts are round for males and flat for females. Over some graves are coverings of elaborate cord-work. After a period the bones may be lifted and burned, the ashes being placed in pots which are offered to images. The Moslems of Java have stone-built graves with head and footstones like those of their faith elsewhere, and at these food and flower offerings are deposited. As in Sumatra, there are also grave-houses, the heights and decoration of which indicate rank or the possession of wealth. The Bataks of Sumatra are Malays, many of them Pagan, with lingering Hindu customs. Some have of late become Moslems or Christians. Their burial rites vary, and a grave may be covered by a small wooden house or a stone structure with carved heads of guardians. A chief's body may be enclosed in a sarcophagus with a carved sphinx-like head and a crouching figure of the deceased below it. As in the Malay Peninsula, round grave posts for men and flat for women are in favour. A strip of white cloth attached to a pole indicates that the burial is a recent one.

The Chinese on a festival day once a year visit graves to burn paper money and make offerings of meals on the stone table, subsequently partaking of the food with ceremony. Floral tributes are left at the graves of the poorest. In the north-eastern area


W. Bosshard

PRAYER FLAGS FLOAT OVER BUDDHIST TOMBS ON HIMALAYAN HEIGHTS

Reference has already been made—see page 205—to the use by Buddhists of flags and other mechanical praying devices. As might be expected, these figure on many tombs, notably on the 'chortens' or stone tomb towers in which the ashes of the Grand Lama and the priests of Tibet are deposited. The chortens shown here stand above the abbey of Spitok near Leh, in Ladakh, Kashmir, where most of the people are Mongoloid Buddhists. The pyramidal cairn tomb (top) similarly adorned stands on a mountain in eastern Tibet.

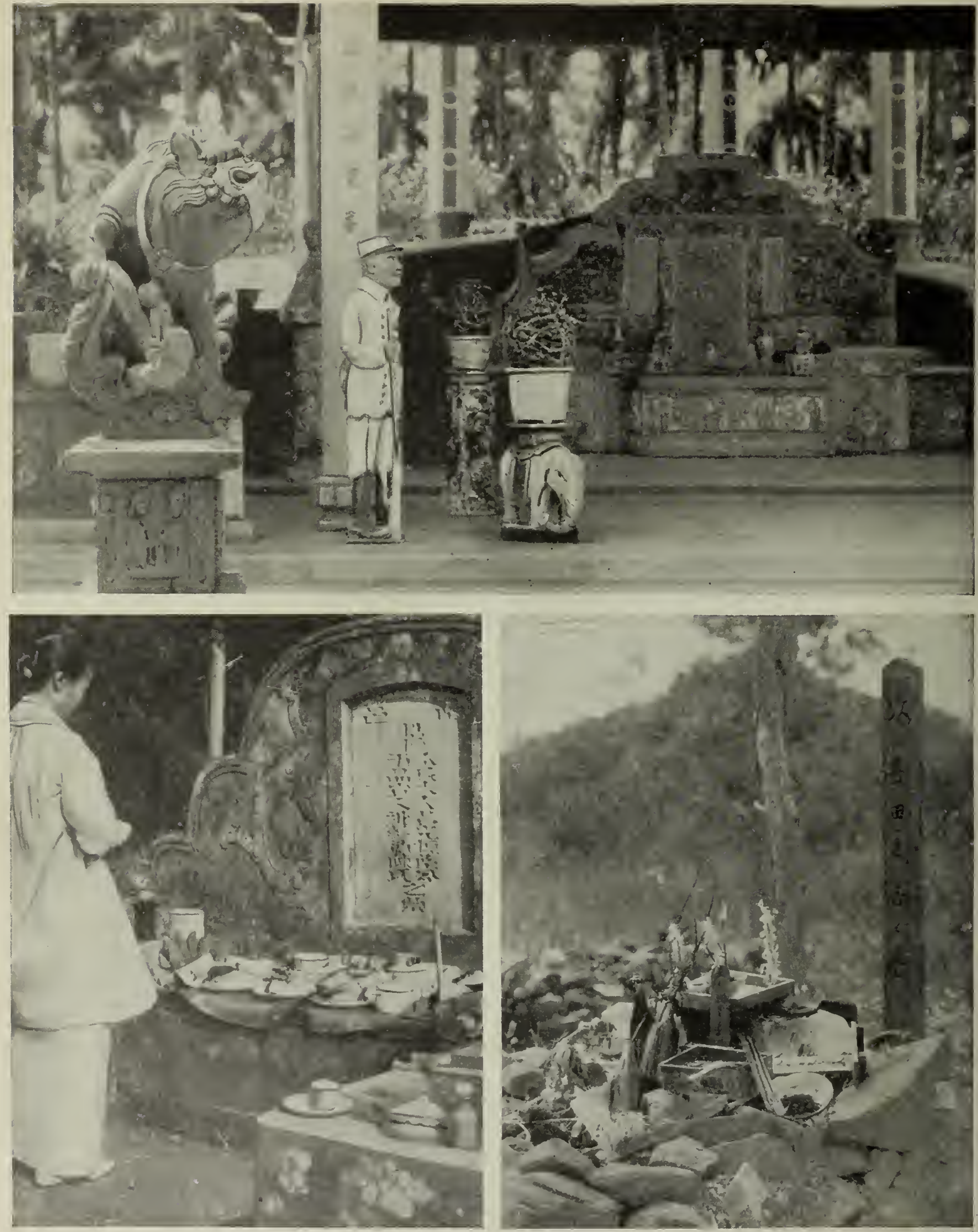


W. Bosshard

DOMED SEPULCHRES OF NOMAD KIRGHIZ ON THE ROOF OF THE WORLD

In its desolate grandeur no region of the earth is more awe-inspiring than the Chinese Pamirs in Eastern Turkistan. It is occupied by a comparatively sparse population of nomad Kirghiz, mainly Sunnite Mahomedans, who roam over its lofty mountain ranges, growing their scanty crops in the lower-lying valleys. Toile-Bulung is one of the lowest of these, being only 9,800 feet above sea level, and here the Yambulak Kirghiz make their winter quarters, virtually the only permanent structures being these mosque-like sepulchres, some of them almost shrines, where they leave their dead.

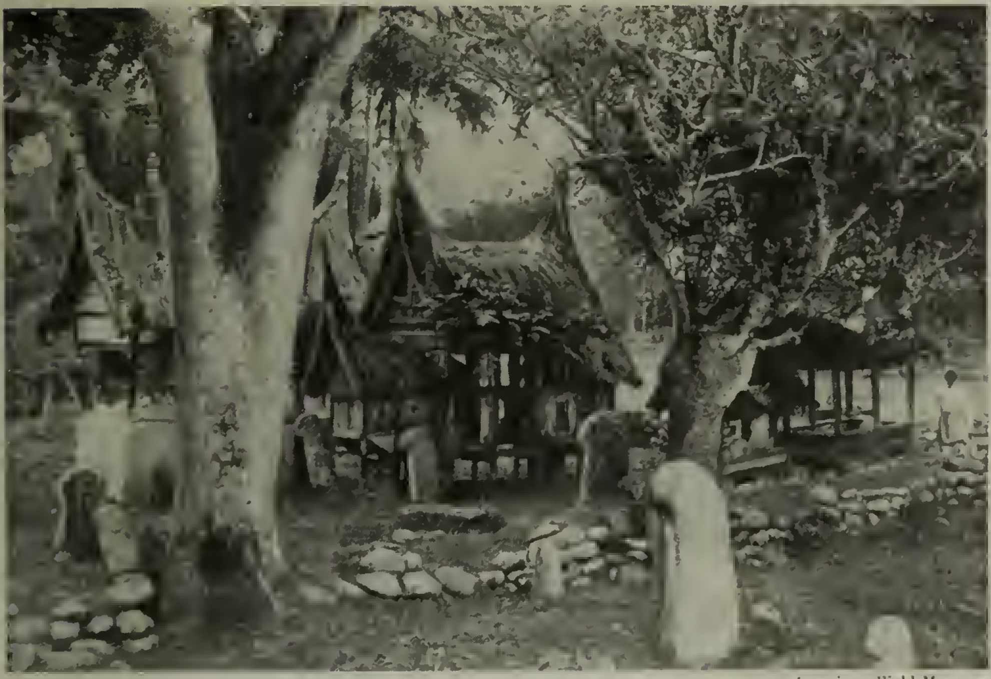
20450



E. O. Hoppé

LAVISH DEMONSTRATIONS OF CHINESE PIETY AND REVERENCE

One result of the adoption by the Chinese of ancestor worship as the national religion is extravagant exaggeration of all customs connected with burial of the dead. The top photograph shows the ostentatious tomb provided for a wealthy Chinaman, with rich inscribed marble background, stone guardians in animal and human form, and table for offerings, on which sometimes a complete meal will be set out, as on the humbler tomb below (left). A great contrast is provided by the poor Chinaman's tomb (bottom right), but even here pious relatives have heaped joss sticks and flowers and offerings of rice and tea.



American Field Museum

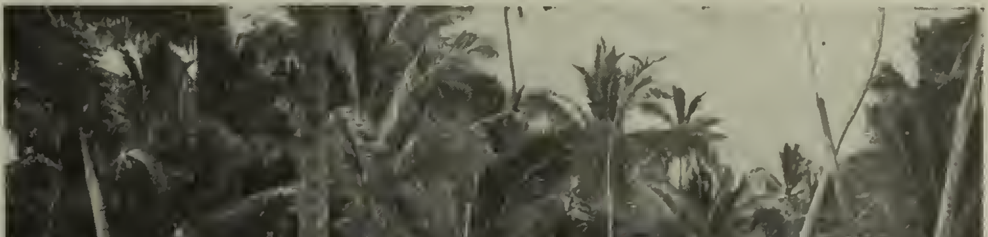
WOODLAND VILLAGE OF SUMATRAN DEAD

Burial customs vary among the Bataks of Sumatra, but it is quite common to find graves covered with small but very picturesque wooden houses with high-pitched roofs of thatch. Stone structures are erected over others, sometimes quite plain, sometimes carved with heads of guardian figures. Simple graves are marked by stone grave-posts, round for men and flat for women.

of China are beehive tombs, apparently of Buddhist origin, for they are really diminutive topes. A rich Chinaman has a most elaborate tomb with inscribed stele, table for offerings, and carved ' wonder beasts,' and even carved soldiers or policemen as guardians. Bodies are often kept in corpse stores awaiting an auspicious day for final disposal, which will be fixed by an astrologer in accordance with the principles of Feng-Shui (see pages 387 to 389). The ' City of the Dead ' in Canton is a typical corpse store. Modern paper figures of men and animals which are displayed at Chinese funerals are apparently substitutes for the stone images seen at the tombs of the Ming emperors at Peking and Nanking. Old Korean tombs have similar sculptured human and animal figures as guardians. In Japan regular floral and food offerings are made to tablets dedicated to the dead in house shrines. The Buddhists have an All Souls' feast from August 13 to 16, when cemeteries are visited, gravestones washed and decorated with flowers and incense burned. Those of the Shinto faith also make floral offerings. In Tibet the Grand Lama and the priests are cremated. The ashes are placed in stone tomb-towers called ' chortens,' which vary in shape and size and have internal decorations. On these are placed offerings of prayer flags.

Throughout the islands of Melanesia and Polynesia graves are carefully tended and decorated. Some natives plant coconut trees at the heads of graves, and some a tree at the head and another at the foot. The nuts are tabooed for a time to men and always to women. A Melanesian custom is to erect a small house over a grave and deposit in it weapons and food. Paddles are often placed beside graves of seafarers. The Pelew Islanders keep a lamp burning for several nights in a grave hut and make offerings of food. Others lay flat stones or build cairns over graves. Some Australian black men plant rods at graves and attach offerings to them. American Red Indians still perpetuate the custom of erecting picturesque cemetery memorials and leaving weapons and implements as offerings for adults and toys for children.

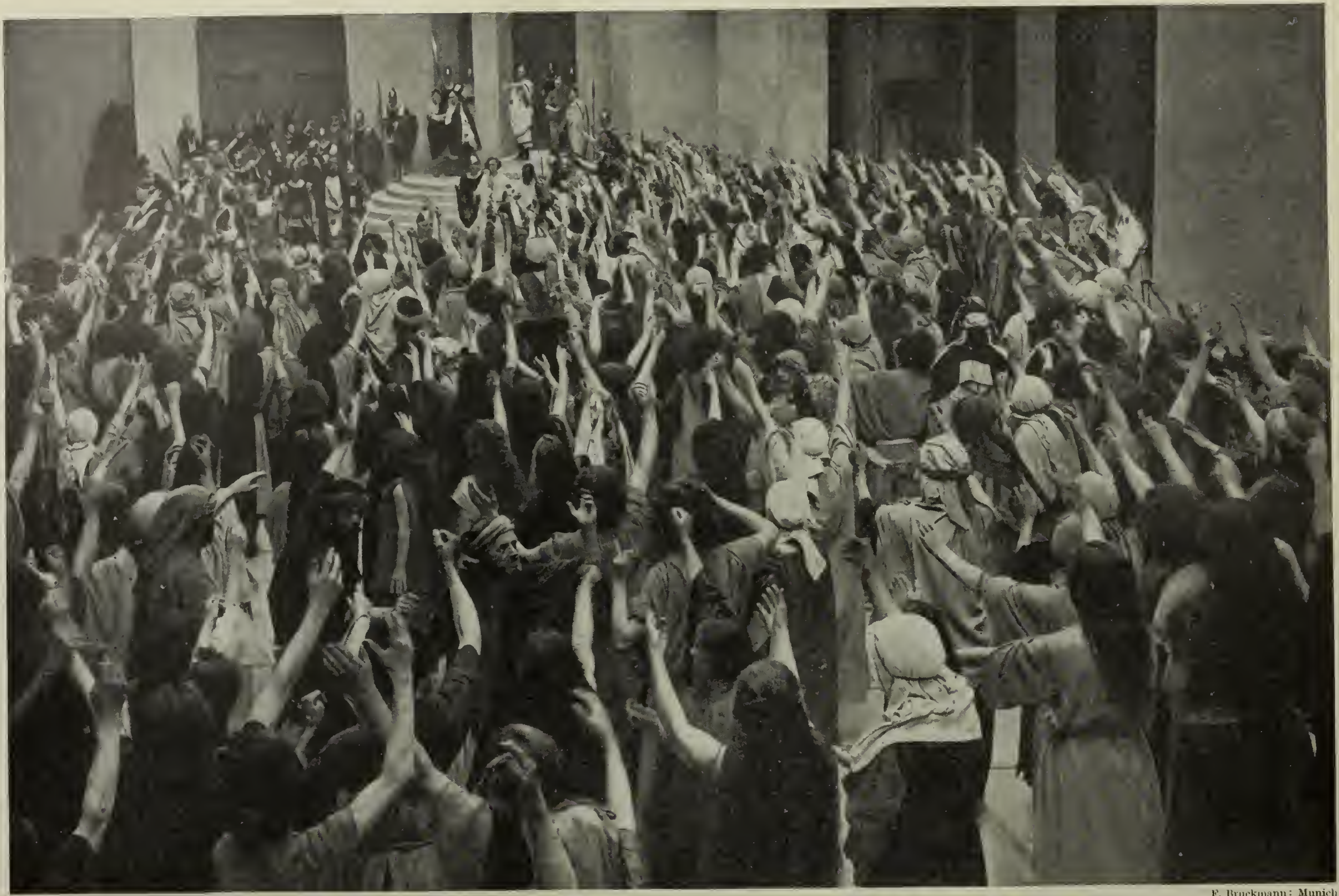
The practices of the various peoples of the world in regard to the decoration and continued care of graves are, of course, dictated by their ideas concerning the future of the soul. They are found most fully developed among those races that have affection for the spirits of the deceased. Those who are afraid of ghosts more commonly practise cremation.



A. M. Hocart and Clarendon Press

LAST RESTING PLACE OF A FIJIAN CHIEF AT MOALA

Fijians have taken kindly to Christianity since they came under British control in 1874, and most of their heathen rites and superstitions have vanished, though belief remains in the malignant influence of unquiet spirits that must be propitiated. Chiefs are interred in walled graves set upon an artificially raised and walled earthen platform planted about with coconut trees and carefully tended and decorated. Awnings of white cloth are sometimes spread above the grave.



F. Bruckmann: Munich

SCENE DURING THE OBERAMMERGAU PASSION PLAY OF 1930: PILATE ASKS, 'IS HE GUILTY?'

The famous Passion Play of Oberammergau, in Bavaria, originated in a vow taken by the survivors of the plague in 1633 to present every tenth year a play depicting Christ's Passion. The sequence was broken by the Great War, after which the play was resumed in 1922. Only natives of the village are eligible for parts in the play. Moral character in everyday life counts as much as dramatic ability when the characters come to be allotted. It is regarded as a disgrace to be left out of the play, while to be chosen for the part of Christ is accounted one of the highest of earthly honours. In spite of the elaboration of modern scenic effects and costume much of the old simplicity of the players still remains.

PASSION PLAYS OF CHRISTIAN PEOPLES

The Passion Plays of the Christian West have their counterparts in the Passion Plays of the East, to which a separate chapter is devoted. In the East religion, drama and dancing are closely related, many Oriental dance-dramas being religious in character. Instances of these are dealt with in the chapters on The Golden Ballet of the East, and Devil and Other Spirit Dances.

Nothing could better illustrate the gulf that separates the modern from the medieval mind than a visit to a Bavarian or Tirolese village on a summer Sunday when a Passion Play is being acted. From an early hour the roads leading to the village are noisy with cars and coaches. From long distances come many of the visitors. Large numbers of them are foreign tourists, whose clothes of the latest fashion look tawdry beside the costumes of the peasants who are coming to the play.

The village itself is crowded. All the inns are full; there are tables set out in the streets at which people sit eating or drinking beer. There is a festival air about the place which cannot be shaken off when all the visitors have made their way into the theatre, nor even when, by way of prologue, a chorus sings an invocation. During this singing tableaux are displayed—Adam and Eve being driven out of Paradise by an angel with a sword, and then the angels bringing the glad tidings of great joy to all mankind after the birth of Jesus. The purpose of these is to strike the keynote of the story of the Redemption and to put the spectators into the proper frame of mind. But as so many of these have come merely out of curiosity or because the Play offered an excuse for a pleasant excursion, that 'proper frame of mind' is unattainable. No doubt the performance is watched and listened to with reverence, but often there are smiles on many faces at some oddity in the acting or some flash of unconscious humour in the dialogue. It is impossible to recapture the medieval rapture which resulted from the complete yielding-up of the mind to the influence of the portrayal of the leading episodes in the life of the Founder of Christianity.

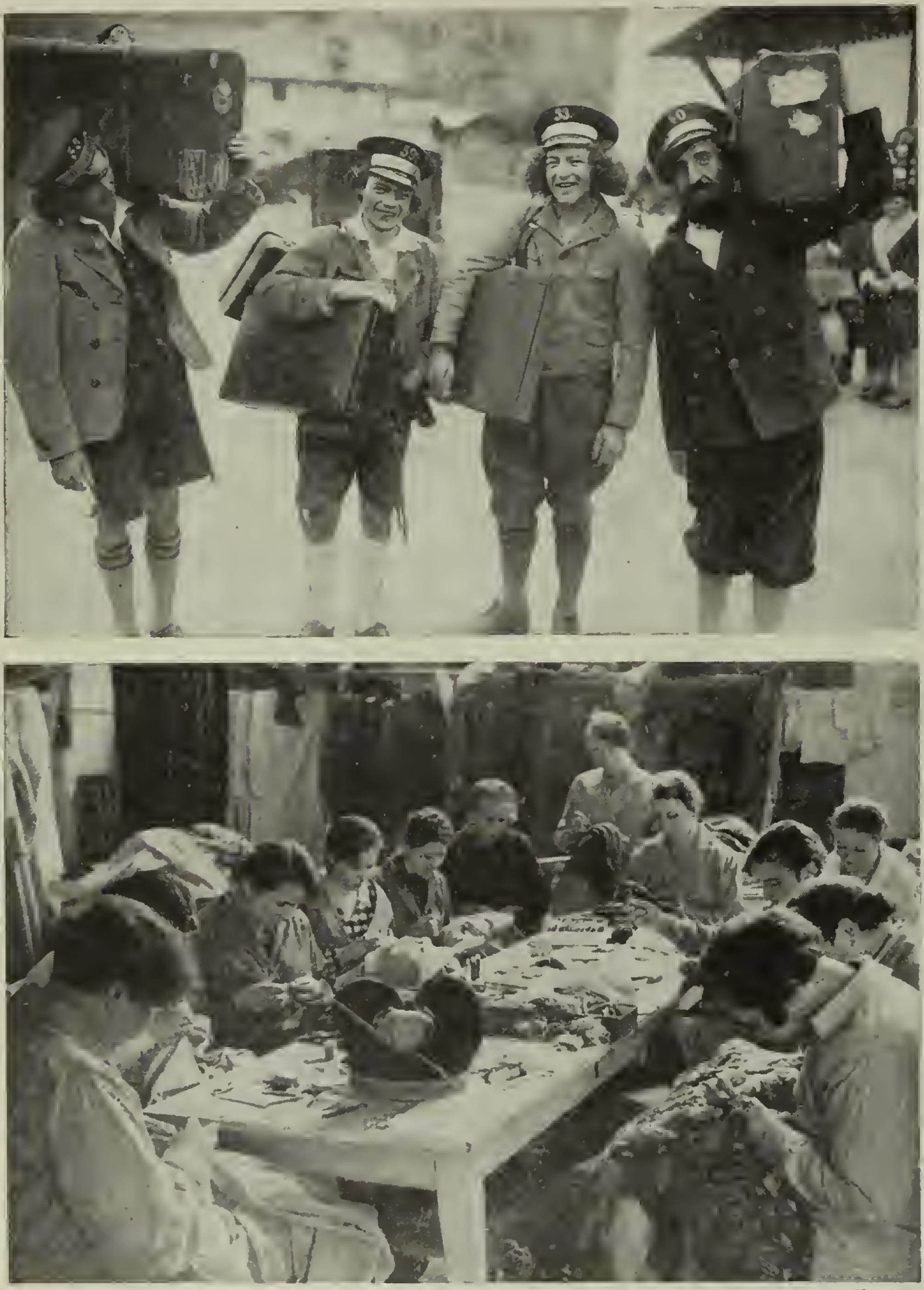
Keystone

SIGNAL FOR THE PASSION PLAY TO BEGIN

The best-known, but by no means the only Passion Play is that of Oberammergau, which is witnessed by some 300,000 people during the summer. Much thought and work are given to perfecting the performance. When the preparations are completed a gun is fired.

Religious drama is today merely a survival, or, to speak more exactly, a body without a soul. For the soul of the religious drama in the Middle Ages, and for as long as the simple faith of the Middle Ages lingered in out-of-the-way places, was unquestioning belief in the literal truth of the Gospel story. When the unquestioning believer looked on at the events of that story being acted, he paid the same devotional respect to the performance as he did to the reading of the Bible in church. It was the Gospel made vivid by action. No matter how rough-and-ready the spectacle might be, how unskilful the performers, how absurd the anachronisms, the spectators transformed them by the power of their imagination into the scenes and persons they represented, as the American negro of today sees the heavens open when he chants 'Swing low, sweet chariot,' and stands in imagination upon the banks of Jordan when he sings hymns about that river.

It is useless to expect that any mixed collection of people in Europe will take a Passion Play as seriously as that. Nevertheless, the deep interest taken during the last twenty or thirty years in the village Passion Plays that have survived from the past is a marked feature of the age. The most popular is that of Oberammergau. So well known is it that many suppose its Play to be the only one. Actually, however, it is only one of several which continue to be acted. The Brixlegg (Tirol) performance is on the same lines and scarcely inferior in any respect. At Vorderthiersee (Tirol)



Keystone

MAKING READY FOR THE PASSION PLAY AT OBERAMMERGAU

The costumes and general appearance of the actors in the Oberammergau Passion Play are based upon the paintings of the Old Masters. The upper photograph shows a group of railway porters who have grown their hair to suit their parts, no wigs being worn. Below, a roomful of the villagers is seen sewing and embroidering new garments for the play.

there is another, not quite so elaborate. Höritz, in southern Bavaria, Mittenwald, close to the Austrian frontier, and a little town in the Black Forest also keep up their own versions. In Belgium a ruder presentation of the sacred scenes may still be met with. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould came across it at Mechlin (Malines), being performed as part of a travelling showman's programme which included also a 'laughable farce,' tight-rope dancing, acrobats and performing dogs ' Baring-Gould's comment is worth quoting·

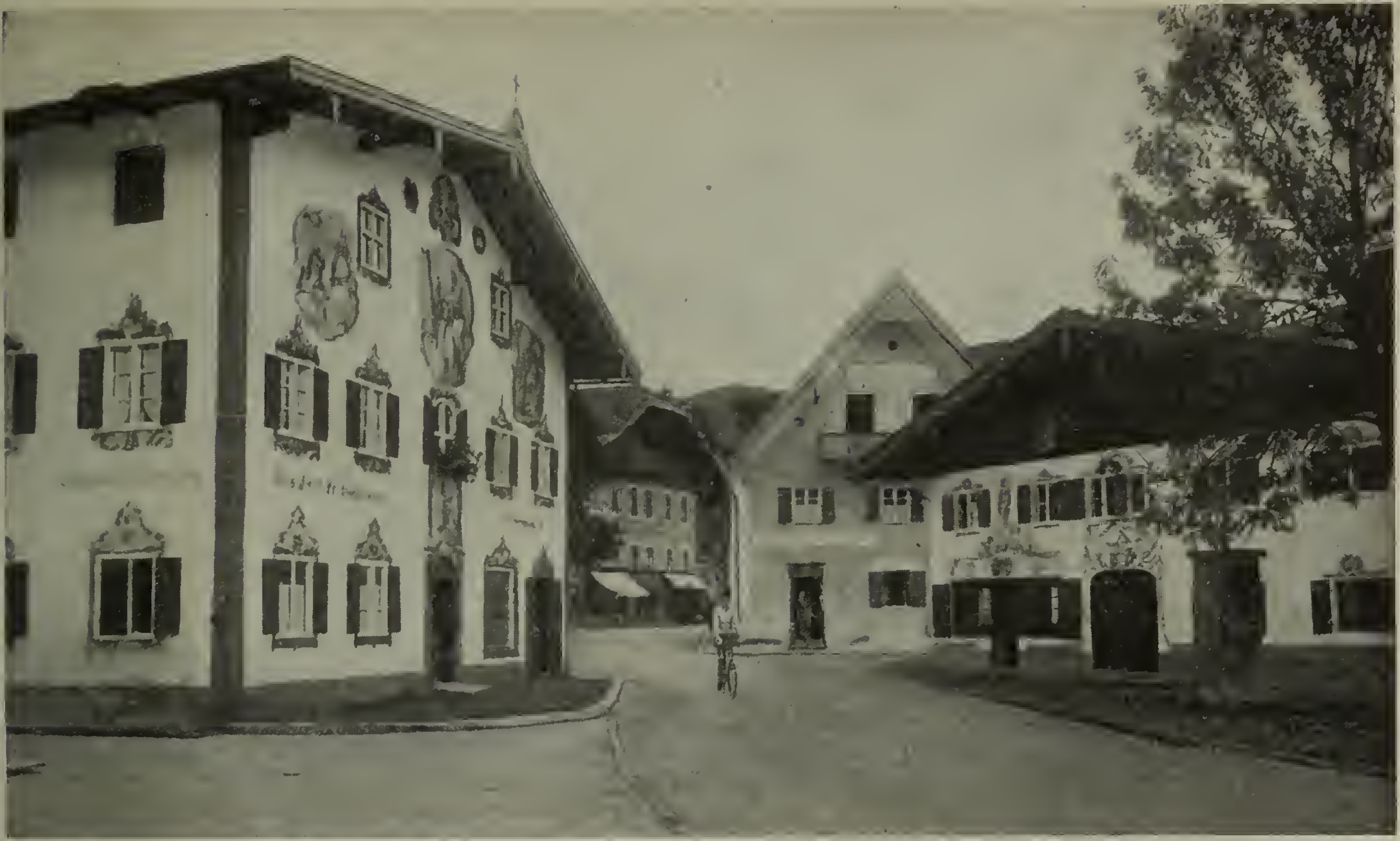
> It was more than startling to see 'the spangied sprite of the shining shower,' who pirouetted on the tight-rope half an hour before, figure as the Mater Dolorosa and the human spider, a man in fleshings, who walked backwards on hands and feet, transformed into the Beloved Disciple, but the Brabant peasants seemed aware of no incongruity, and were as ready to weep at the crucifixion as they were to laugh at the dancing dogs.

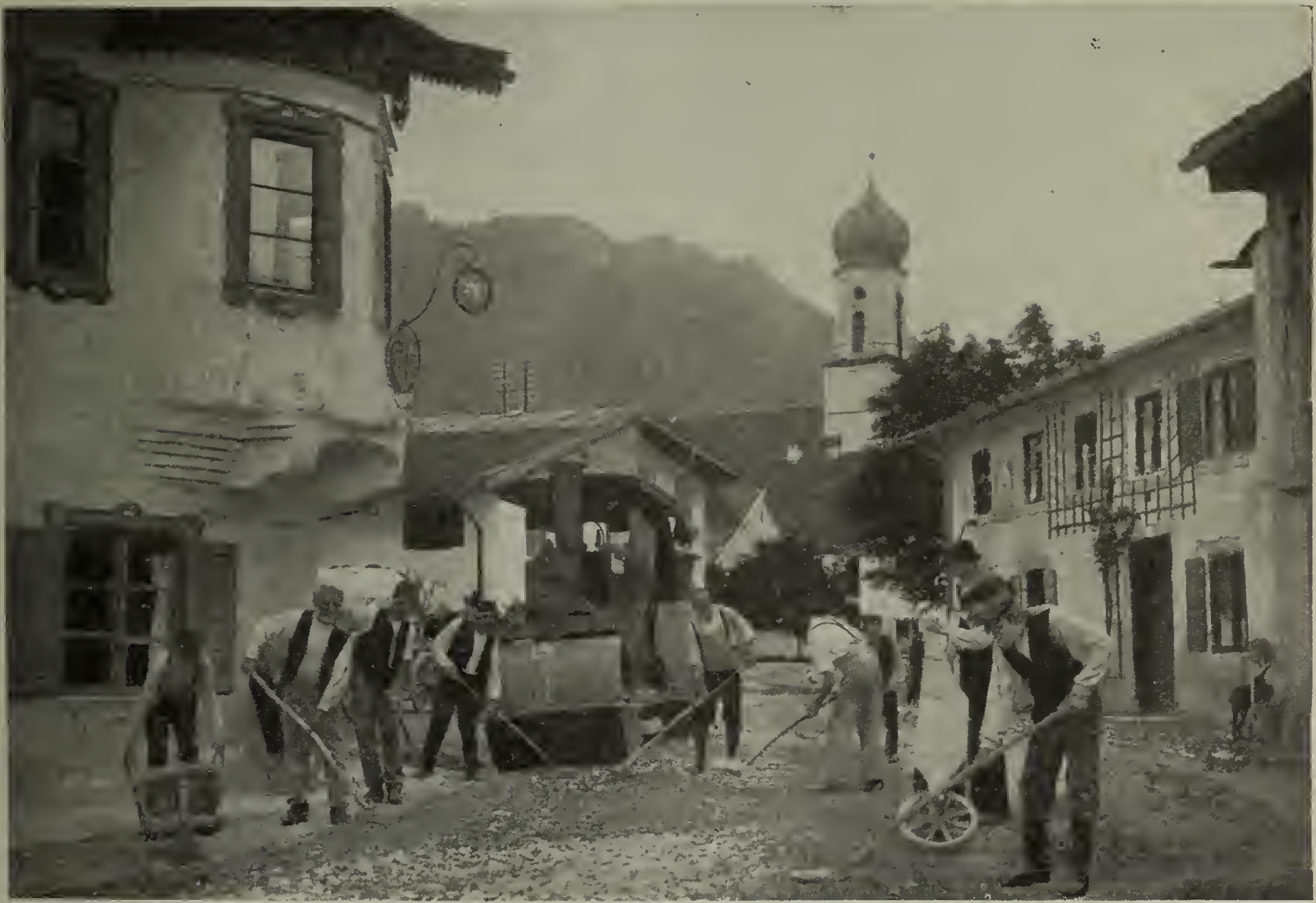
THAT was truly medieval. Indeed, the Middle Ages introduced ' comic relief ' even into the Passion Plays themselves. At Brixlegg Judas is still a humorist in a red wig, and when he hangs himself, this is regarded as his best joke. Probably there was once some element of this kind in the Oberammergau Play, though it does not date back to the Middle Ages. It was first done in 1633, when the Black Death was causing panic in Germany. The villagers vowed to act the chief scenes in the Passion of Christ every ten years if the pestilence should pass them by.

How it happened that their effort attracted so much more attention than those of other villagers is not clear. Probably the very fine performance of Josef Mayr as Jesus had a great deal to do with it. He was described as resembling

> the finest picture of the Saviour that had ever been painted by the early Italian masters ; the noble figure ; the sad, worn, dignified face (not the perfect ideal of Da Vinci, but something much more touching and human) ; the dark, flowing hair parted in the middle, the purple robe falling in the most perfect folds, the sandalled feet—all copied with strict fidelity from paintings by the Old Masters—every detail of costume, every attitude and gesture being rendered with the most perfect accuracy, but apparently without thought or care in the achievement

Anton Lang, Mayr's successor, was praised with equal enthusiasm. But he borrowed much from his predecessor. Mayr created a tradition. On the few visitors who in 1870 happened to see the Play (this was the first time it attracted any attention) he made a deep impression. They spoke of the Play with warm admiration. From that time each tenth-yearly performance was attended by larger and larger numbers of foreigners, as well as by larger numbers of Germans from other parts of Germany. So it developed from a purely peasant celebration into an international event for which trips are arranged from all countries.





Keystone

OBERAMMERGAU IN NORMAL GUISE AND WHEN EXPECTING VISITORS

The little village of Oberammergau is prettily set in the valley of the Ammer. The inhabitants are chiefly wood carvers, making crucifixes, rosaries, images of saints and toys. Months before the Passion Play the village becomes a place of feverish activity. All the inhabitants assist in the preparations, villagers being seen (bottom) working on the roads in readiness for the huge influx of visitors. The outer walls of most of the houses (top) in Oberammergau are painted with pictures depicting scenes and characters from the Passion Play.

Keystone

PAINTED HOUSE WALL IN OBERAMMERGAU

In the Oberammergau school of wood carving there is a painting class, where the villagers are instructed in the art of colouring their carvings. In this class, too, are trained the artists who paint the elaborate sacred designs on the houses of the village.

Those who saw the Play in the first year of its becoming known predicted that the 'other-worldliness' of the players would not last very long. One of the spectators in 1870 wrote:

> Ten years hence the extraordinary simplicity of character of these men will have worn off by contact with the outer world; they will have been praised too highly and will know too much. In these days of photography, newspapers, railway communications and 'interviewing' it will be impossible for Josef Mayr (or his successor in the part) to study as calmly for the great character, when it is reproduced in 1880, as he has done this year. Every ten years there will be more acting and less individuality by force of circumstances and the weakness of human nature.

That prediction has been completely falsified. All the causes that were relied on to make it come true have been multiplied and intensified to a degree the writer could not possibly foresee. Yet they have not brought about the deterioration he dreaded. The simplicity of character he admired may be a little more self-conscious, but it persists.

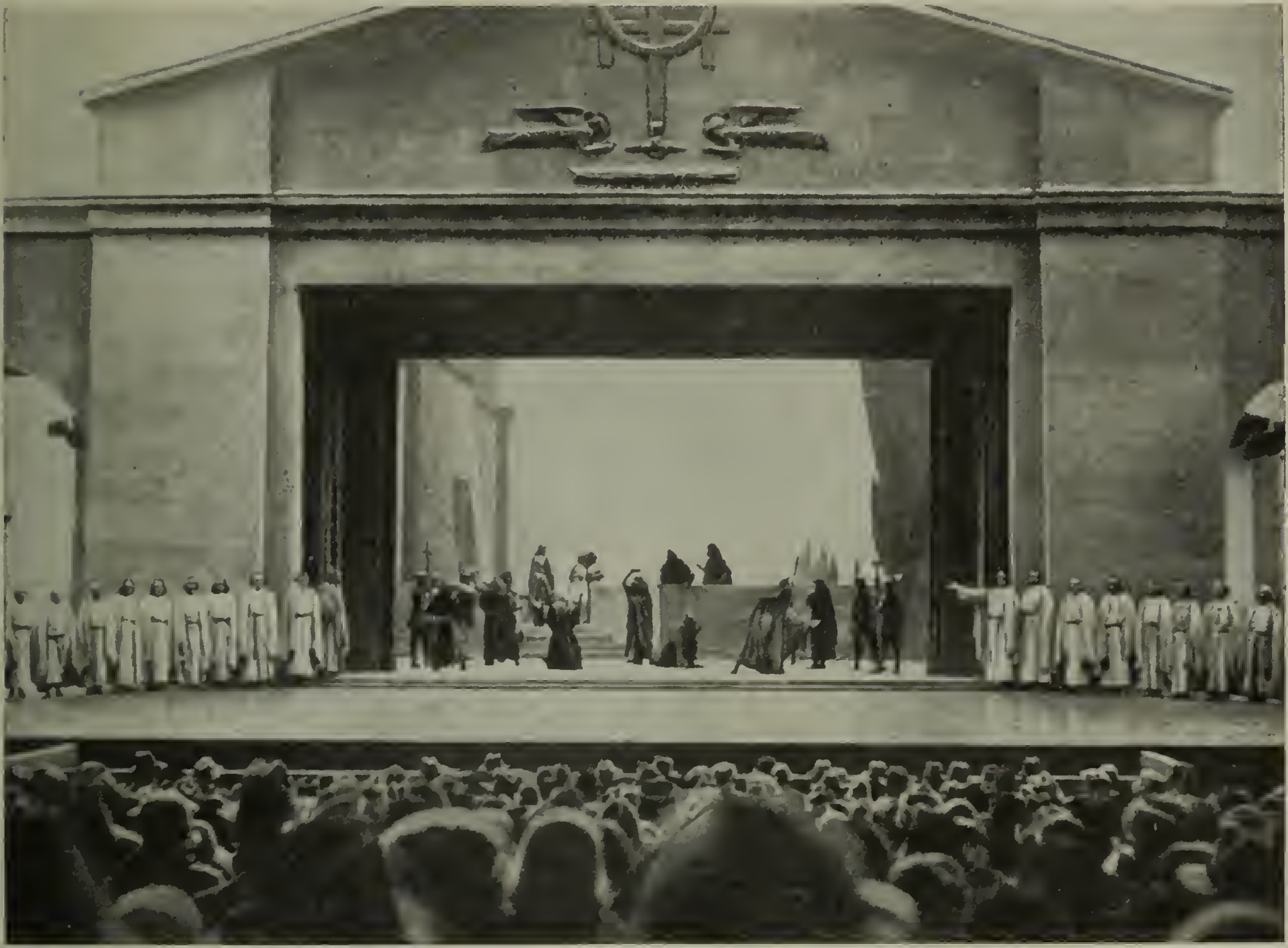
Offers have been made to the villagers to give the Play elsewhere, to take it to America. They have put all such proposals aside with quiet dignity. They are for the most part wood carvers with modest earnings. What they gain individually by their performances comes to little enough. But they prefer to keep their dignity and to continue their Play as a religious exercise instead of making it an ordinary theatrical entertainment. The devotion of the leading performers to the parts they play is shown by the amount of time they give up for preparation and by their growing their hair and beards to match the traditional appearance of the Apostles, the Scribes and Pharisees, the Roman officials and soldiers, the unruly Jews. No wigs are allowed, nor must any grease-paint or other make-up be used on the face. Every effort is made to keep up the atmosphere of the church and to exclude that of the theatre, but what was easy when only a few performances were given to inhabitants of the surrounding country is difficult now that some 300,000 people see the Play in the course of a summer, between sixty and seventy performances being given in the theatre holding 5,000-6,000 at a time.

The performances begin at eight o'clock in the morning and continue, with an interval for a midday meal, until four in the afternoon. After the prologue by the chorus, which has been described, comes the first scene of the Play, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. The dialogue is not all taken from the Bible, but it is all in the Biblical style, and very well done. The

Keystone

VILLAGE PLAY A EUROPEAN ATTRACTION

Although the theatre at Oberammergau holds over five thousand people, and although more than sixty performances are given, it is sometimes difficult to get seats. Here are seen visitors who could not gain entrance listening outside one of the doors.



Keystone

OUTDOOR STAGE UPON WHICH THE STORY OF CHRIST'S PASSION IS PORTRAYED

The Oberammergau Passion Play was presented in front of the church until 1830, in which year it was removed to a meadow at the end of the village. The stage is open, with a background of fir-clad hills. After 1890 the auditorium was covered in, and for the play of 1930 it was enlarged by the addition of eight hundred seats. The photograph shows a scene in progress during the first public performance in 1930, the revival of that year being the sixty-first decennial production since its origin.

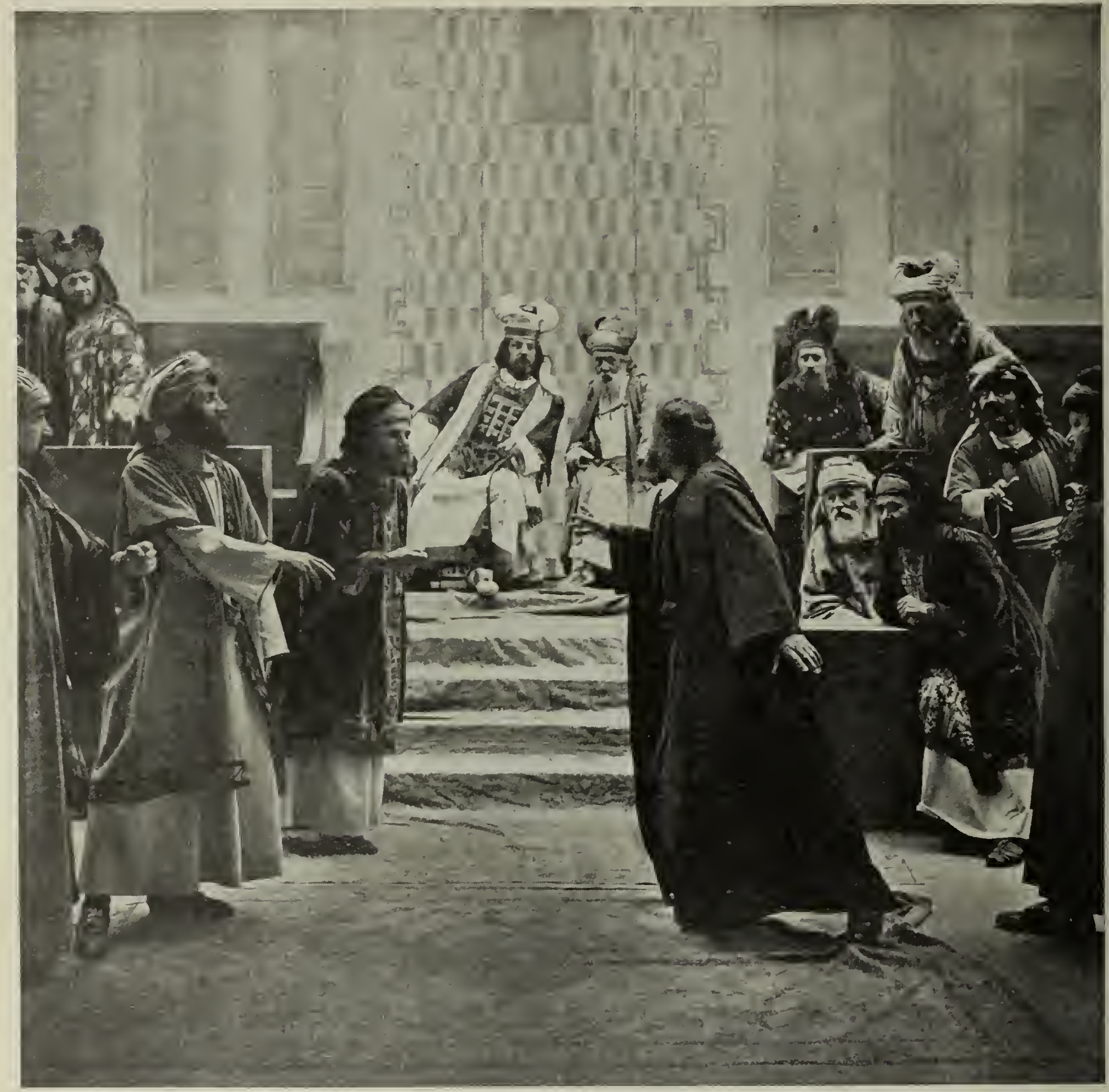
first words of Jesus are, as He comes into the Court of the Temple:

'What do I behold? Shall My Father's House be thus dishonoured? Is this the House of God? Or is it a market place?'

He then orders the traders to quit, reproaching the priests for permitting this wrong, for 'beholding the iniquity and suffering it.' The priests ask why anyone should trouble about it. The High Priest and his council have sanctioned the traders being there. They call Jesus a meddler and a boaster. But He drives out the traders with His scourge of cords. So far the crowd have been on His side. They have acknowledged Him as the Great Prophet. Now the priests set them against Him; they are fickle, easily persuaded. And when the Chief Trader returns to demand that 'this fellow' shall be punished and that all the traders' losses shall be made good, the priests promise that full satisfaction shall be made. That is the close of act I.

Before the second act opens there is a tableau from the Old Testament showing Joseph cast into the pit by his jealous brethren. These tableaux recur at intervals, each of them suggesting some parallel between an Old Testament story and the events in Jerusalem. The next of these events to be shown is the meeting of the Sanhedrin, the High Priest's council. Gloomily they discuss the probability of the law of Moses and their authority being overturned by this usurper who arrogates to Himself High Priestly dignity. What will happen if He proclaims Himself King of Israel? That means rebellion against the power of Rome. The Romans will revenge themselves by destroying both land and people. The only hope of avoiding this is to put Him under lock and key. It ought to be done at once, before the feast begins. If they could find out where He goes at night, there would be no difficulty about it. Why not offer a reward for information as to where He lodges? This is decided on, and the Chief Trader undertakes to approach one of His followers and try to bribe him

ACT III introduces this follower, who is, of course, Judas. We see him watch malevolently while Mary Magdalene pours the precious ointment over the feet of Jesus. We hear him protest that it might have been sold and the money given to the poor. 'Judas,' Jesus asks him, 'lay thy hand upon thy heart. Is it



F. Bruckmann: Munich

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BETRAYAL SCENE BEFORE THE HIGH PRIEST

One of the most dramatic characters of the Passion Play is that of Judas. A high pitch of emotion is reached when the betrayer goes on his vile errand to the Sanhedrin; again, when, torn by remorse and apprehension, he casts the blood money on the floor before the high priest, and, most of all, when, in despair, he prepares to end his own life. The vehemence of this character is in marked contrast to the quiet and aloof grandeur of the central figure of the play.

only sympathy for the poor which so greatly moves thee?' Then He bids farewell to all His friends at Bethany; He says good-bye to His mother, thanking her for her tender love and care. Then He starts for Jerusalem, where the room for the Last Supper is ordered and Judas is warned to 'see that the tempter overtake thee not.'

Very soon afterwards appears the tempter in the shape of the Chief Trader. Judas has already been wondering what he shall do if Jesus is going to be apprehended and put in prison. He has almost made up his mind to go off with the bag which he carries, containing provision for the Apostles' needs. Then comes the offer of a large reward if he will betray his Master. He resolves to accept this, though he fears to 'meet his piercing glance.' After all, he tells himself, he can, if Jesus wins, 'throw myself repentant at His feet. He will receive me again. Never did I see Him cast a penitent away.'

Follows the Last Supper, of which the dialogue is taken entirely from the Bible. The last instructions are given to the disciples. Peter is warned that he will deny his Master. Judas is sent away on his hateful errand. 'What thou doest, do quickly.'

And Judas loses no time. He goes to the Sanhedrin. He is offered thirty pieces of silver. Nor is this all the authorities will do for him. He will be further cared for; 'he may become a rich and illustrious man.' One voice only, that of Nicodemus, is raised against this 'godless bargain,' but against the proposal that Jesus shall be put to death there are two dissentients. Nicodemus is joined by Joseph of Arimathea, who declares that Jesus by His divine work has proved Himself to be God. He and Nicodemus leave the council, refusing to have any part in this 'shameful and bloody judgement.' Judas goes off with four of its members and a party of soldiers to show where Jesus is. He leads them to the Garden of Gethsemane and tells them that he will greet with a kiss the man they are to arrest.

After the sad last talk between Jesus and the disciples and the prayer that 'the cup might pass away'—which is answered by an angel reminding Him that He undertook of His own free will to become the offering for sinful humanity and must 'carry it through'—Judas does what he promised and the soldiers advance to seize their prisoner. Peter and Philip draw swords. Peter cuts off Malchus's ear. Jesus restores it. In some Passion Plays Malchus gets a laugh by feeling comically for his ear to make sure it is there again, but that is discountenanced at Oberammergau. Then the disciples all forsake their Master and flee. Jesus is led away with insults and blows. Out of their hiding-places, after He has gone, come Peter and John. They have heard that He is to be taken to the house of Annas, the High Priest. They determined to follow Him thither.

F. Bruckmann: Munich

VILLAGER AS THE BELOVED DISCIPLE

The principal parts in the Oberammergau Passion Play are allotted by vote of the inhabitants. To a certain extent they run in families. Anton Lang played Christ three times. Alois Lang succeeded in 1930, in which year Johannes Lang was S. John the Beloved.

F. Bruckmann: Munich

AGONY OF REMORSE PORTRAYED

In 1870 Josef Mayr created the tradition for the part of Christ, and it was no doubt his acting that first attracted attention to Oberammergau. In the performance of 1930 his descendant, Guido Mayr, gave a magnificent rendering of the character of Judas.

That ends the first part of the Play. The time is now twelve o'clock. A rush is made at once for the inns, for the long tables laid in the open spaces, for wherever food and beer are to be had. After the silence of the morning all is bustle and chatter. Everyone seems to be talking, eating and drinking at the same time. In the gardens and in front of the houses rows of gaily attired peasants drinking beer out of quaintly shaped glasses with pewter lids; trees waving above their heads, rose and lilies blooming around them, a background of Tirolean roofs covered with large round stones, and sharp jagged Alpine peaks rising closely behind the houses into the sunny sky. Wander away from the noise, along the little stream which runs through the place, and you see Pharisees, Roman soldiers sharing a meal with several of the disciples, and perhaps farther on you may come upon Peter smoking his pipe quietly on the river bank.

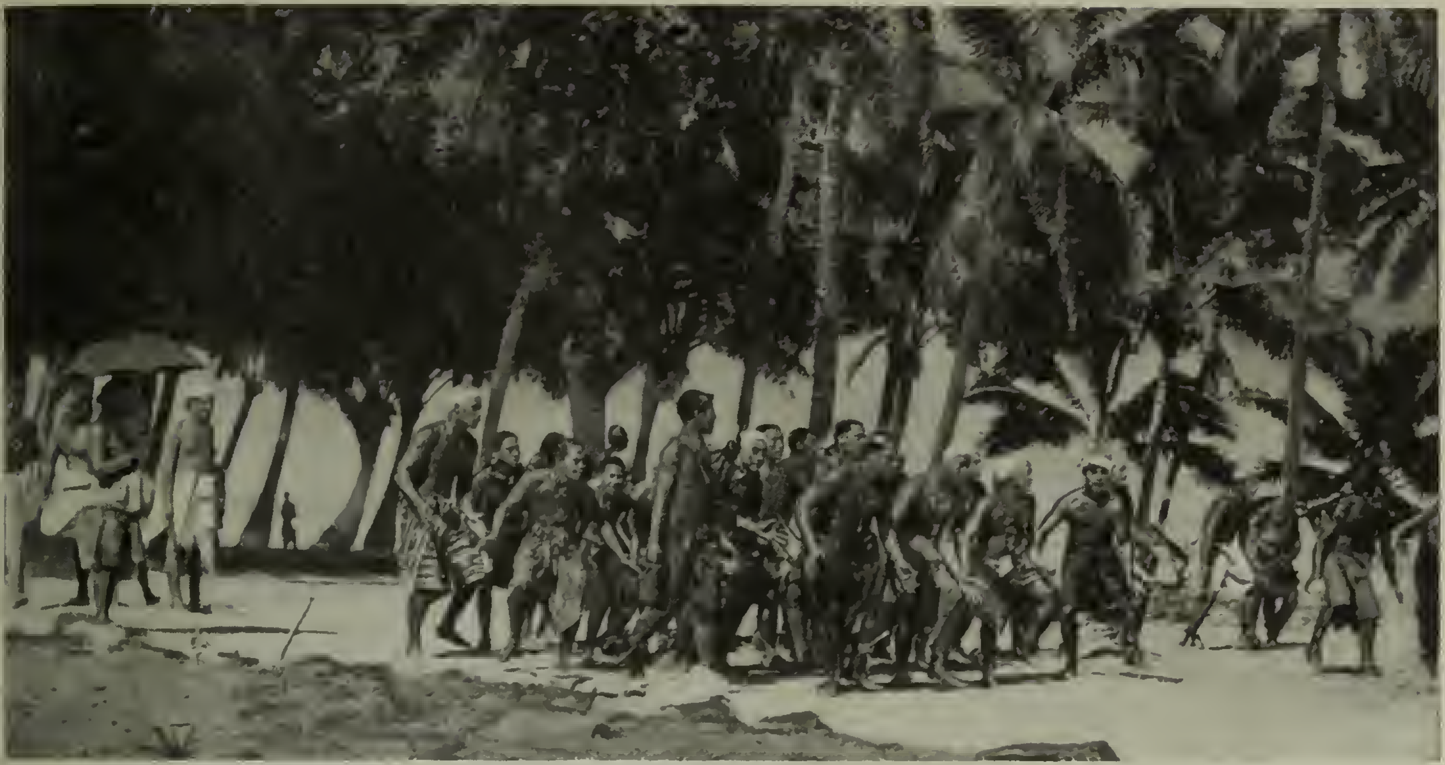
He cannot take his ease for long, though. He is on in the first act of Part II and this is just beginning. First comes a scene in which Judas learns that the priests have determined upon the death of his betrayed Master. He had not expected this. He is filled with remorse and alarm. From now on he has frequent scenes alone, in which he soliloquises over his crime, repents bitterly, and declares that he can have no hand in the murder of Jesus. Filled with the agony of shame, he goes to the High Priest and demands that the Innocent One shall be released. Of course, this is spurned. He is told that sentence of death has been pronounced already. 'Then may ten thousand devils from hell tear me in pieces!' he cries. 'May they grind me to powder! Here, ye bloodhounds, take your curse, your blood money!' And he flings the thirty pieces of silver on the floor before he rushes out distraught, almost insane. No scene grips the spectators more firmly than this. The horror of it seizes the imagination. The tragic effect of it remains long in the mind. In the next act, when Judas is seen in the last stage of desperation tearing off his girdle to make a noose for his neck and, as the curtain falls, climbing a tree in order to hang himself, women have been known to faint. The highest point of drama is certainly touched by the Judas episode.

TENSE drama there is too, however, in the denial by Peter of his discipleship in the hall of the High Priest's house. But so far as Jesus is concerned, all the preliminaries to crucifixion give Him little to do save to bear the abuse and blows of His guards with sad resignation. He seems to tower above His persecutors. He seems to be remote from them, although He is in their midst. The idea of isolation and lonely grandeur is conveyed with marvellous and sublime effect. Again, in the scenes with Pilate, when the Jews bring their lying accusations against Him, and when Pilate questions Him in a private talk, the quiet dignity of the Man of Sorrows makes a deep impression. Pilate does all he can to save Him. Not only his wife's dream, warning him to 'spare this just man,'

Keystone

DRAMA OF THE MIDDLE AGES IN A SOPHISTICATED CENTRE OF TODAY

Passion plays are not allowed in England, but in various parts of Germany, in Tirol, and in Belgium the Passion Play is an important feature of village life. That performed at Brixlegg, in Tirol, compares not unfavourably with its more famous prototype of Oberammergau, though some of the medieval grotesqueries have been allowed to remain. Even in the large towns of Germany the Passion Play is not unknown. The photograph shows a scene in progress of a Passion Play which is held every year in the Sportpalast, in Berlin.



E.N.A.

CHRISTIAN PLAY ON CHRIST'S PASSION IN A ONE-TIME CANNIBAL STRONGHOLD

One of the strangest Passion Plays is that presented every Easter in Hivaoa, one of the Marquesas group. It was inaugurated by Catholic missionaries, and is performed entirely by natives. The stage is a piece of ground sloping down to a stream. The audience sit on terraces consisting of the roots of banyan trees. The part of Judas is taken by a man from the convict settlement. In the scene of Christ healing the lepers real lepers appear. Marquesans are here seen executing a descriptive dance in the play.

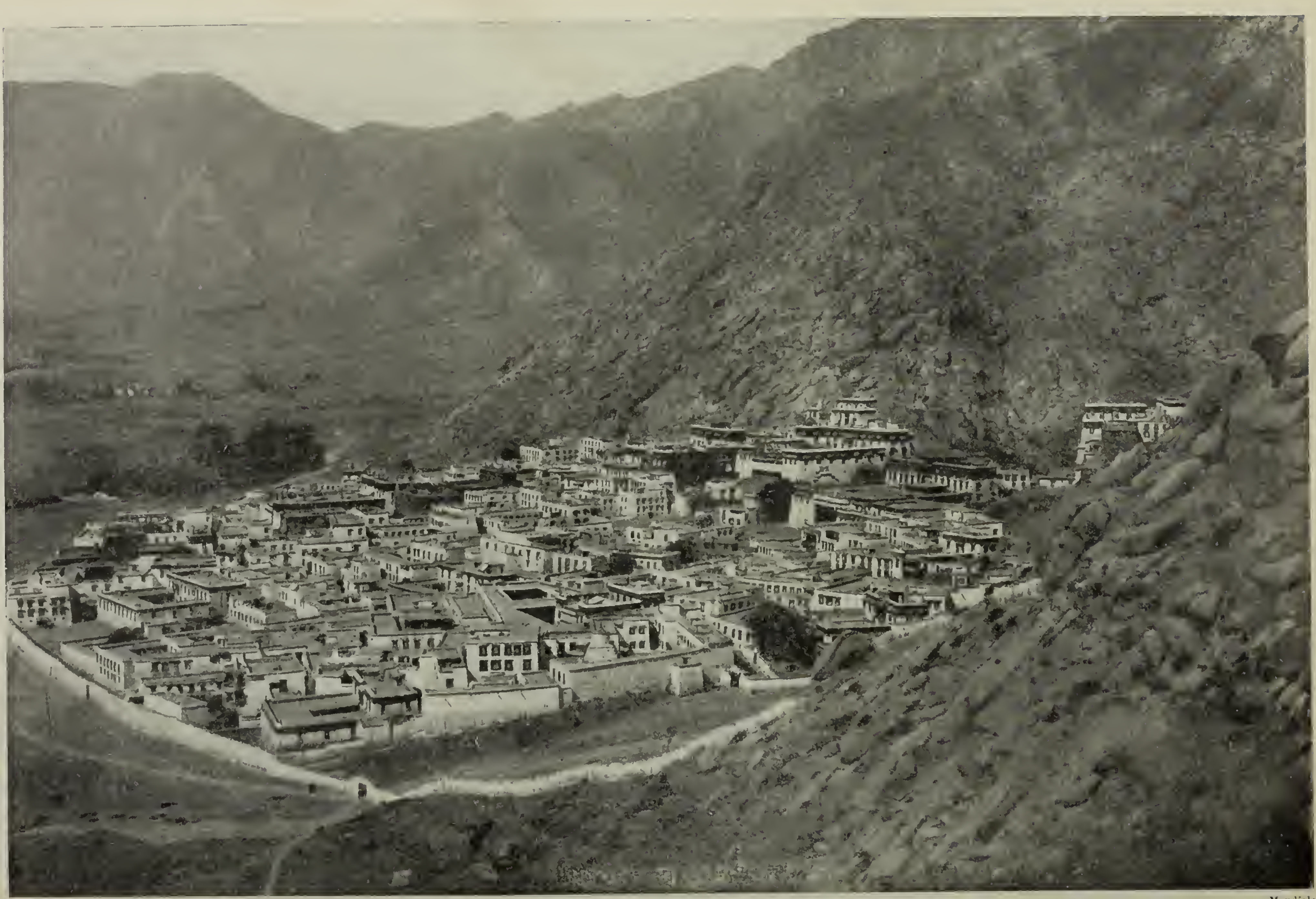
but his own respect for Jesus (and also a Roman's natural dislike of His Jewish accusers) impel him to oppose the demand of the priests for confirmation of the death sentence they have passed but cannot carry out: that must be done by the Romans. Pilate argues long and skilfully. But the crowd, stirred up by the priests, shout for the release of Barabbas. Then at last Pilate gives way, though he tells the Jews that the guilt of blood is theirs: it shall be upon them and upon their children. Joyfully they cry 'Let it be upon us and upon our children,' and the sentence of death by crucifixion is confirmed.

With admirable art the character of a mob is exhibited. A few lies, a little clever inflammation of their prejudices, an appeal to their superstitious fear, sets them shouting for the condemnation of the Man they welcomed to Jerusalem not a week earlier with cries of worship and delight.

> I cannot comprehend this people. But a few days ago they followed this man rejoicing and answering one another with shouts of triumph through the streets. Is it possible that today the same people should call out for his death and destruction ? That is despicably fickle.

Mobs have always been like that, and are still. Evidently the priestly authors of the Passion Play knew it. Whether they realized that the unchanging priestly nature which, if it have power, always uses it ill, was also being portrayed in their work with indelible accuracy it is more difficult to decide. The Play has struck many as having a decidedly Protestant flavour. There is certainly nothing in it to which Protestants can take exception, nor anything that could be said to convey Catholic doctrine or exalt Catholic claims. After the long and painful scenes of the crucifixion itself, concluding with the Descent from the Cross, the Play ends with the Women at the Tomb, their discovering that it is empty, and the appearance of their Risen Lord in the garden. Then again the spectators pour out of the theatre, but this time more quietly and thoughtfully. It would be impossible for anyone to remain uninfluenced by the beauty, pictorial and emotional both, of what has been witnessed. The Passion Play stirs some of the deepest of feelings in believer and unbeliever alike.

No drama of this kind is allowed to be performed in England, though a film of similar sort has been shown. But there has grown up during the past generation a liking for plays of a religious character. 'Everyman,' an ancient 'morality,' was revived in 1901 and has been seen at frequent intervals since then. 'Eager Heart,' by Alice Buckton, and 'Bethlehem,' by Laurence Housman, deal with the birth of Jesus. Mabel Dearmer's 'Soul of the World' took in both the Nativity and the Passion, though the latter could only be, so to speak, glanced at. It may be that in time a Passion Play with the episodes in full will be sanctioned for performance in England and America. It must have no commercial end to it: that would spoil everything. But if it were given under more or less the conditions which prevail in Tirol and Bavaria, and with the same simple reverence for the deathless story and for what it means to so many, then it would no doubt be as moving and as memorable as that of Oberammergau.



Mondiale

A STRONGHOLD OF MONKS IN THE HEART OF ASIA: THE LAMASERY OF DE-BUNG IN TIBET

A few miles west of Tibet's sacred city, Lhasa, in a natural amphitheatre on the hillside, lies De-bung, one of the largest monasteries in the world. It is said to house as many as eight thousand monks, and constitutes a little town of white houses and temples rising in a series of terraces from the plain. To the Tibetans the place is known as the Mongol convent, for hither come Mongol students to graduate. Once a year the Dalai Lama visits De-bung and expounds to the students, being lodged for the occasion in a gorgeously coloured pavilion in the centre of the monastery buildings De-bung is a hotbed of priestly and political intrigue. Hard by, almost hidden in leafy ravines, is the Nachung Chos-Kyong, the seat of the chief magician of Tibet.

MONASTICISM IN NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

THE system of monasticism, under which people live who have abandoned the world for a life of religious seclusion, is far older than Christianity. In the East it may best be studied as found in Buddhism, for the monks of the Buddhist communities have more freedom of movement than those of the West. A separate chapter is devoted to Monasticism in Christendom.

LET us journey by a small Chinese boat up the beautiful North River of the Kwangtung province. The high banks are covered with banks of tall, feathery bamboo Behind, the lofty mountains reach upwards towards the blue of the tropic sky. As the river winds its course, the peaks around take strange fantastic shapes, with pinnacles of bare rock rising above the forests that mantle the lower slopes.

Half way up one of those romantic hillsides is the Buddhist monastery we are seeking. A steep path leads upwards, through bamboos and fields of sugar cane, to the foot of the great rocky hill to which the monastery clings like a swallow's nest. Five hundred and fifty rock-hewn steps lead up to this lofty retreat. At the top of the last flight of steps is the only entrance.

A strong pull at a hanging rope rings a huge bell, and in a few moments the monk on duty opens for us the door and bows us into the sacred precincts. Another flight of steps brings us to the monastery itself, with its rooms and terraces partly rock-hewn and partly built up into the steep mountain side. From the main veranda the rooms lead off into the recesses of the rock—bare, unfurnished chambers, most of them, save for the guest room with its altar and a bowl of incense-sticks burning before a big gilt image of 'the Lord Buddha.' The utmost simplicity prevails; bare boards serve for beds, and plain wooden benches and tables for meals. In one large chamber a rock-hewn tank, supplied with cold water from a mountain spring, provides for bathing.

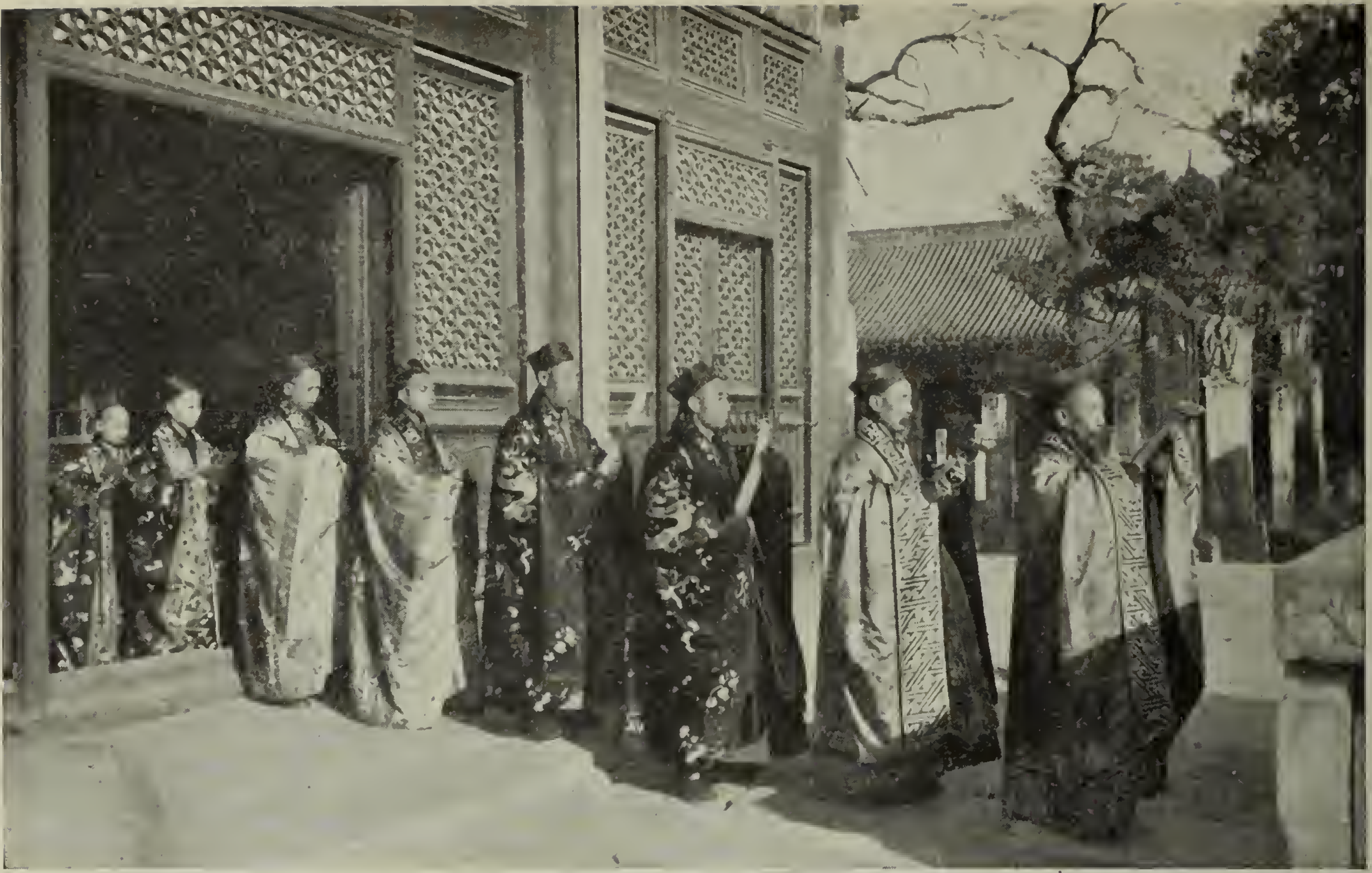
AS the sun sinks behind the mountains the monks quietly assemble in their refectory for their evening meal of rice and vegetables—for Buddhists are strict vegetarians, and one of their vows is to abstain from killing. Before supper is well over a temple bell calls the monks to their evening worship, and silently they move towards their chapel. A huge gilt image of Buddha occupies the central position, and before it, on a little altar, are bowls of incense and of rice. In the dim light the grey-robed men, with their shaven heads, kneel on the rush prayer-stools before the shrine, drone out their sentences, and burn their incense sticks. The abbot stands before the altar, tapping upon a wooden gourd as he leads the intoning. In the main it is a repetition of the 'Three Refuges':

I flee to Buddha for Refuge.
I flee to the Law for Refuge.
I flee to the Order for Refuge,
  Knowing no other refuge.

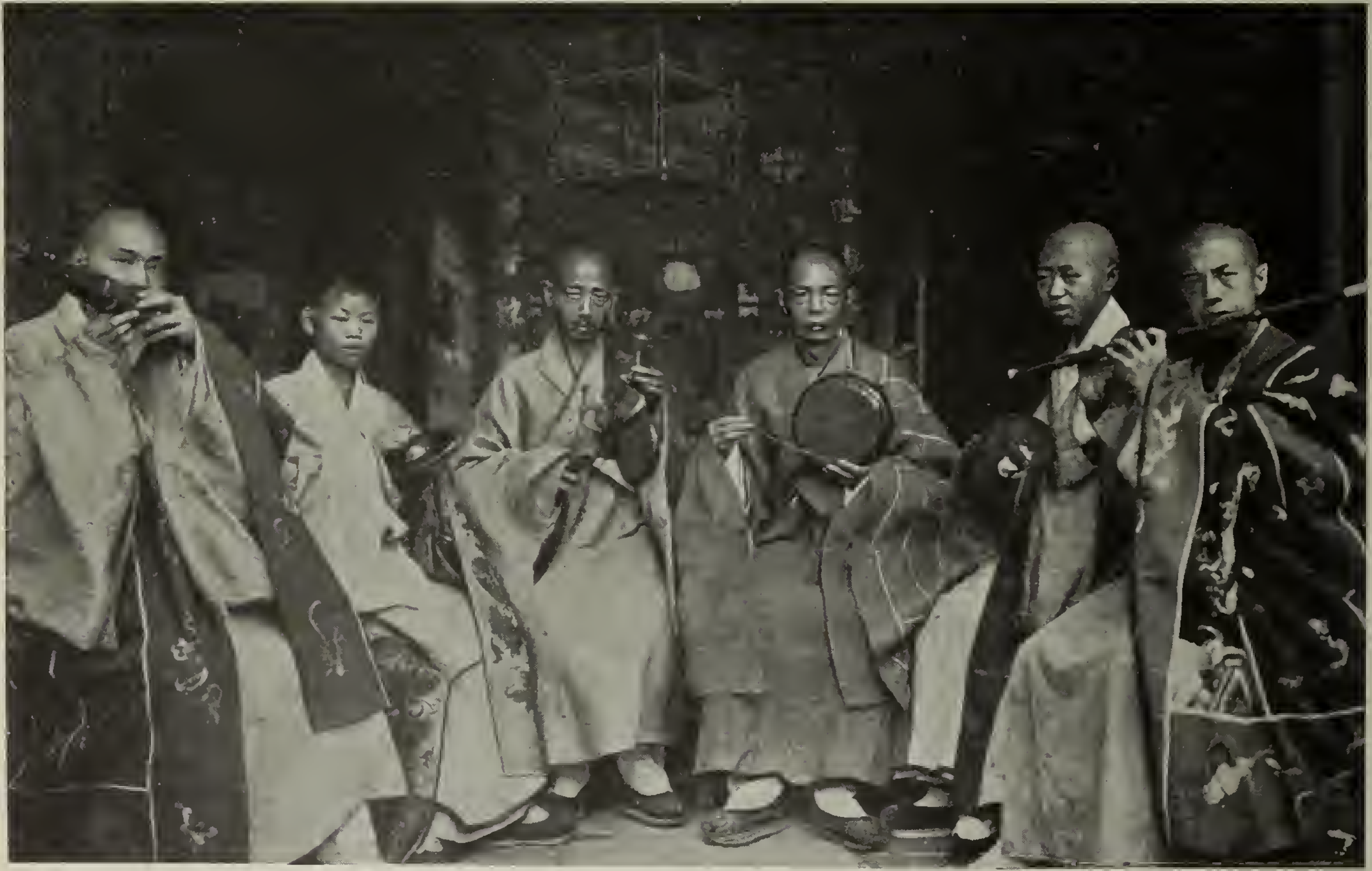
R. H. White

BUDDHIST MONK OF BURMA DEEP IN MEDITATION

The purest form of Buddhism is that followed in Burma and Ceylon, the canon of this southern Buddhism being the oldest and most genuine of the Buddhist scriptures. One of the components of the holy eightfold path that leads to Nirvana, the goal that Buddhism sets before its votaries, is right meditation.



Ewing Galloway



F. Deaville Walker

SOLEMN PROCESSION AND MUSIC-MAKING OF THE MONKS OF CHINA

One of the largest and most magnificent of the myriad monasteries of China is the so-called Lama Temple of Peking, which counts among its most venerated relics the yellow robe of a Grand Lama of Tibet, who died there in the eighteenth century. Lamas are here seen (top) in their ceremonial robes walking in single file out of one of the buildings. The oldest heads the line; the youngest, a novice, comes last. Below is seen a group of Buddhist monks of China playing the strange musical instruments used in the liturgy.

Rice is presented by the abbot, incense is burned, heads are bowed until they touch the floor, and with more muttered formulae the evening worship ends.

The monasteries of China are innumerable, some large, some small. Many of them occupy sites of great beauty and are picturesque to a degree, built and decorated in the familiar style of old China, with overhanging eaves and finely carved woodwork. An example of this is the Yellow Temple and Monastery, near Peking. It is usually called the Lama Temple, from the fact that its chief relic is the yellow robe of a Tibetan Grand Lama who died there in 1780; his mortal remains were taken to Tibet, but the robe remains, and is an object of great veneration. This monastery has a feature that is unusual in Buddhist monastic houses—a foundry in which bronze bells, incense burners and images are manufactured by the monks.

F. Deaville Walker

PORTAL OF A HOME OF MEN OF THE YELLOW ROBE

This ancient gateway of Ceylon, decorated with mythological figures, its once bright colours mellowed with age, leads to the grounds of a Buddhist monastery. The island teems with monks. The yellow robe is seen everywhere, not only in the monasteries and at the temples and shrines, but also in the streets and in the country.

THERE are said to be half a million Buddhist monks in China. Their chief duty is to officiate in the temples, to guide the worship of the people, to offer prayers for the dead, to burn incense before the images of Kwan-yin, the popular Goddess of Mercy, and other divinities that in China have crept into Buddhist belief and worship. Some devote themselves to study and meditation; and undoubtedly there are many who, out of sheer weariness and disappointment with life, enter the monastery in the hope of finding peace and tranquillity.

The Order was founded in the fifth century B.C. by the great Buddha himself. After his 'Enlightenment' at Gaya he journeyed to a beautiful deer park near Benares and there unfolded his doctrines to five men. That memorable discourse has been called 'the Sermon on the Mount' of Buddhism. The five listeners were immediately converted to the new teaching, and they were the first members of the Order that the Master founded. Within a few months their numbers increased to sixty, and then Buddha sent them forth to proclaim his Law. They were not to be priests, but simply teachers of the doctrines they had learned. Renunciation and poverty were to be their fundamental rule; they were to dress in such rags as they could patch together into garments, and eat such food as the people gave to them. They were to be wandering mendicants, freed from all earthly and human fetters and having no certain dwelling place.

At first Buddha himself admitted converts to his Order; but as the movement spread this proved inconvenient, and he gave his mendicants power to admit their converts, first as novices and then as fully ordained members.

Their first and chief duty was to seek their own 'release' from suffering and sorrows of earth; the doctrine was the 'Way of release' (i.e. salvation). Their second duty was to make 'the Way' known to others. Like their master, they continually travelled about North India preaching, teaching and ordaining others. But in the rainy season Buddha gathered them together for meditation and instruction in the Law. Their convocations were probably first held in caves. Buddha intended those meeting-places to be retreats, not permanent monasteries. But the inevitable tendency was to make certain convenient caves regular places of retreat, and, as time passed, to enlarge them by hewing out the rock and make them more comfortable. In the vast plains, where no caves were available, wooden houses were built; and then, under the great Emperor Asoka, the 'Constantine of Buddhism,' stone buildings of very fine workmanship were erected. In process of time the wandering mendicant became the monk: the wet-weather

Dorien Leigh

EUROPEAN DISCIPLES OF AN ANCIENT EASTERN CULT

In Ceylon and India many Europeans and Americans study the tenets of Buddhism with a view to adopting its monastic rule. They live in poverty in the jungle, accustoming themselves to a life of aloofness from material things. Each has his own dwelling, which is a little single-roomed cottage. German Buddhist monks are here seen by their cells in Ceylon.

retreat became the regular place of abode—the monastery.

In Ceylon one may often see Buddhist consecration houses, in which candidates are received into the Order. The one shown in the photograph in the opposite page is typical. It is built on piles in the water to symbolise separation from the world; and it is not on the open sea, but on the sheltered, calm lagoon to suggest the calm of the monastic life. In such consecration houses young men (and old ones), with shaven heads and draped in the yellow robe, squat cross-legged on the floor before several older monks, take the vows, repeat the ' Refuges,' and are received into the Order.

There is no caste in Buddhism; the monks are recruited from all classes. Some are obviously men of very low type—weak, vicious and ignorant; but others are men of intelligence and piety, and often of education and culture. Here and there one meets a monk of very wide reading and profound scholarship, deeply versed in the sacred Pali language and the classics of his faith.

The yellow robe, universally worn by the monks in Ceylon and Burma (though in China it is often grey), is composed of patches neatly sewn together, so as to fulfil the ancient command ' be ye clothed in rags.' One would imagine that in Ceylon—only five degrees from the equator—the shaven head would lead to sunstroke, but it does not seem to do so; though it is not at all unusual to see monks carrying umbrellas. One of the first things the new recruit has to do is to go forth every morning, begging-bowl in hand, to collect food for the day. This must be done not by begging, but by silently standing, or moving from house to house, while the pious lay-folk come out and, unasked, place all manner of food in the vessel.

The monks are not in any way confined to their monasteries or restricted as to their movements. One meets them everywhere, in crowded street or quiet country road. But chiefly they are to be seen as custodians of the temples and shrines, receiving the offerings of the worshippers and guiding their devotions. They themselves may be seen bowing before shrines like other devotees, droning sacred formulae or prayers, sounding gongs or bells, or laying fragrant jasmine or the beautiful little white temple flower before the image or the relic. In quiet places they may be seen reading, from the strange palm-leaf books, the sacred lore.

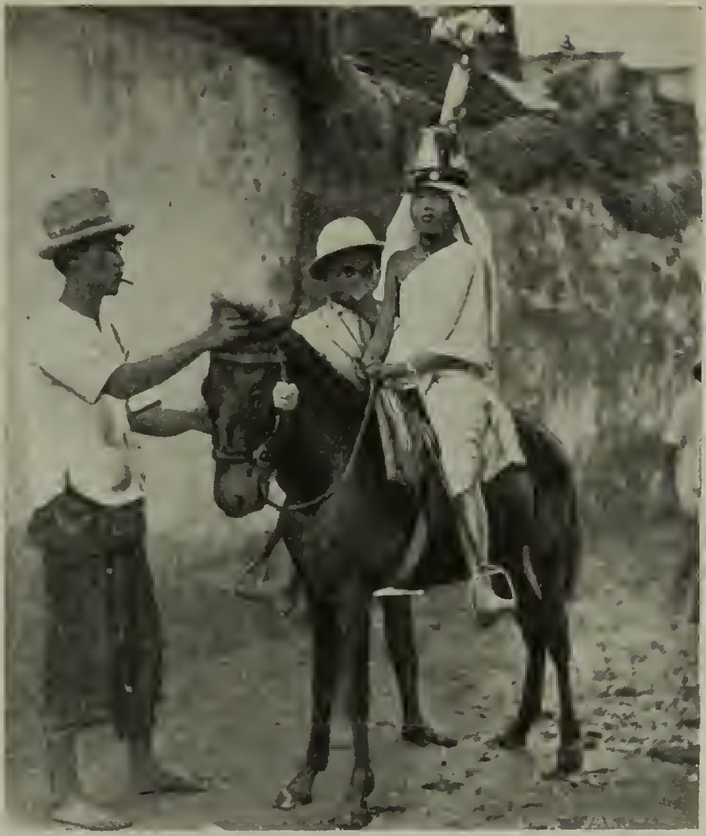
A VERY important part of their duty consists of reading to the people the ancient books of devotion or doctrine—often with considerable ceremony and at great length, running all through the night, or even for several nights in succession. The writer has a vivid recollection of one such scene that he witnessed at a monastery in south Ceylon. The occasion was the consecration of a beautiful golden pinnacle that was to be placed on the top of the great bell-shaped dagoba (relic shrine) in the monastery grounds. About seventy monks had come down from Colombo, to reinforce those of the place, and all walked in solemn procession from the railway to the monastery. That night, after a torchlight procession, several hundreds of lay-folk gathered in the enclosure and sat in straight rows on the ground, under the starlit sky. In front, on a raised platform, were the monks, their yellow robes looking even more yellow in the light of many lamps. Above them was a giant prayer-wheel, slowly revolving to symbolise 'the Turning of the Wheel of the Law,' and, in addition, being a sort of unending prayer. First one monk, and then another, took turns at reading, from the palm-leaf classics, the 'birth stories' of Buddha—'The Ten Moral Precepts,' or expositions of 'The Four Noble Truths' or 'The Three Jewels' (the Lord Buddha, his Law, and his Order). At the end of each reading the whole congregation, with heads bowed to the ground, chanted in chorus the oft-repeated words :

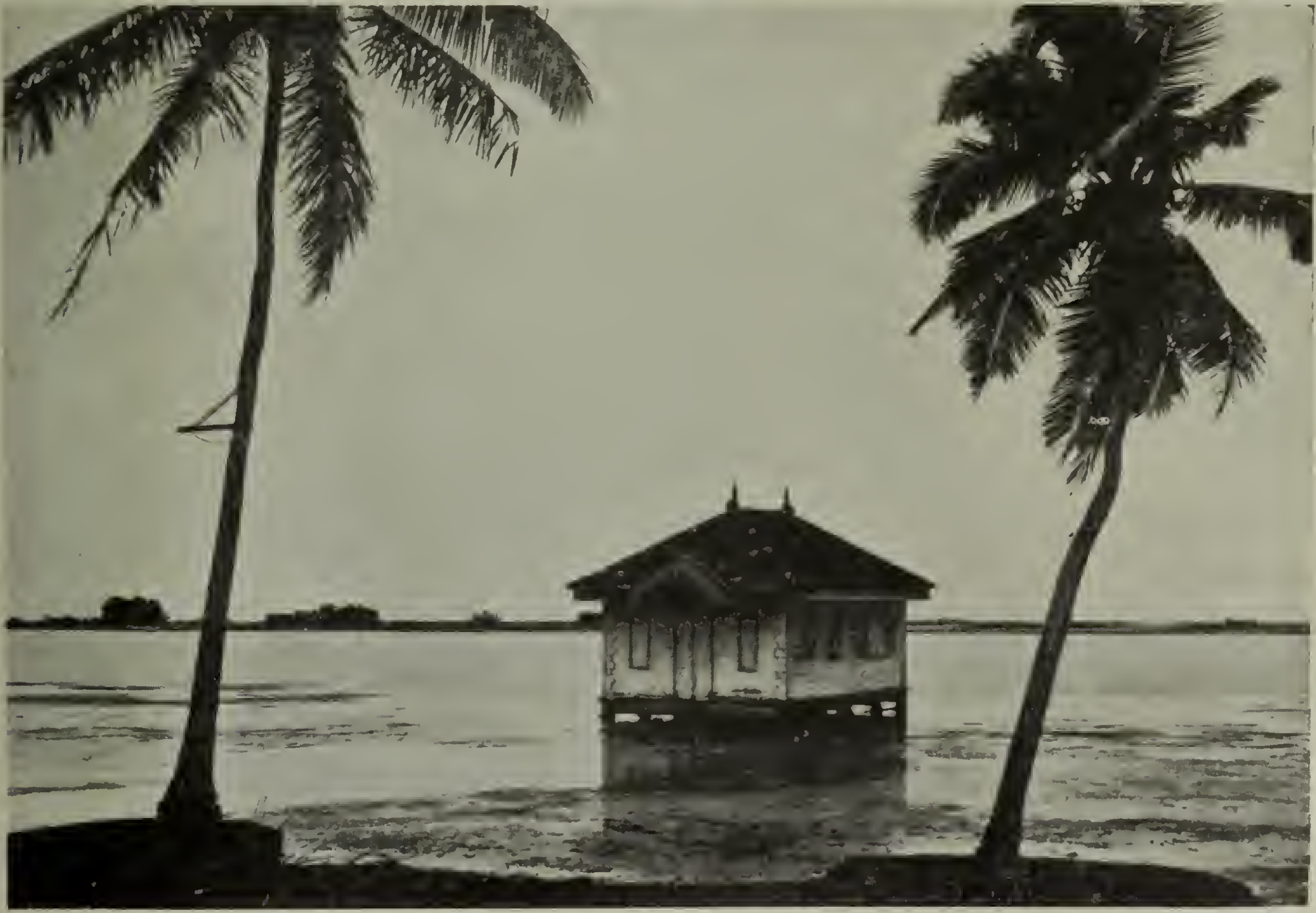
> I flee to Buddha for Refuge.
> I flee to the Law for Refuge.
> I flee to the Order for Refuge.

All night long that reading continued, and for seven nights in succession.

Apart from such special occasions, the monks may sometimes be found out on the hillsides of Ceylon, preaching to congregations of stolid village folk, who sit around, chewing betel-nut.

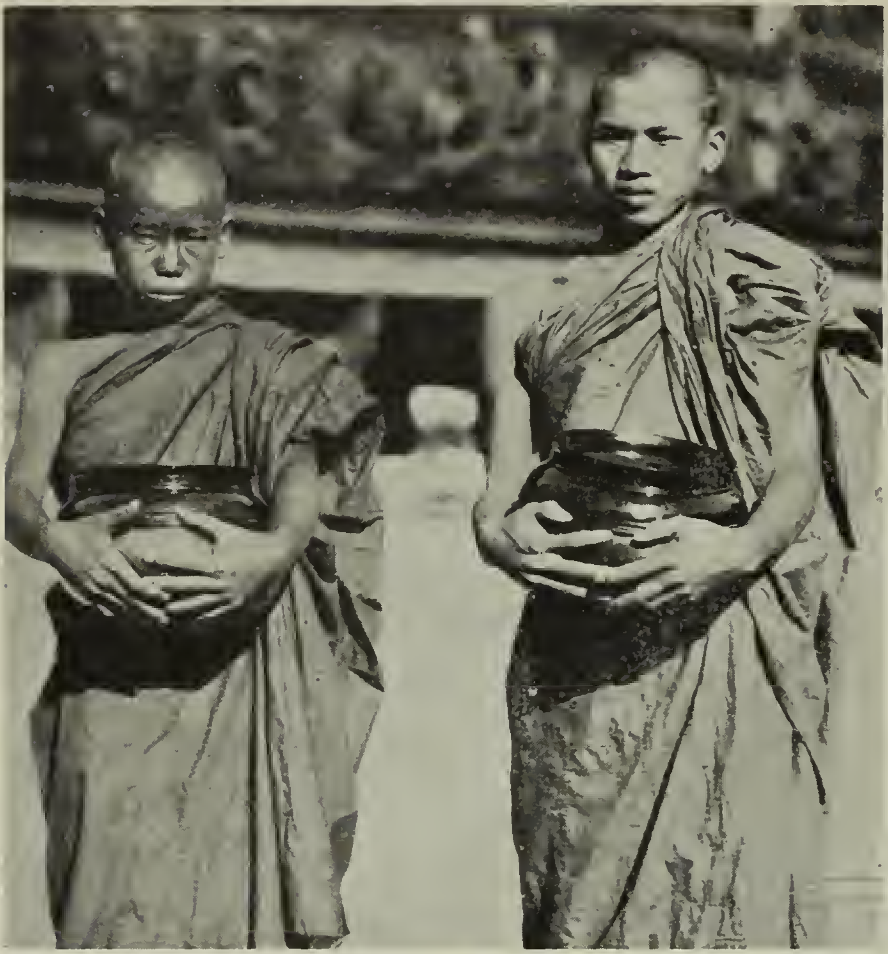
In Burma, Buddhism is of a higher, purer type. Burma is a land of beauty, and the Buddhist temples


Ewing Galloway

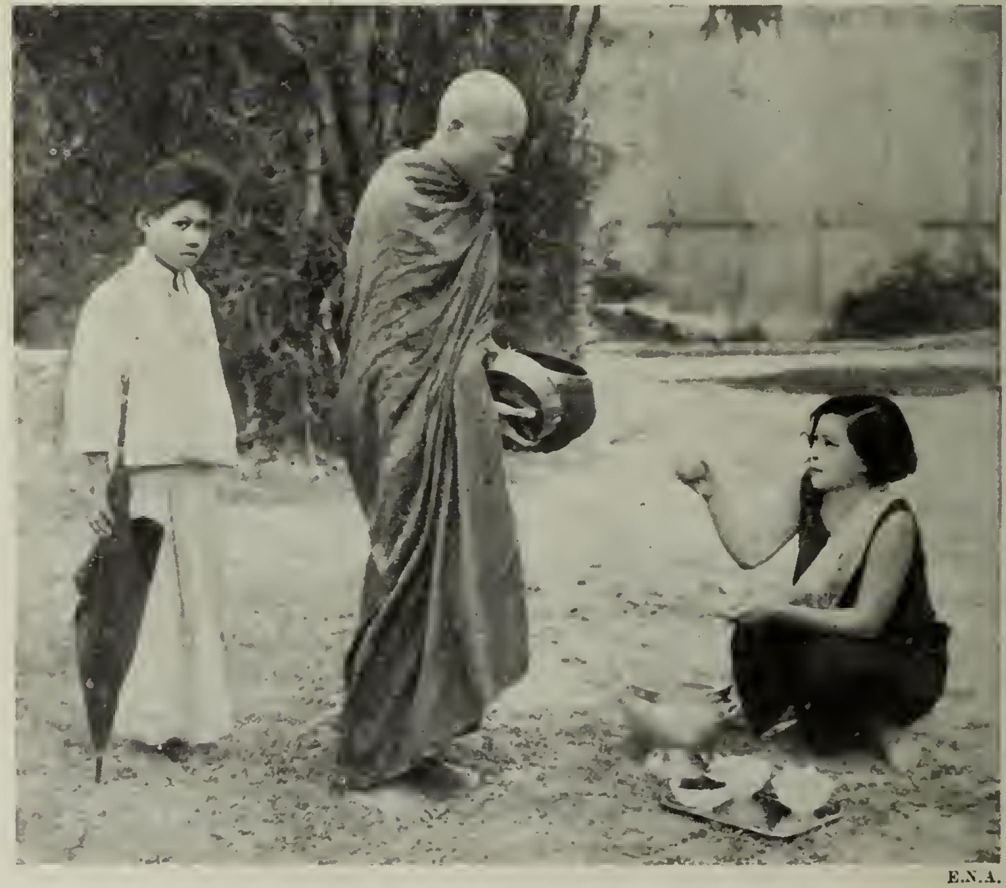

F. Deaville Walker

WHERE CUSTOM ORDAINS THAT EVERY MAN SHOULD SERVE AS MONK

The form of Buddhism current in Siam is similar to the Buddhism of Ceylon. In each of these countries every male is expected to spend a part of his life as a monk. In Siam a special head-dress and veil (top) are worn for the ceremony of initiation. The consecration house (bottom) in Ceylon is built on piles and in still water, to symbolise detachment and calm. In this building the candidates, wearing the yellow robe of the monk, take the vows and are received into the order.



E. Watt



E.N.A.

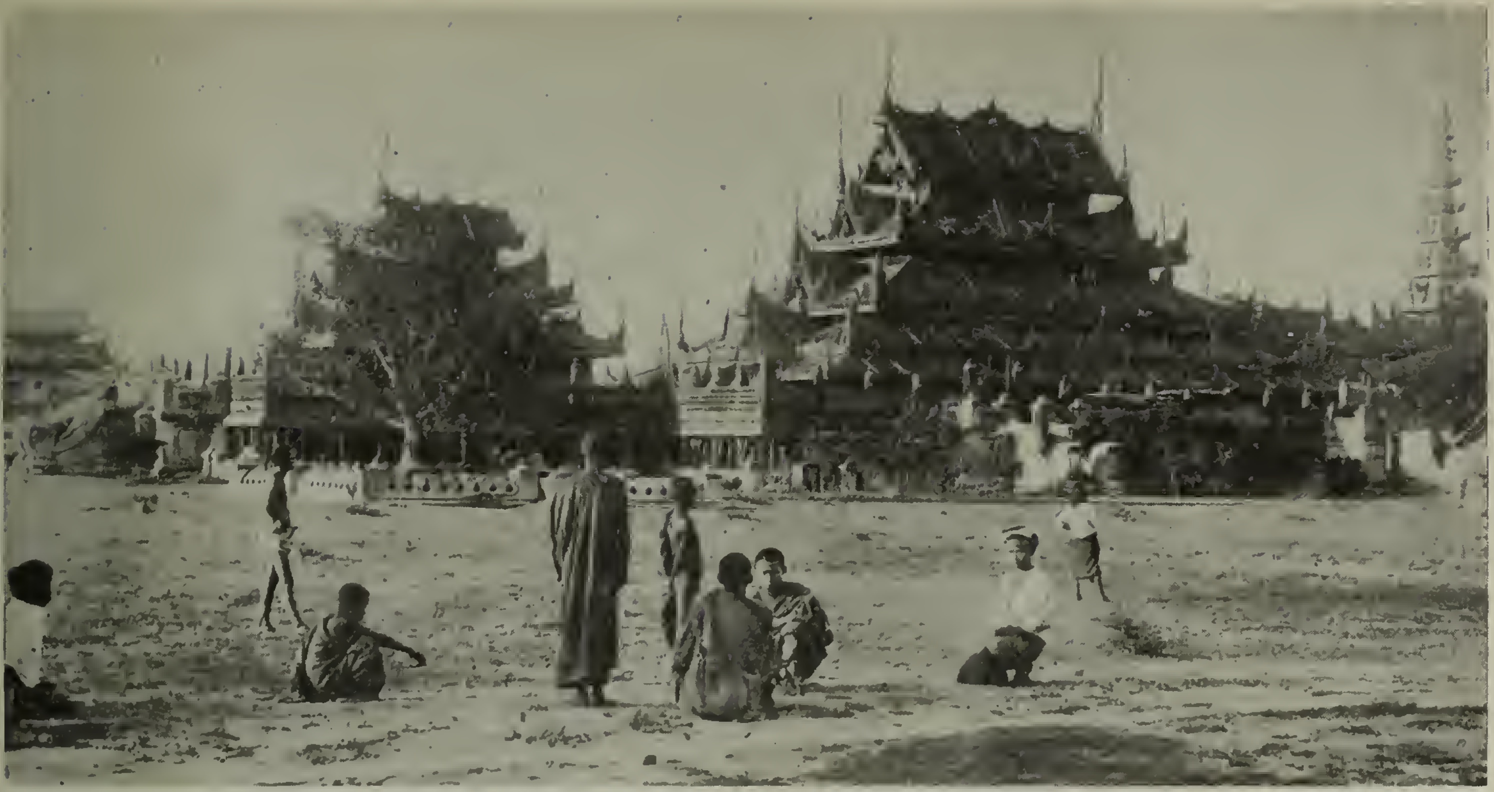
HOLY MEN SUPPORT LIFE BY THE OFFERINGS OF THE PIOUS

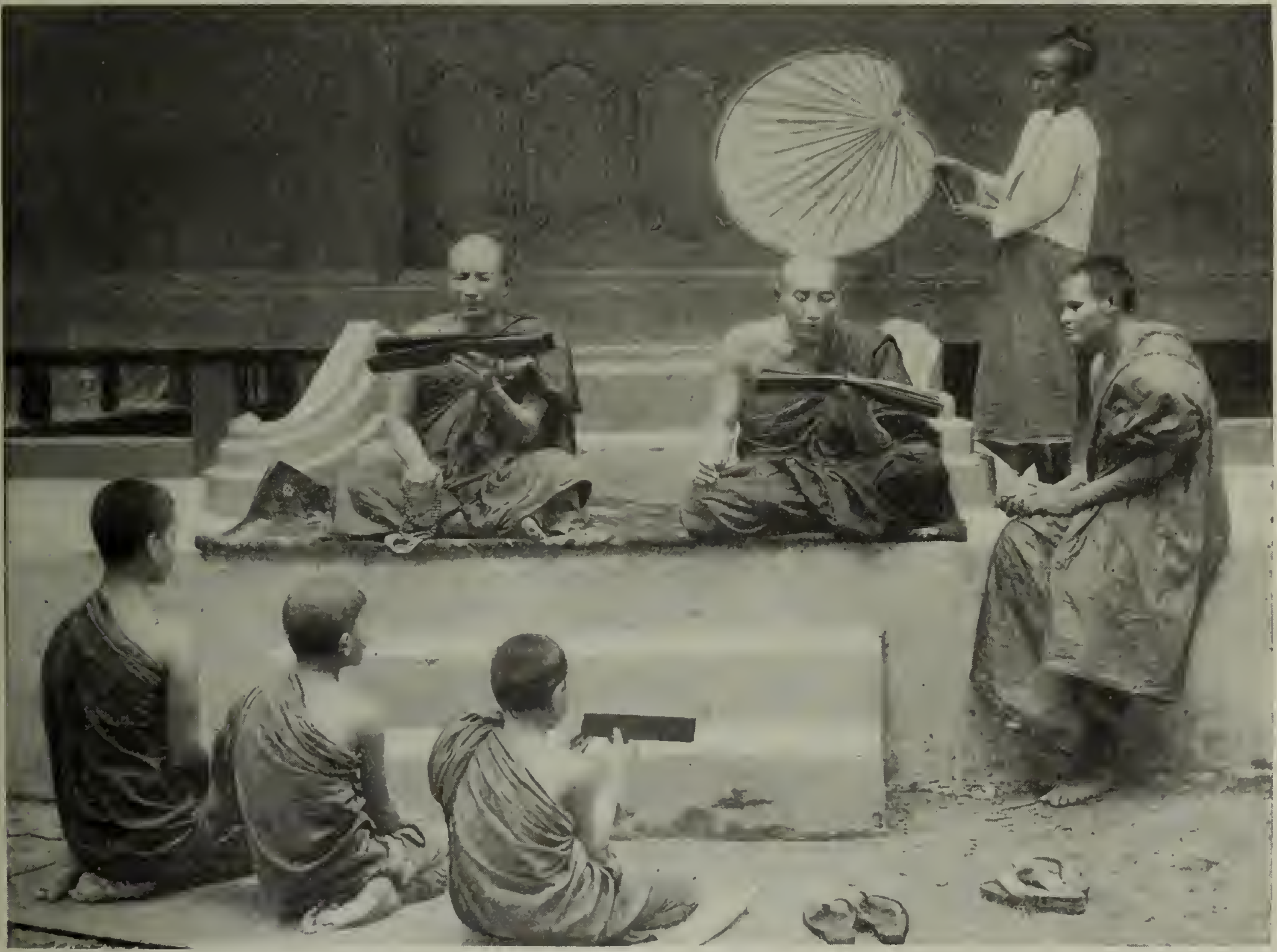
Every morning the Buddhist monk collects his day's food ; in Burma (top) and Siam (bottom) the collecting bowls are of similar pattern. He does not actually beg. The householders watch for him, place their contributions in the bowl, and by this act are held to acquire merit. A monk often has an acolyte to carry his umbrella and handle money.

and monasteries are an integral part of the beauty that pervades everything. Many of them exhibit exquisite workmanship, their carved woodwork and bronze bells and gongs being of very fine design. Bells tinkle from the high-pointed roofs or the deeply carved overhanging eaves. Before a jewelled alabaster image of Buddha a monk kneels in prayer, muttering in low tones, 'Sabbā Dukkhā' (all is sorrow) and 'Sabbā Anattā' (all is without permanence).

Those words have been watchwords of Buddhism for twenty-five centuries, and they still ring out daily from every monastery. They are the challenge of the great Master, calling men to forsake home and family and seek the rest and peace of Nirvana by entering the Order. 'Nirvana,' by the way, is not a sort of heaven to be reached after death, but a state of being blown out as a lamp is extinguished ; it comes from two Sanskrit words meaning to blow out. Virtually it means annihilation. But these Burmese monks do more than worship, they teach the young. Every village has a monastery (some have two) and every monastery has a school, with a score or two scholars sitting around a kindly old monk in a faded yellow robe. At the top of their voices they all shout in unison words of whose meaning they seem unconscious. They usually begin with the Buddhist Beatitudes, which describe the happiness of those who follow the Law. Some of the lessons are repeated in Burmese, others in Pali, which is to the Buddhists what Latin is to Roman Catholics. Step by step the boys are led on, shouting or droning, learning by heart the fundamentals of the faith. The result is that the Buddhists of Burma are usually better instructed in the texts and doctrines of their beliefs than are the laity of most other religions.

Some of the boys elect to remain in the monastery in which they have received their education. Others stay for a while and then go back to the world. It is deemed the proper thing for every Burman to enter a monastery, if only





Associated Press

FAIRY BUILDINGS WHERE MONKS IMBIBE AND IMPART THE SACRED LORE

Burma is a land of many beautiful monasteries, one of the loveliest being the so-called Queen's Golden Monastery (top), which was built by Supayah Lat, the consort of King Theebaw. Every monastery in Burma consists of a single oblong floor, with a series of roofs rising in superimposed tiers, and contains a school in which the monks teach. Buddhist monks of Burma are here seen (bottom) in one of these monastery schools, instructing their pupils in the scriptures, which are inscribed in ancient palm-leaf books.

W. Bosshard

'LIVING BUDDHA' OF LADAKH

The 'Living Buddhas' of Lamaism, commonly regarded as re-incarnations of Buddhist saints, are more correctly described as manifestations through the flesh of certain aspects of the Supreme Holiness. The best-known is the Dalai Lama of Lhasa.

for a few months. But today more and more boys are attending the government or the mission schools, and are coming into contact with western thought. Not a few of them are inclined to look critically on the monks, and sometimes even speak of them as 'the yellow peril'; not that they mean to imply that the monks are bad men, but because the maintenance of some 75,000 of them is a serious drain upon the resources of the country; withdrawn from the ordinary walks of life, this great multitude of able-bodied men is unproductive in more ways than one, and the constant need of money to rebuild or embellish the monasteries is a very serious matter Yet, on the whole, the majority of people give ungrudgingly, and the monks lack nothing—indeed, they confer a favour by accepting alms of food and other necessaries; it is the donor who has need to say 'Thank you.'

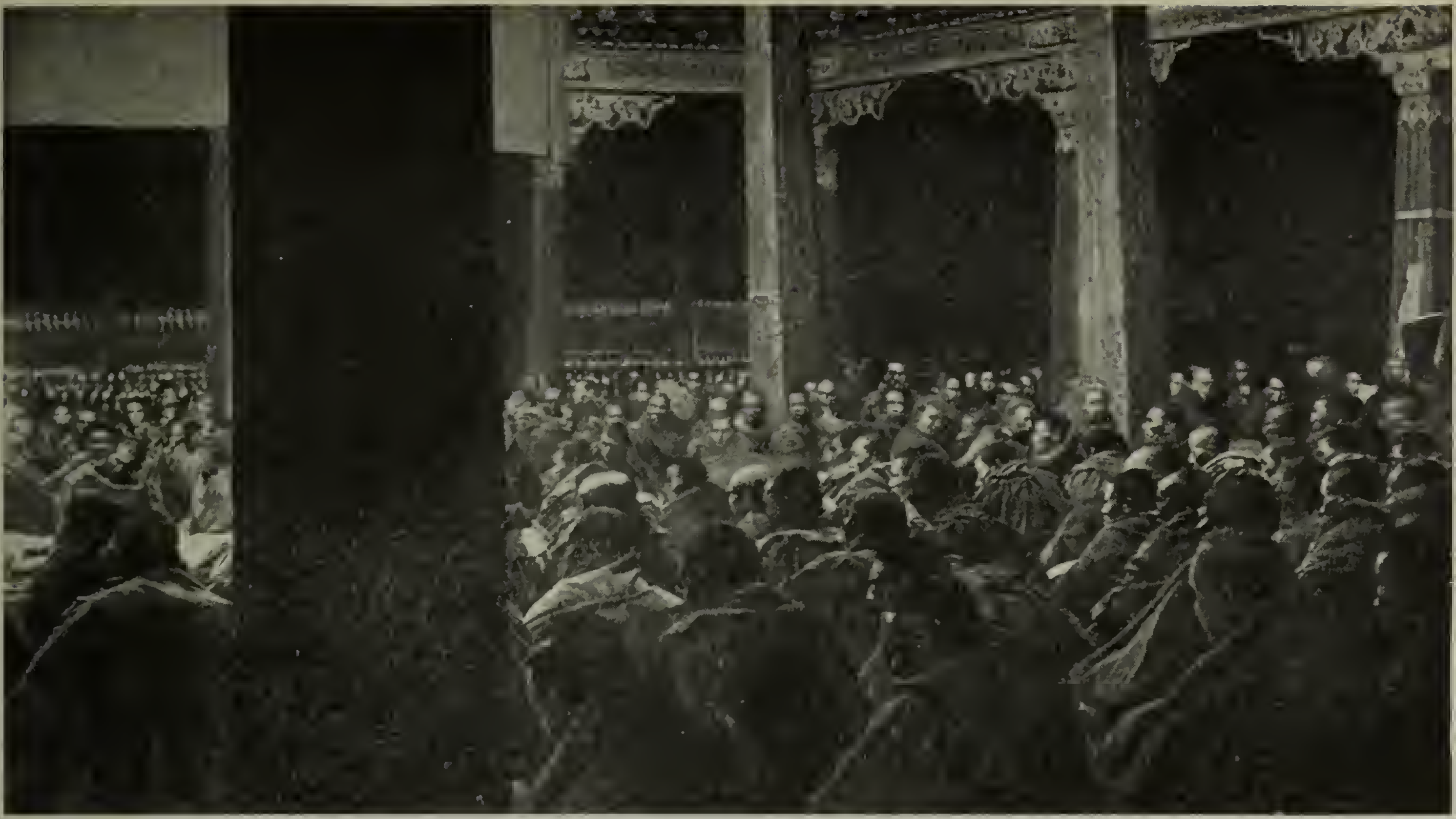
In Japan, Buddhism, though of a much higher type than in most other lands, is very far removed from the original teaching of its founder. Doctrines Buddha never taught, and practices he never dreamed of, have transformed and enriched the religion that goes by his name For twelve centuries Buddhism has rendered unique service to the nations—in art, in architecture, in letters, and in national life and culture. With its magnificent temples and monasteries, its splendid vestments, and its elaborate ritual, it has appealed to the imagination and natural instincts of the Japanese, and it has appealed no less to the mind. Unquestionably Japan owes much to Buddhism. But all this grandeur and display, this appeal to the artistic taste, this process of nation-building and, above all, the very noble idea of God that has been evolved, is very far from the simple life of poverty and renunciation, and the earnest seeking to be 'blown out,' that were the very centre of Buddha's own teaching.

In China and some other Buddhist lands we find an order of nuns. Even in the lifetime of Buddha women were admitted to the Order; but they are rigidly excluded from monasteries. In China, nunneries are quite numerous. Nowadays it is difficult to get explicit information about them, for since the government has set out on a policy of appropriation,

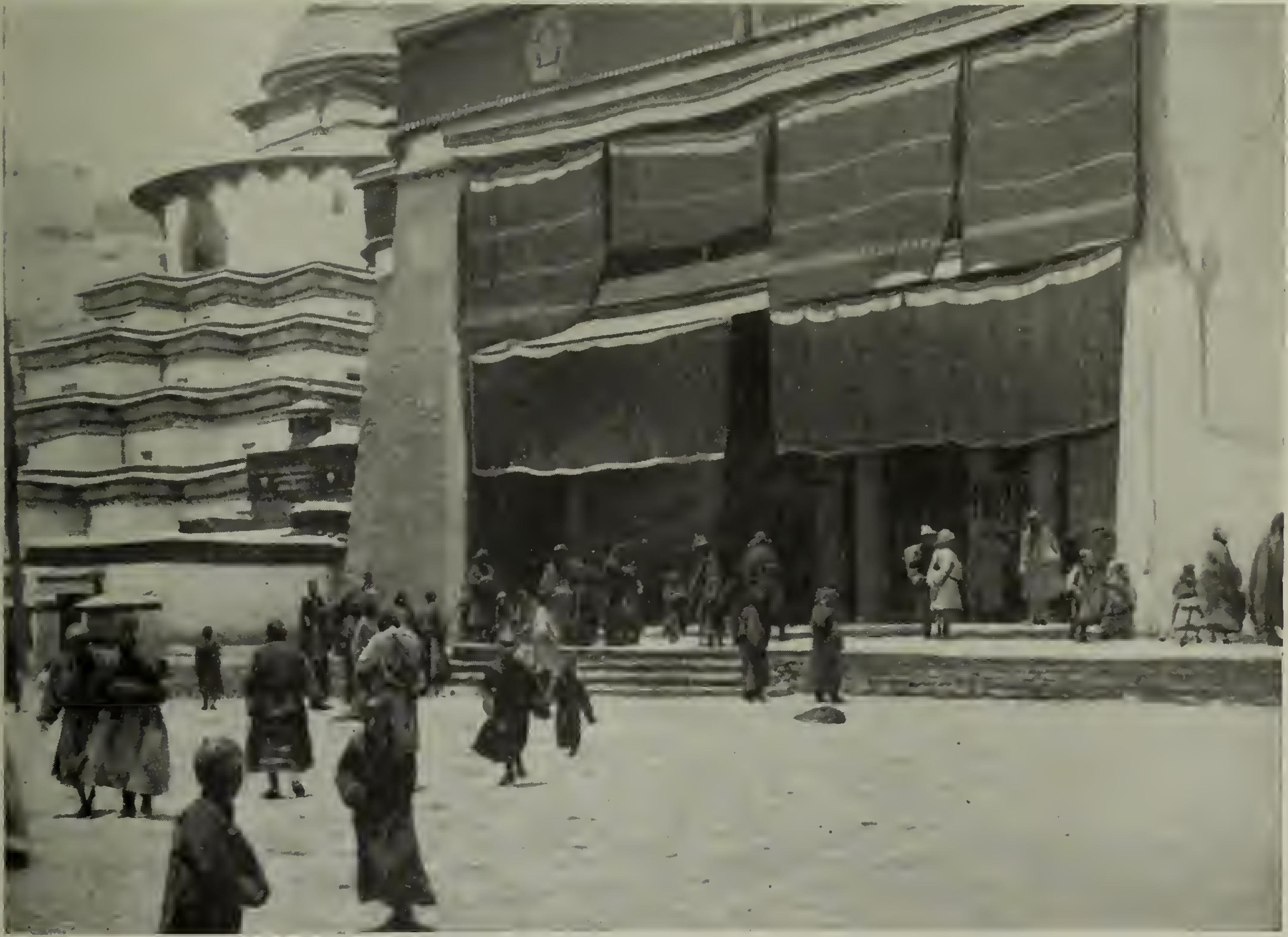
E.N.A.

A YEARLY DUTY OF LAMAIST MONKS

These monks of Leh, in Ladakh, are engaged in the yearly devil dance, performed in September, to remind the people of the terrors that await evil-doers. These ritual dances of the Lamas are explained in detail in pages 258–267.



Mondiale



W. F. Taylor

LAMAS AND LAITY IN A FORTIFIED MONASTERY OF TIBET

The lamaseries of Tibet are all very much alike. They consist of a warren of monastic buildings, temples and narrow streets, perched in tiers on stone terraces built out from the rocky side of a hill, honeycombed with passages, halls, chapels and cells. The monastery and fortress of Gyantse measure five miles in circumference, and are surrounded by a great wall. Monks are here seen (top) at prayer in the temple, while outside (bottom) people are waiting to take in candles to place before the image.

E.N.A.

JAPANESE VOTARIES OF A RELIGION THAT CAME FROM CHINA THROUGH KOREA

The Buddhism of Japan is very different from that of Burma and Ceylon, being largely a blending of true Buddhism and the native Shintoism, with many extraneous accretions. Buddhism was introduced into Japan from Korea about A.D. 522, but the new religion obtained no great hold upon the mass of the people until the seventh century. In the strife of warring Buddhist sects that rent Japan from the twelfth to the sixteenth century the monasteries became armed camps, and the monks proved their mettle as fighting men.

the inmates are suspicious of visitors. But quite recently two Chinese women of very reliable judgement made a survey of the nunneries in one part of south China, and their report confirms the worst elements of popular rumour about their condition. The investigations recorded very little true religion or piety ; most of the nuns being engaged in some trade, or hiring themselves out to say prayers for the dead—or even for more shameful purposes under the cloak of religion. After a very full description of the abuses they had witnessed the two investigators concluded : ' We cannot but hope that the government and the social reformers will make an end of these things.'

In many ways Chinese Buddhism is very corrupt, for it has become almost hopelessly confused with the superstitions of Taoism and the nature worship of the ancient times. Many of the monks are ignorant and degraded, and others mere idlers in search of an easy manner of life. But of late years reform movements have been at work, and there are not wanting signs that a better state of things may evolve from the present chaos.

Tibet is virtually a theocratic state, with the Grand Lama—head of the Buddhist Order—as its supreme ruler. The great monasteries of Lhasa and elsewhere are crowded with monks—here called Lamas. One monastery at De-bung is said to contain some 8,000 inmates. Some of the large lamaseries are more like villages, with many houses, and most of them possess lands and cattle. So numerous are the lamas that some have to live at home because there is no room for them in the lamaseries. Their influence with the people is very great, and some of them are even regarded as ' Living Buddhas,' and at death are believed to be reincarnated as new-born babies. Every Tibetan expectant mother hopes that it may be her good fortune to give birth to a reincarnation of a ' Living Buddha.' The higher lamas, and also the ' Living Buddhas,' spend a portion of each year in seclusion and meditation—seeing no one. As already stated, and illustrated in page 203, in Tibet, as in China and Japan, forms of mechanical prayer have been introduced, such as prayer-wheels, containing a sacred formula written on paper, and turned by hand like a child's rattle, and larger ones are turned by the wind. In most Buddhist countries, too, prayer-flags, fluttering in the breeze, are believed to ensure merit for the pious folk who hang them up. A photograph of some of these appears in page 205.

Buddhism is not the only non-Christian religion with its Order of Monks. The Jains of North India furnish another interesting example, though numerically and in every other way they are less important. Mahaviri, the founder of Jainism, was a contemporary and rival of Buddha. One of the five vows required of his followers was 'to renounce all interest in worldly things and to call nothing one's own.' In many of its rules and practices Jainism resembles the ascetism of Buddhism and Brahminism; all three lay great stress on the sanctity of life and the sinfulness of killing any living creature, however small. But the Jain monks go so far as to wear a sort of muslin cover or filter over the mouth, lest any fly should enter and be killed. They strain water before drinking it, and with a soft brush of cotton threads sweep the place where they are going to sit—all in order to avoid taking life.

F. Deaville Walker

'NUNS' AT THEIR ORISONS IN SAVAGE WEST AFRICA

Religious communities having something of the character of monasteries or convents are not unknown among savage peoples. In Dahomey, in West Africa, young women band themselves together and live a kind of conventual life in the precincts of a temple, under the eye of the priest. Members of one of these communities are here seen prostrating themselves before a fetish shrine.

From earliest ages the old-time Brahminism and its modern form, Hinduism, have had monastic houses, and to-day they are found all over the country. They have been founded from various motives—religious or worldly—and are presided over by abbots in the time-honoured way. Some Hindu sects, like the Lingaits, go in for them more than others, and use them largely as training centres for young men for propaganda work. The monks live entirely by alms; they do not, like the medieval monks of the West, till the ground, or engage in labour for the good of the Order.

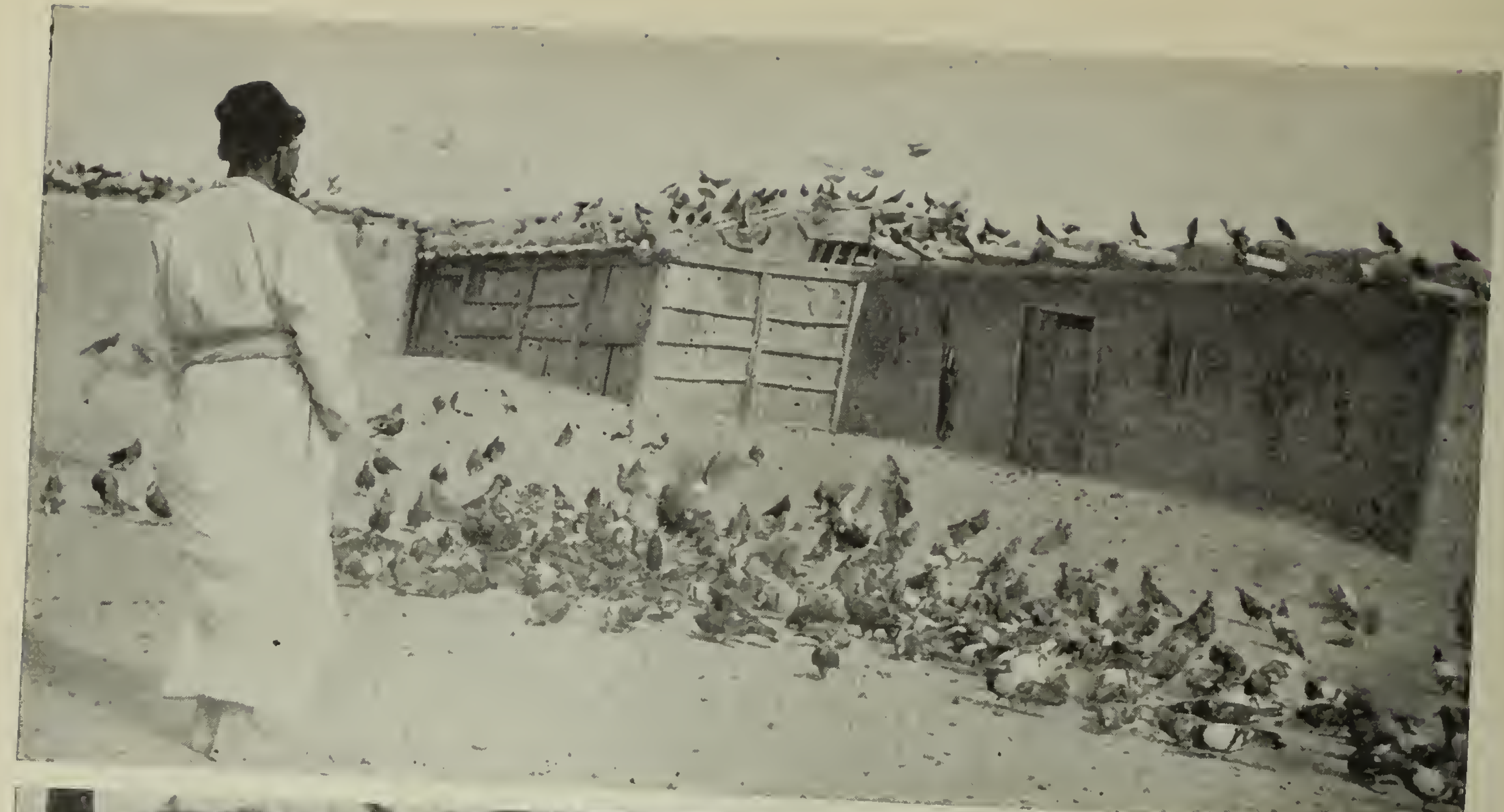
George Long

MOSLEM MONKS OF EL HAMEL AT PRAYER

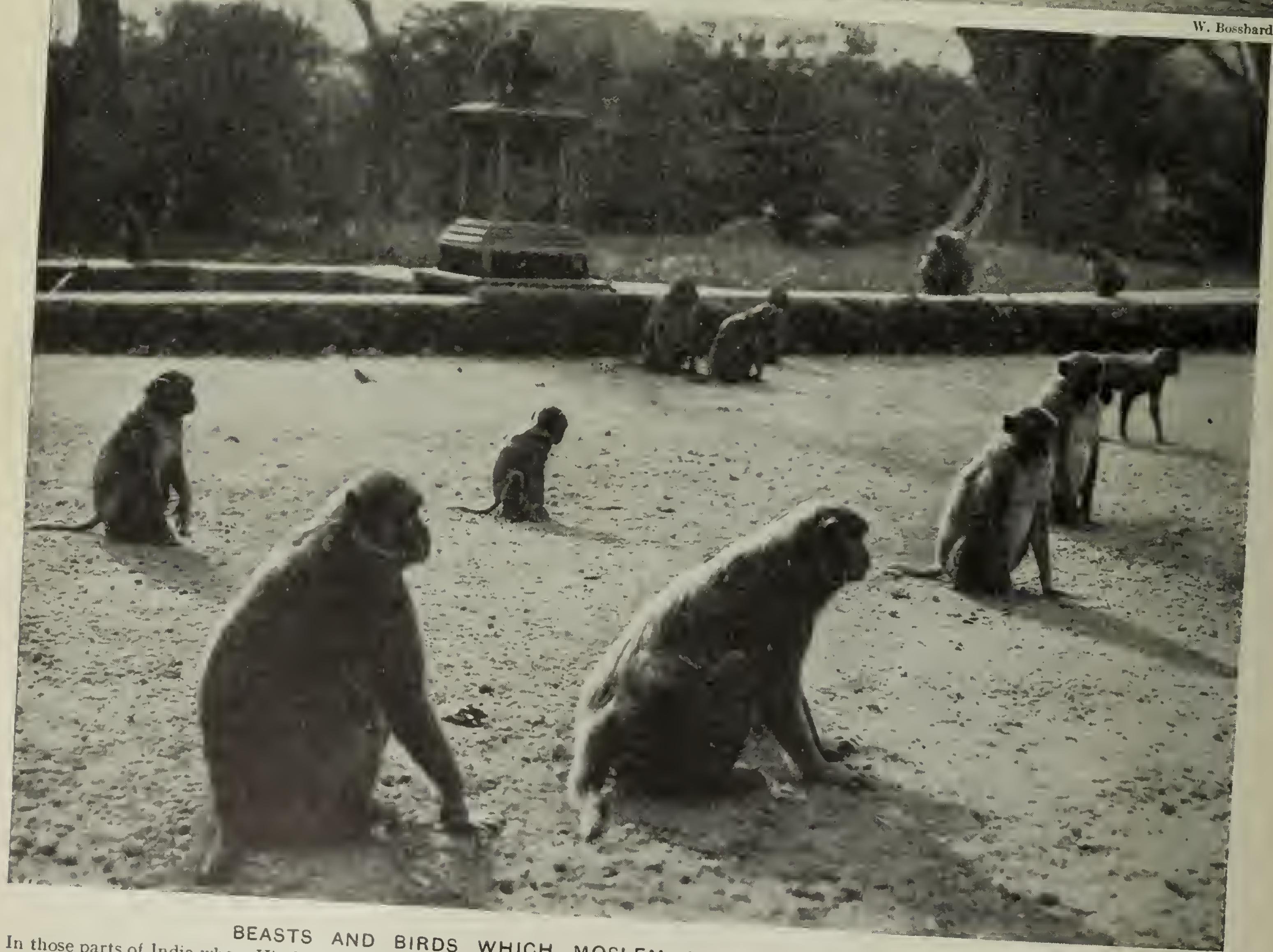
Some of the Dervish Orders live in much the same way as the monastic orders of Christendom, but, apart from them, there is little monasticism in Islam. There is a considerable monastic institution, the Zaouera, at El Hamel, in Algeria.

In the religion of Mahomet, monasticism in the usual sense is only practised by few. There are, however, Moslem monks and monasteries to be found here and there. Some of the Orders, like the Dervishes, have their monastic houses, and usually they are well endowed. But in Islam the monk is of little or no importance to the religion as a whole.

In most countries and religions there are people who enter a monastery or convent for a limited time only, and not for life. As an example of this, a common practice in Dahomey, West Africa, may be cited. It is customary for some young women to live together in community, in a sort of convent attached to a fetish temple, and under the supervision of the priest. In one country village the present writer saw a crowd of these girls coming along in a compact body, hopping, with their ankles together. They hopped in unison, and at each hop emitted a sort of grunt with closed lips. As they passed through the market place people made way for them, and on reaching a fetish shrine they all fell down on their knees and pressed their foreheads to the ground, still making these curious noises. Then they rose together, and so hopped on, from shrine to shrine, and then back to their convent beside a big fetish tree, where they again prostrated themselves before a fetish in the courtyard. A religious community, no doubt, but anything less like 'nuns' it would be difficult to imagine.



W. Bosshard



Ewing Galloway

BEASTS AND BIRDS WHICH MOSLEM AND HINDU HOLD SACRED

In those parts of India where Hinduism predominates the monkeys roam at will, for to the Hindu the monkey is sacred. The Monkey Temple at Benares is specially identified with these animals, which are regarded as the descendants of the monkey god, Hanuman. The monkeys here seen (bottom) are at Cawnpore, a stronghold of Hinduism. The upper photograph shows holy pigeons of Islam in the desert near the oasis of Khotan, Chinese Turkistan. They are supposed to be descended from a pair brought here in pre-Mahomedan times.

SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT ANIMALS

The use of animals or of parts of them as luck-bringers is touched upon in the chapter on The Mascot or Luck-Bringer, and further aspects of superstition are discussed in the chapters on Beliefs and Superstitions of the Sea, Superstitions about Numbers, and Omens, Signs and Portents. Animals are dealt with from a different angle in the chapter on Man's Use of Animals.

Primitive man, whatever his race and wherever his habitat, has a feeling of kinship for the animals seldom possessed by his more civilized brother. The latter, despite his professed acceptance of what is generally regarded as the Darwinian theory, refuses to accept its implications, and draws a well-defined line between himself and what he is pleased to call 'the brute creation.' The former, on the other hand, envisages mankind and the animals as constituting one huge family, linked together in the enjoyment of the common attribute of life.

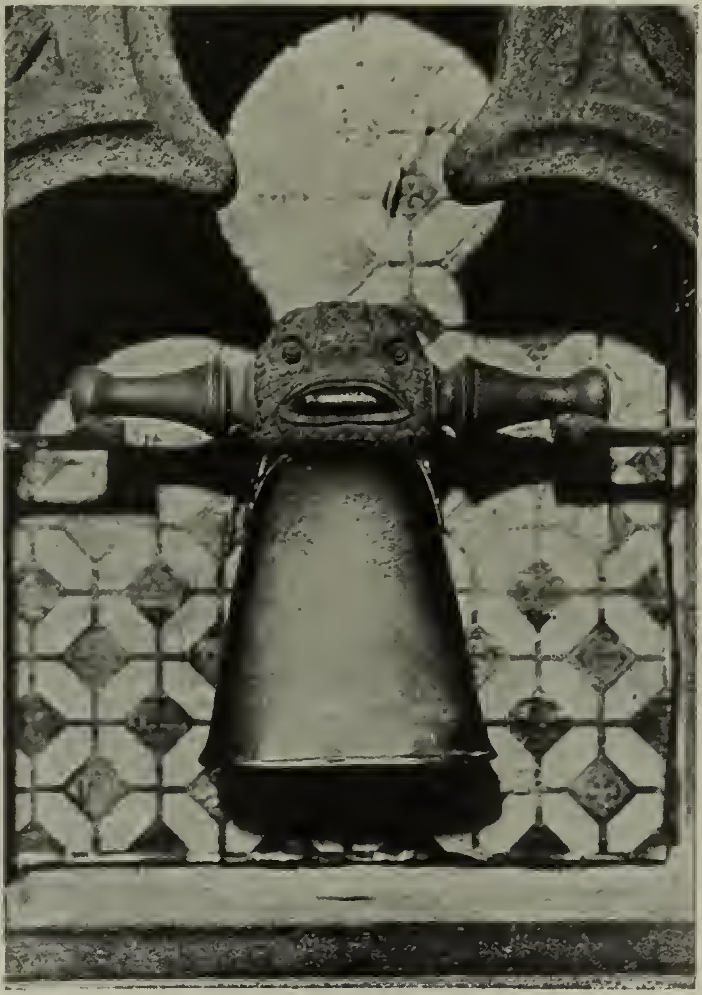
The partition wall separating man from the animals is regarded as being so narrow that all over the world we find evidence of the belief that it is possible for him to assume animal form. In Europe, North America and northern Asia the animal concerned in the transformation is generally the wolf. In India and western Asia it is the tiger ; in Abyssinia and East Africa the hyena ; in China and Japan the fox ; in Borneo the leopard ; in Central Africa the crocodile ; and in South America the jaguar.

The Abyssinians talk with bated breath of the Budas, men who change themselves at will into hyenas and kill and devour their enemies. In support of the belief they assert that hyenas have sometimes been caught with rings fixed in their ears, and refuse to admit for a moment that the fact, if fact it be, very probably had its origin in the fertile brain of the local sorcerer, anxious for his power and emoluments. The Baronga of Central Africa believe that certain of their number are banded together into a secret society and have the power of transforming themselves into hyenas. At nightfall these roam through the village and engage in nefarious practices, while their shadows or 'appearances' occupy their places at home. If one of the latter be stabbed, then forthwith a hyena rushes howling from the kraal, and the man who had assumed his shape drops through the roof, wounded in the same place as the shadow.

Among the Malays stories are told of men who are seen to go into thickets and come out no more ; only their discarded clothes are to be found, lying on the ground, while near by roams a fearsome tiger. Somewhere or other, they think, is a great fold to which all tigers go. It has two gates ; and on emerging through the one tigers become men, while on entering through the other they assume once again their natural form.

Lycanthropy—the transformation of human beings into wolves—has obtained almost universal credence, and up to a century or so ago to doubt its actuality, even in Europe, would have been considered arrant scepticism. In Armenia a woman who has sinned is supposed to be compelled by a spirit to don a wolf's skin, and is forthwith converted into a wolf for a period of seven years. At intervals during that time she is permitted to put off her wolf-skin, and if anyone can burn it the woman disappears in a cloud of smoke. In Europe during the Middle Ages many hundreds of unhappy women went to the stake for the crime of having, by magic spells or potions, converted themselves into wolves ; and in remote corners of the continent the peasants still with bated breath tell such stories as that of the hunter who, having been attacked by a wolf and retained its paw as a trophy, found on opening his bag at home that it contained the bleeding hand of his wife.

Belief in the contrary process, the transformation



E.N.A.

BRETON BELIEF IN THE POWERS OF A FISH

The faith of the Breton knows no bounds. This bell, in the cathedral of St. Pol de Léon, in Finistère, is greatly venerated by the faithful, who believe that it was brought by a fish from England to the Ile de Batz in the sixth century.

E.N.A.

BLESSING THE HOUNDS IN FRANCE ON THE FEAST OF S. HUBERT

On the Continent great importance is attached by hunting people to the blessing of the pack, which takes place on November 3. This day is the festival of S. Hubert, the patron of hunters, who died in 727. In early life a slave to worldly pleasures, Hubert, so the legend runs, was startled into repentance, while hunting on Good Friday, by the sudden appearance of a stag bearing between its antlers a crucifix surrounded with beams of light—a miracle that brought about his conversion.

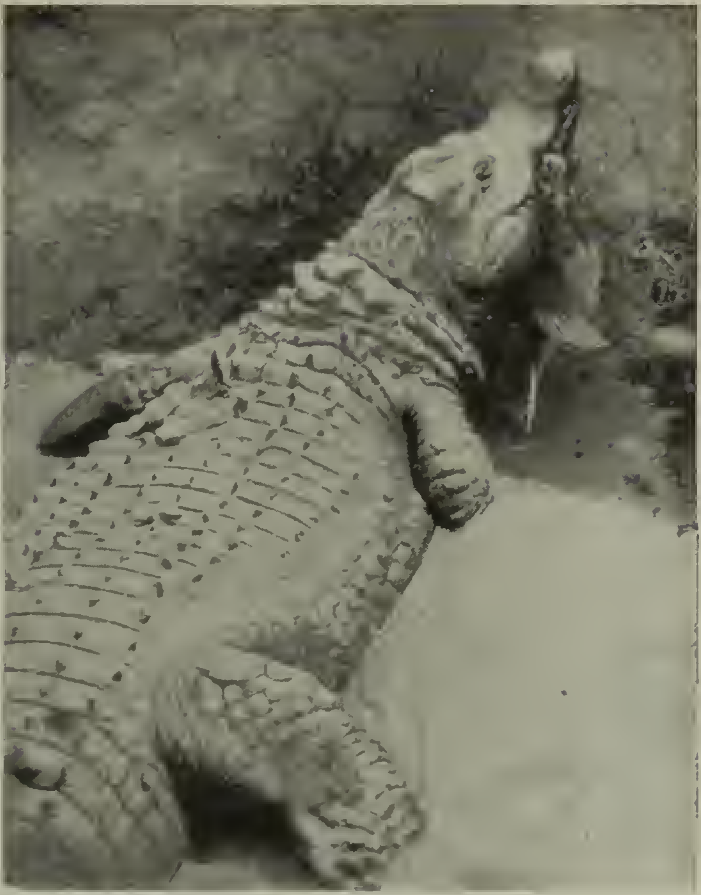
of animals into men, is not so general ; it would seem, indeed, that it is confined to eastern Asia. In some parts of China it is held that foxes are able to take human shape at will, and are often to be encountered as young and beautiful girls, although they may be generally detected by their tails. On occasion, too, they become men and cohabit with women after the fashion of the incubi of medieval fancy. The Ainu of Japan believe that bears, dogs, otters, horses and cats are all capable of the transformative process ; and the fact is often made apparent in behaviour. Thus the human embodiment of a cat eats like a cat, miauls, and finally wastes away and dies.

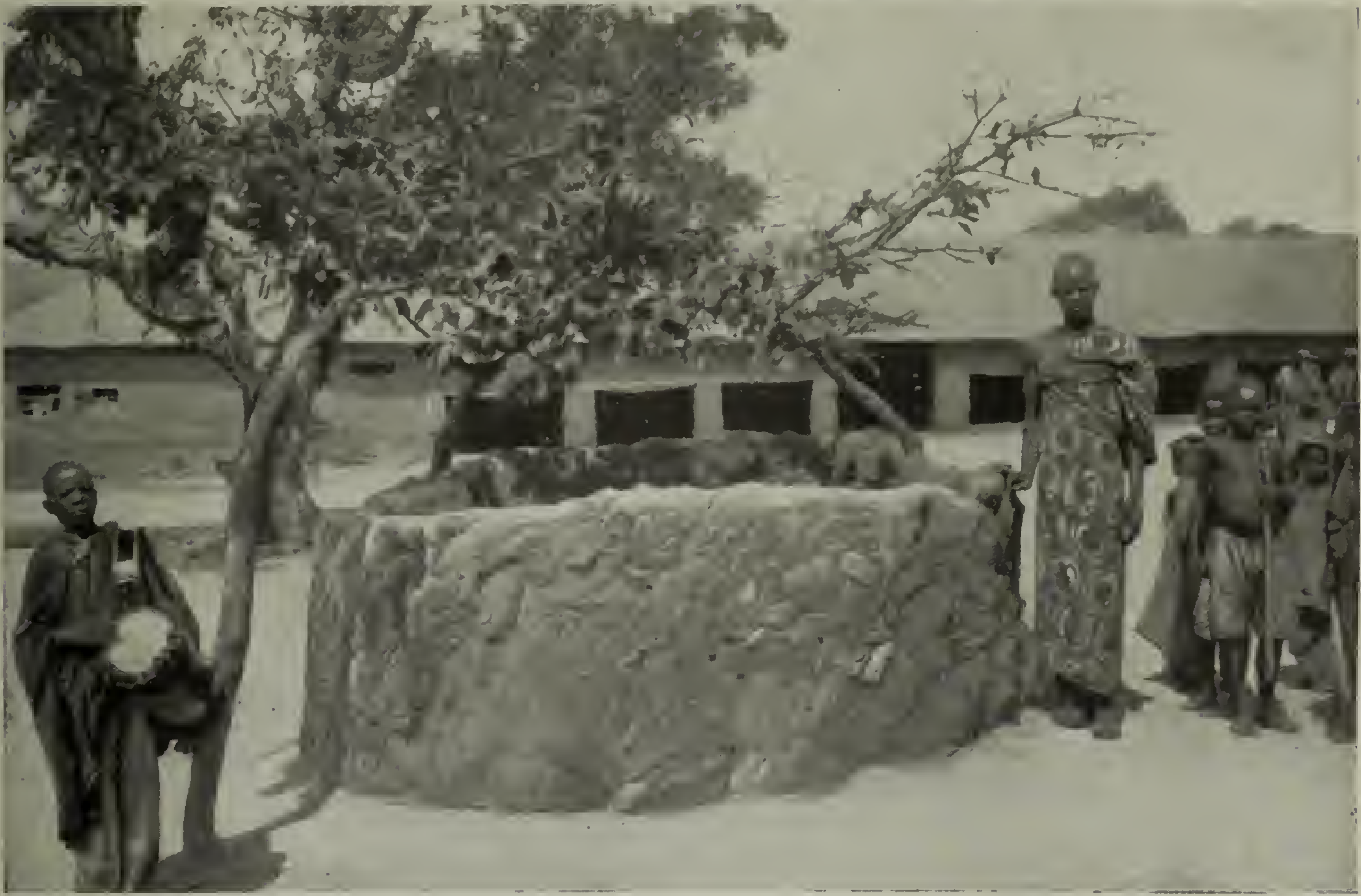
Another belief, closely connected with those just discussed, is that which gives to every witch and wizard an animal 'familiar.' The Binuas of Johore think every 'pawang' (priest) has his subject tiger, and when a pawang succeeds his father—the office is hereditary—he has perforce to ensure the tiger's continued fidelity by the performance of certain ceremonies. In Siberia every shaman has a boar as his familiar, attached to him by a magic and invisible belt. The New Guinea sorcerers employ snakes to do their bidding. If one of them has a grudge against a villager he places his familiar in a pot, together with a small portion of the man's clothing. Then when the pot is heated over a fire the snake strikes vigorously at the piece of fabric, thinking it responsible for the uncomfortable temperature. A few days later the sorcerer arranges for the snake to be in the path of his intended victim, when, recognizing the man's smell, it at once strikes at him with its poisoned fangs. Among the Yorubas the owl is most often employed as a familiar, and the people have a belief that if an owl be caught and its claws and wings be broken, then the sorcerer who owns it will likewise be found to have had his limbs broken by some mysterious agency.

In Central Africa lions are preferred as familiars for obvious reasons ; among the Basutos, crocodiles ; and in Cameroons the hippopotamus is most favoured. The latter is specially valuable because it is supposed to possess the invaluable gift of making itself invisible ; and thus when a canoe has turned turtle for no obvious reason the occurrence is at once attributed to the heaving back of the hippotamus familiar of a malignant medicine man.

A great part of the respect felt for animals by primitive tribes is due to the belief that many of them are peopled by the spirits of dead humans. The Zulus are persuaded that when they die their spirits pass into snakes; the chiefs inhabit one species, the ordinary males another (the souls of the women find an abiding-place in lizards). The Masai have a similar belief, but they allot a different kind of snake to each tribe or family. The Betsileos, immediately they have laid a corpse beneath the ground, hail the first lizard they meet and respectfully inquire if it really be the soul of the dead man. If it moves its head as though in the affirmative, offerings are made to it, and it is installed in the tomb as a kind of saint. In Madagascar bodies are thrown into a sacred lake, and the eel that takes the first nibble at the corpse is held to be the new home of its soul. The Chinese think the souls of the dead often inhabit the crabs on the seashore, for the spirit of a drowning man invariably makes for the nearest living creature; and elsewhere it is believed that after death men's souls wander to the edge of the world, where there is a great precipice with water lapping its foot. There the souls dance above the abyss, and some, falling over, are straightway converted into fish.

As might be expected, man's superstitious fancy has played most exuberantly about those animals which he encounters most seldom or has most





Reginald Silk

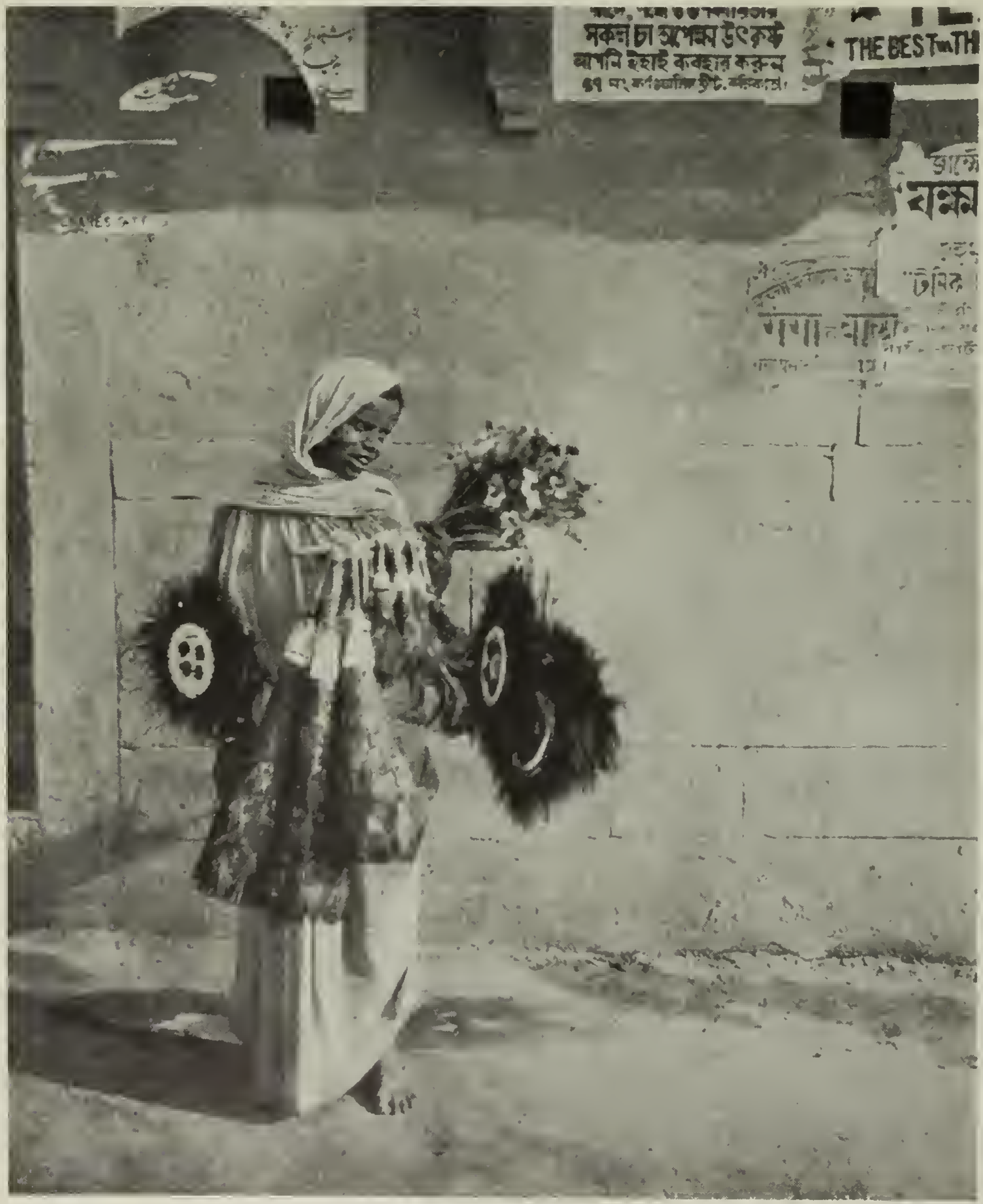
CITY OF AFRICA WHOSE WELFARE HINGES ON A HOLY CROCODILE

The crocodile worship of ancient Egypt survives in a debased form in Nigeria, in the city of Ibadan, where a sacred crocodile is kept in a mud pen (bottom) in the centre of the market square. The tall figure on the right is its keeper; the drummer on the left warns the city of the presence of strangers. The crocodile is seen (top) eating a live chicken, its staple diet. Many of the inhabitants believe that the prosperity of the city is bound up with this repulsive reptile.

reason to fear. Tigers, as we have seen, are much favoured as familiars, and in the remoter districts of India the beast is worshipped, its devotees dancing in its honour disguised as tigers (see page 47), while its fangs, claws and whiskers are employed as love charms and as prophylactics against devil-possession. So great is the respect felt for tigers in India and Malaya that hunters treat even its corpse with an apologetic politeness. In some parts every effort is made to capture it alive in order that, before killing it, its forgiveness may be sought and received; and when the circumstances of the case have been so pressing that the beast has had to be slain without this courteous preliminary, the priest, standing over its corpse, implores its spirit to be reasonable and refrain from bearing malice against its slayers.

Similar treatment is accorded elsewhere to leopards and lions, elephants and whales. In certain districts of East Africa, for instance, when a lion has been killed the carcass is brought before the village chieftain, who prostrates himself in the dust before it and touches its muzzle with his face. Among the Kwottos of Nigeria the slayer of a lion forthwith makes an offering of a white cock and beer to the local chief, who is supposed to be related in some way to the dead monarch of the forest. The carcass is then wrapped in a red winding-cloth and taken in procession through the village, to the accompaniment of beating drums and the wailing of women. Its skin becomes the possession of the chief, but the skull is retained by the hunter, who offers up a sacrifice before it, and implores the ghost of the dead lion not to kill him for so presumptuously cutting short its days.

In South Africa the killer of a leopard is obliged by age-old custom to retire for three days to his hut as a kind of penance; elsewhere it is his wife who has to expiate his offence by continence and fasting. When Kaffir hunters, says Frazer, are in the act of showering spears on an elephant they call out 'Don't kill us, great captain; don't strike or tread upon us, mighty chief'; the Ainu bear festival described in the chapter on Magic and the-Means of Life offers a parallel to this; and certain of the islanders of the Indian Ocean, when pursuing young whales, make a particular point of begging the mothers' pardon in advance and of asking them to go below in order that they may be spared the unpleasantness of seeing their progeny slain before their eyes. These and the many similar customs all have their origin in the desire to be on good terms with the animal creation; they are attempts on the part of the hunters to appease their victims as far as possible and so dissuade them from endeavouring to stir up their relatives to avenge their fate.



E. O. Hoppé

LUCKY IN ASIA, UNLUCKY IN EUROPE

Good or evil omen, sometimes varying with the region, is held to attach to the fur, feathers, claws and other parts of certain animals. In Europe peacocks' feathers are considered unlucky, while in India they are used for preventing disease and for healing wounds. Peacocks' feathers are seen among the wares of this woman pedlar on the ghat-side at Benares.

Belief in animals as the harbingers of good or evil is well-nigh universal, the animals most frequently encountered in this class of superstition being those— birds, butterflies, cats, and so on—which have the greatest liberty of movement. appearing suddenly out of the void and departing just as quickly and silently to no one knows where. Crows, ravens, rooks and cuckoos are

Fischer-Braunschweig

PROSPEROUS THE HOUSE WHERE THE STORK BUILDS ITS NEST

In most countries of Europe the stork is regarded as a bird of good omen, there being a very widespread belief that the bird brings good fortune to the family upon whose house it builds its nest. Often a cartwheel or little wooden stage is placed on the roof for the bird to nest upon. Bohemia is one of the few countries where the stork is considered unlucky. Young storks are here seen in their nest on a housetop in South Germany.

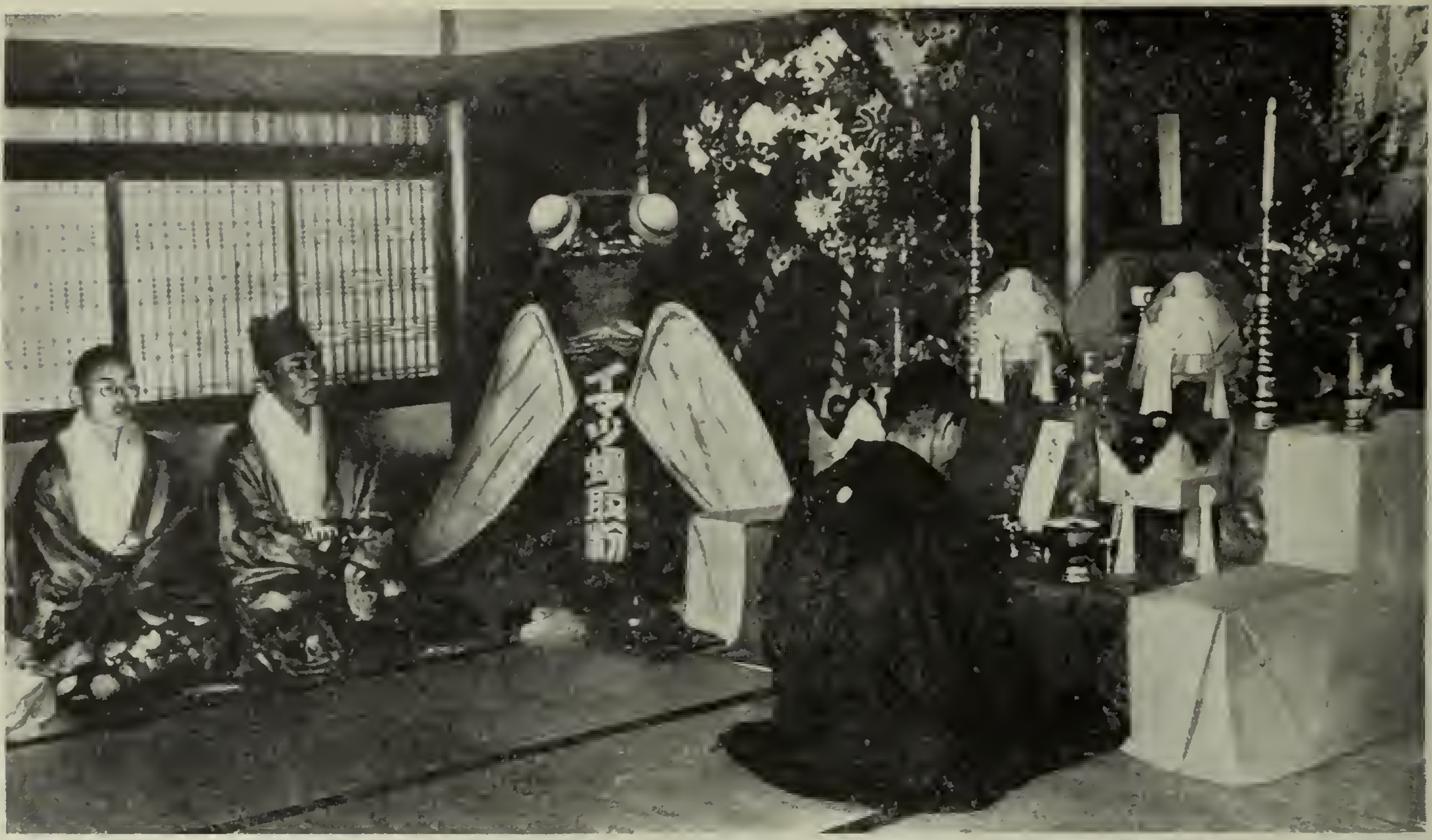
generally regarded as birds of ill omen. Peacocks' feathers are lucky in India, being waved over the sick to scare away the demons of disease and tied round ankles to cure wounds ; but in Europe they are regarded with superstitious dread.

Owls are generally ominous of evil, but among the Wends the presence of an owl near a house in which there is a pregnant woman presages an easy delivery. In India a dish of owls' eyeballs is believed to confer the power of being able to see in the dark, but the sight of the bird itself is unlucky. A pigeon forebodes fire in Styria ; and in Bohemia a stork settling on the roof of a dwelling, or twelve storks circling round it, implies a fire at an early date. In many other parts of Europe, however, a stork is taken as being a safeguard against fire, for it is believed that the bird never nests in a house which is destined to be destroyed in this manner. Hawks, in Europe at least, are generally regarded as lucky omens, and in Baden one particular kind is encouraged to nest on a house, as it is believed to be protection against lightning.

Butterflies are lucky or unlucky according to their colour and locality. In Brunswick a white butterfly presages death ; a yellow, a birth ; and one of any other colour a marriage. Elsewhere a white butterfly indicates a rainy summer ; a dark butterfly, thunderstorms, and a yellow, a spell of sunshine. In Ruthenia a red butterfly seen in spring means health, but a white seen at that time forebodes sickness. Three butterflies seen together are regarded by the country folk of Hampshire as being decidedly unlucky. Bats are oftentimes considered to be of evil omen, probably because they are seen only in the mysterious gloom of twilight. The superstitious peasantry of Sicily regard them as being embodiments of the devil, and when they catch any, kill them by burning or by nailing them to the barn doors with their wings outspread.

A SWARM of bees entering a house is in many places considered to be highly auspicious, but in Wales it is just the reverse. A swarm settling on a house means a fire, and one leaving the hive for no obvious reason is an omen of death. In many parts of Europe it is considered unlucky to kill a spider. There is no such superstition about flies, save that in North Germany it is supposed to be unlucky to ' swat ' the last survivors at the end of the summer. In India a fly dropping in the ink-well is a good omen.

Cats are perhaps the most ominous of all animals, and it is noteworthy that they may be of good omen in one locality, while in another, not far distant, they are just the reverse. A black cat, for instance, is regarded as lucky in England and in parts of Germany ; in other German districts and in Scotland it is often taken to imply coming misfortune. In the United States to be followed by a black cat means good luck, but in England it is considered to be more auspicious if the cat seen crosses one's path ahead. In both America and Britain a strange cat is generally believed to bring good fortune to the house in which it makes its home.



Planet News

PROFESSIONAL FLY-KILLERS OF JAPAN MOURN THE FATE OF THEIR VICTIMS

Benevolence is a characteristic virtue of Buddhism, being extended to every sentient being. By the monks, kindness to animals is carried to the length of refraining from killing fleas and other noxious vermin. The photograph shows a memorial service held at the instance of the Tokyo branch of a fly-killing powder concern. Buddhist priests are offering a prayer for the spirits of the dead flies while incense is being burned to their memory. Note the great model of a fly in the centre.

All the examples so far given reveal animals as the prognosticators of the future; but it may be noted that it is believed by many peoples that they also have the power of revealing something of what has happened in the past. Thus, for instance, in Central Africa when a native hunter is trampled upon by an elephant and killed, the occurrence is taken by his fellows as indicating beyond a doubt that the unfortunate man's wife has been unfaithful to him during his absence. A somewhat similar belief may be found among the Kaonde. When a chief has died, his successor-designate has to go out hunting, and if he has been in any way responsible for his predecessor's end, or has misconducted himself with his wife, then he will inevitably bring down a male animal at his first attempt (even though his aim be directed at a female), and thus be debarred from the succession.

Of the many myths associated with animals, some of the most curious are those which seek to explain the earth's position in space by providing it with animal support. The elephant, by reason of its size and strength, is the animal most frequently enlisted as earth-carrier. One Hindu myth says that a single elephant supports the world on its back; another speaks of eight elephants; yet another makes the matter more complicated, and asserts that the world is poised on a turtle, which stands on a serpent, which in its turn is supported by an elephant. Elsewhere other animals are preferred. In Ceylon the series is serpent, turtle, frog—and beneath the frog is air. In the Moluccas the animal chosen is the buffalo; in Sumatra the world is said to rest on an egg, placed on a fish swimming in the sea; and among the Slavs four whales are constituted the earth-carriers.

Given beliefs such as these, it is not difficult to find an explanation of earthquakes, for these must then be due to movements on the part of the earth-bearing animal or animals. Thus in Kamchatka earthquakes are attributed to the earth-supporting dog, who shakes himself from time to time to rid his coat of the accumulated snow; and in other districts stings by bees or mosquitos, or the desire to seek a less cramped position, are believed to give rise to twitchings and shiftings by the earth-supporters, with earth tremors as the inevitable consequence.

Another interesting class of myth is that which reveals certain animals as possessing some degree of control over the rain supply. Frogs and toads figure most frequently in this connexion. In Peru and Bolivia the natives make little clay images of frogs and place them on the hill-tops to induce a fall of rain; and some of the Indians of British Columbia kill a frog with the same end in view. In some parts of Australia, on the other hand, where the rainfall is usually excessive, the aborigines treat the frogs with great care and respect, believing as they do that the frogs' bodies are filled with water, and that if one be killed and its water allowed to escape, then great rains will ensue forthwith.

Curiosities of Custom. 9

THE BEGGAR IN MANY LANDS

GYPSIES and other wanderers who provide real entertainment are treated in the chapters on Romany Rites and Customs, Wayside Entertainers of the East, and elsewhere, a special category of wandering entertainers being described in Circus Folk. Here, and in the chapter on Hermits, Fakirs and Ascetics, we deal with those who live on the charity of others, offering little or nothing in return

'THE poor ye have always with you.' The words were true in Palestine 1900 years ago, they have been true in every land ever since, and they are true today. But between beggars and 'the poor' we must draw a distinction. For the 'poor' are poor by accident, probably against their will, though it may be by their own fault. They work, they do what they can to ward off or diminish poverty. They are often a little ashamed of being poor; they do not flaunt it. Beggars are poor by profession. They prefer begging to work, though work would probably give them a more comfortable and more secure life. Begging is more of an adventure, more of a gamble. There are no regular hours to be kept, no fines for being late, no bother about looking respectable. The professional beggar is not at all ashamed of himself. He considers that he has a right to what he can get out of the community in which he lives and often prides himself on the cleverness with which he persuades people to 'assist' him, as he puts it.

That saying of Jesus meant more in the East than it did at the time, or has ever done, in the West. For the East tolerates beggars and makes a practice of giving them alms in a way the more practical West has never followed. The West regards them as an inevitable evil, but it does not encourage them by systematic alms-giving. Those who have most to do with the poor say all they can to discourage people from giving anything to beggars, declaring that it intensifies and spreads the evil. The East does not look on begging as an evil. Beggars are part of the natural order of things and are positively useful because they draw out the virtue of generosity. That is the difference between the two points of view.

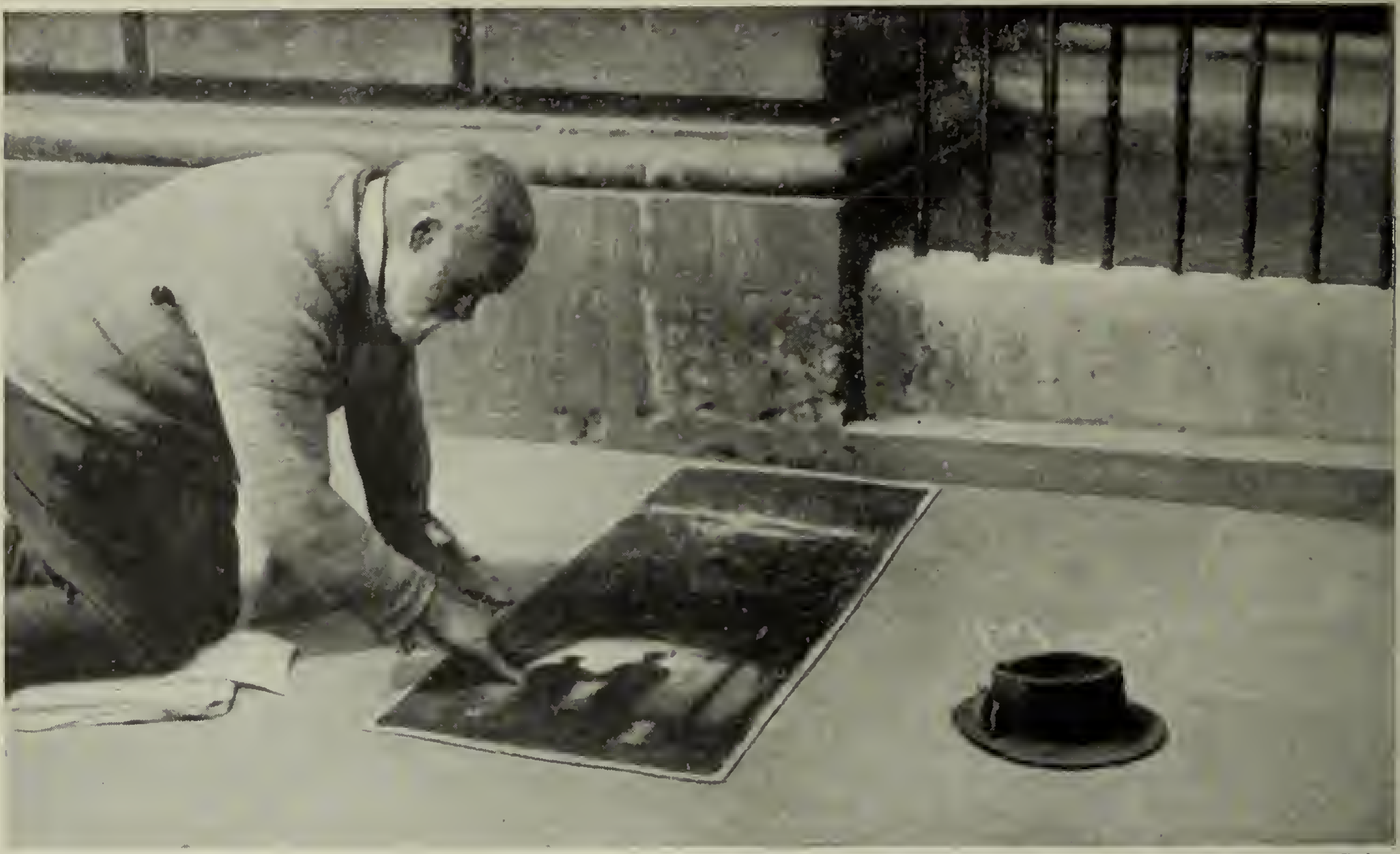
In Moslem countries beggars are often dignified figures. They ask for money as a right. There is no cringing note in their voices. Sometimes they almost threaten. Indian beggars are at times especially alarming, if they belong to the religious variety. Some of these go about almost naked, their bodies smeared with ashes. They are supposed to be ascetics; their habits, however, are anything but saint-like. They are frequently addicted to drink and to drugs. They have, as a rule, evil eyes and forbidding features. Here and there a simple-minded creature may be found among them, and not seldom a harmless lunatic who has lost his wits through pondering over religious problems and trying to solve such mysteries as that of the philosopher's stone by which the transmutation of metals might be accomplished. But for the most part these religious beggars are a disreputable lot and would not be endured were it not that both Hindus and Moslems consider it a duty to support them.

This it is which gives the Eastern beggar a standing in the community. It would be considered irreligious to suppress vagrancy. Mendicants enable the faithful to perform the duty which God expects of them. In the south of Europe very much the same selfish notion prevails. A traveller who visited Spain a century or so ago said of the city of Segovia that it contained 'no idle persons and no beggars.' It would be hard to find any Spanish city of which that could be written truthfully today. There are

E.N.A.

BEGGARS ON THEIR PITCH IN POLAND'S CAPITAL

In England begging is prohibited, but in many parts of Europe it is looked upon as a profession. The streets of some Continental cities swarm with beggars, and where people most congregate there will be found the greatest company of mendicants. Beggars are here seen soliciting alms outside a church in Warsaw.



Rodens

MAKING THE FLAG-STONES OF A LONDON STREET HIS CANVAS

The pavement artist, or 'screever,' is a familiar figure of the streets. Sometimes he kneels on his mat and makes his drawings direct on the flags, rubbing them out when he leaves. More often nowadays he exhibits his work, or that of others, on pieces of cardboard propped up against the wall—a method that saves time and trouble. This old 'screever,' who has his pitch near the church of S. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, does his work himself in full view of the passers-by.

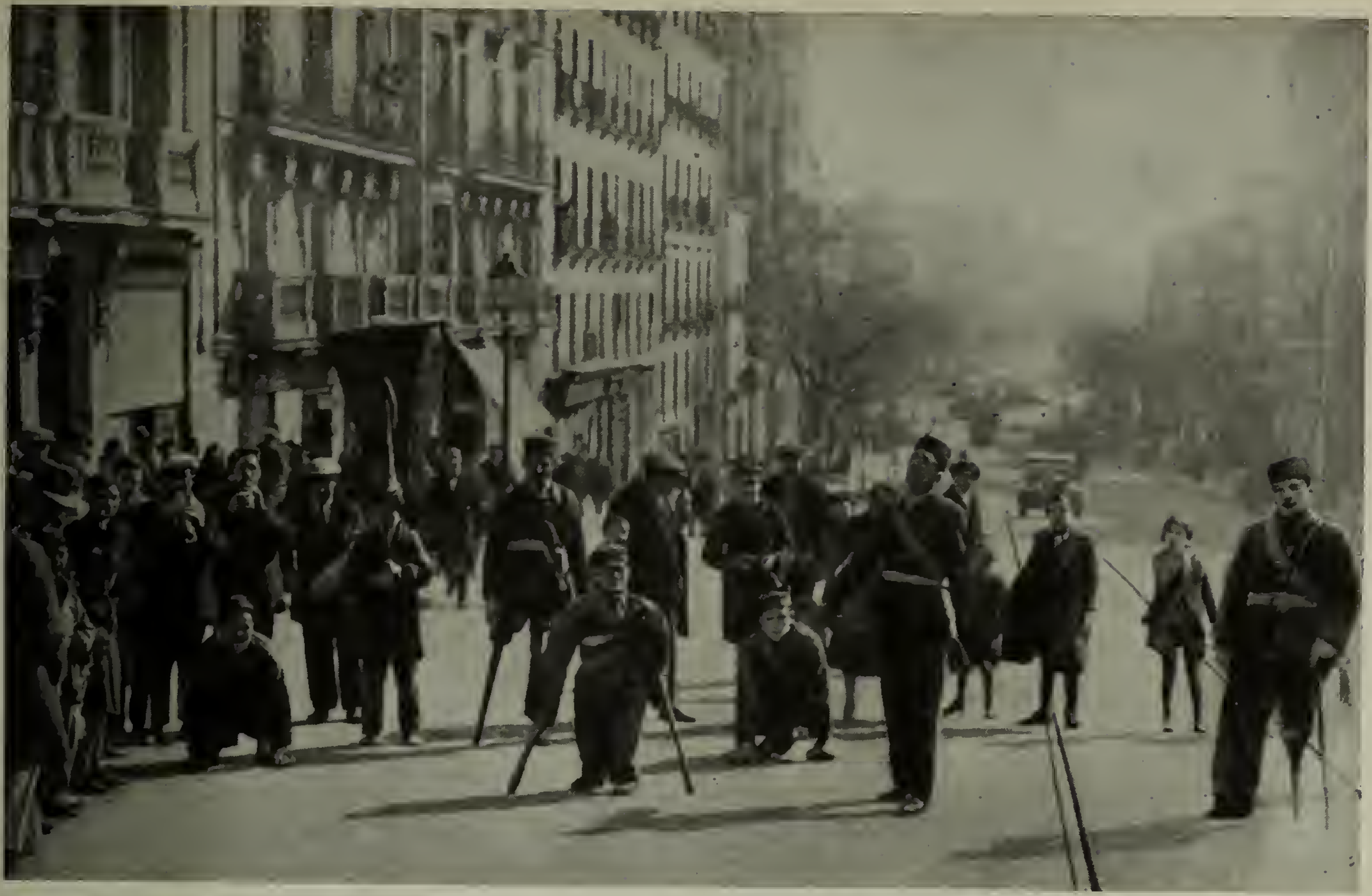
beggars in Spain everywhere. At the church doors they line up in rows, each one having his regular 'pitch.' They loaf about the streets, trading on their diseases or deformities or mangled limbs. Around Seville, a recent visitor wrote

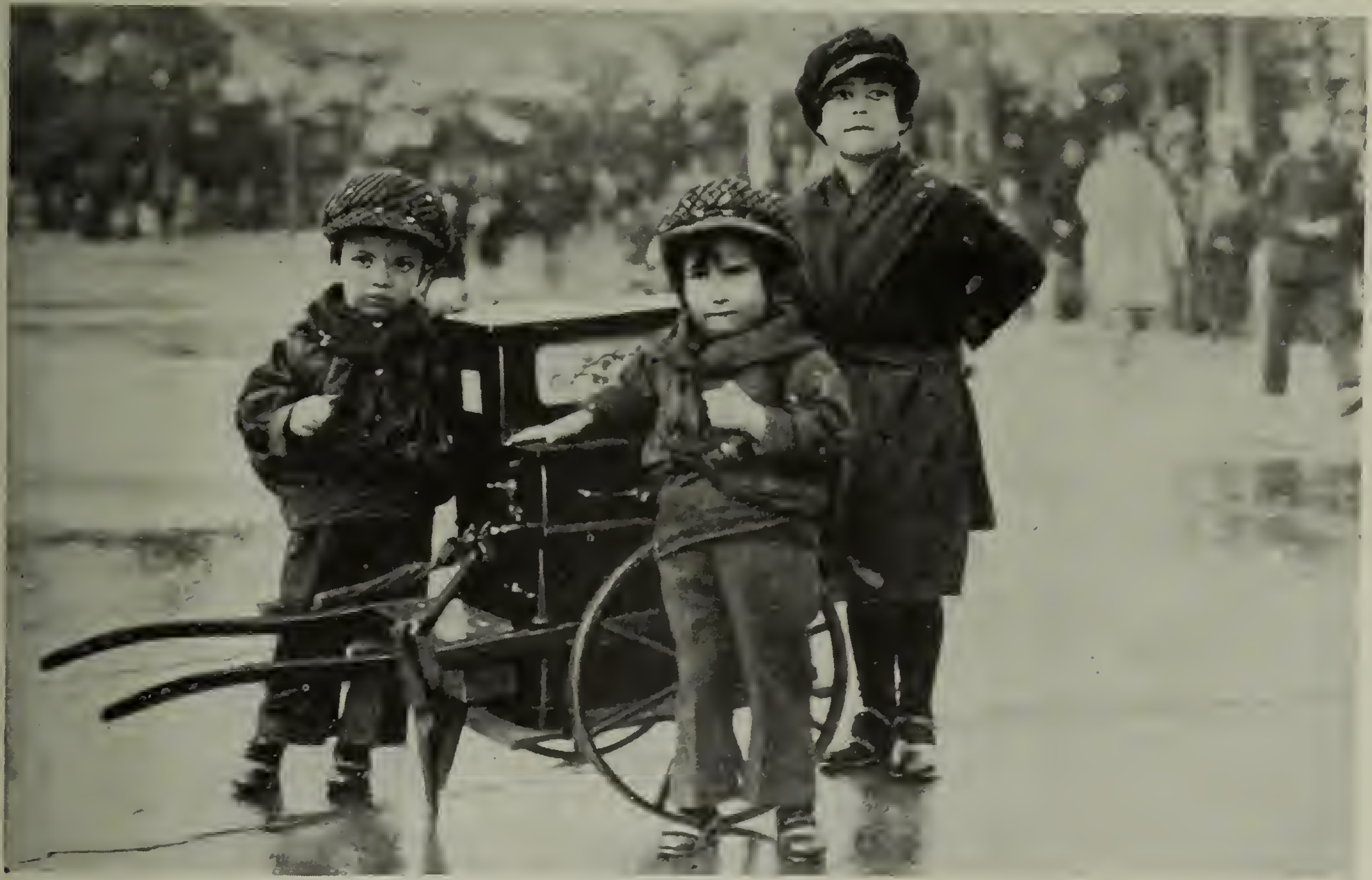
> there is no escaping them. They follow you along the roads, crawl out in front of you from the hedges, cluster around you if you stop to take a momentary observation You drive up to your hotel. There is a small crowd of them awaiting you. If you hesitate a moment in handing the fare to the driver, they hem you in on every side, whining for 'Señor, una limosnita por el amor de Dios (give me something, for the love of God, sir). A tiny boy of some seven summers explains with dignity that he is not begging for himself but for a tiny girl of four who looks up at you out of great eyes. A blind man at your elbow commences to scrape out a ghost of a tune on a wretched fiddle, and a filthy segment of humanity thrusts the stump of an amputated arm before your face. It is horrible to the visitor; it is equally repulsive to the Spaniard. The Englishman feels sick and angry; the Spaniard feels sick and sorry. The former bolts into the shelter of his hotel with a malediction between his teeth; the latter thrusts his hand into his pocket instinctively and gives.

Yet there is often something attractive about Spanish beggars, at any rate in the eyes of tourists charmed by the sunshine. A famous writer on the country in the 18th century said that they 'bore up under indigency with such an air of gravity as would cheat one.' Noting their dignified carriage, hearing them call one another 'señor' quite seriously, perceiving that they consider themselves to be as good as anyone else, it is impossible not to be amused and to accept their view of the situation.

Italian beggars are more pertinacious and less dignified. They rattle their tin cans outside the churches with savage energy. They exhibit their sores with even less regard for the feelings of the squeamish than is shown by the Spaniards. Signor Mussolini began an attempt to sweep them away, but although they are not so prominent as they used to be, they are never far off. In Italy, as in all countries where begging is a recognized trade or calling, most of those who practise it have been brought up to beg. They are either children of beggars or else they have been handed over to be trained.

In Germany efforts are made to turn wanderers on the roads into workers. There are labour colonies, hostels for those who are seeking employment, even labour prisons where vagrants are made to support themselves. There is very little apparent mendicancy. Yet if an American writer who lived among tramps in many lands in order to study their habits is to be trusted, a good deal of begging goes on below the surface. German cadgers, it seems, are particularly good at getting clothes—so good that the regular second-hand clothes dealers complain of them for spoiling the business. One

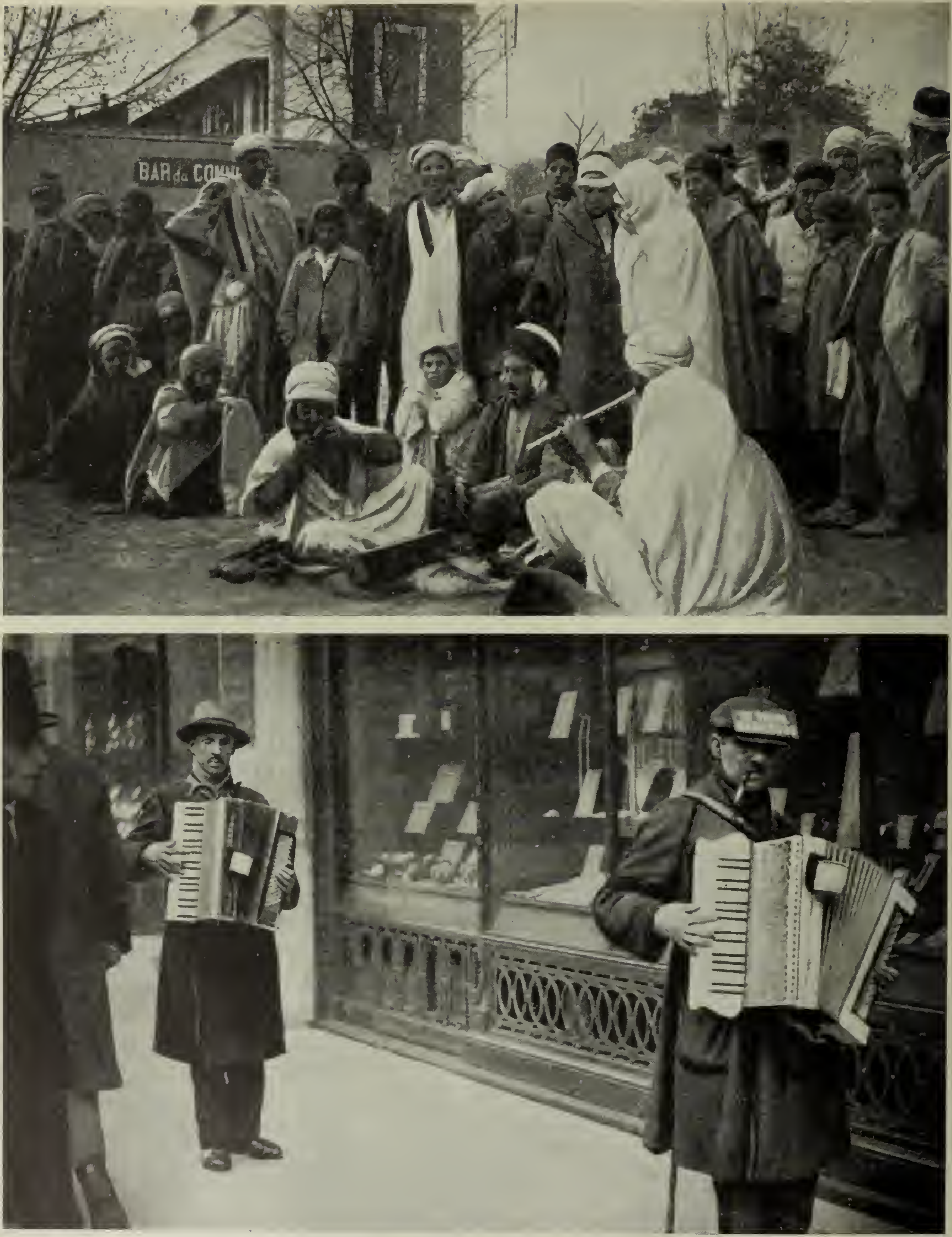




Planet News

CHILDHOOD AND INFIRMITY EXPLOITED IN A LAND WHERE BEGGARS THRIVE

Spain is a paradise for beggars, for in that country it is considered a duty to support them. The streets are full of mendicants ; they stand outside the churches in serried rows. Children are brought up to be beggars. A barrel organ accompanied by children (bottom) is a not uncommon sight in Spanish cities. Sometimes the cripples form themselves into regular bands, equipped with uniforms and banners. Such a company is here seen (top) exploiting the carnival generosity of the Spaniards in the streets of Madrid.



Topical Press

MUSIC AIDS THE SIGHTLESS WANDERERS OF THE DESERT AND THE PAVEMENT

Blindness is very prevalent in Egypt and other sandy countries, where the inhabitants pay little attention to cleanliness. For the blind beggar music is an obvious resource, and in Algeria blind strolling minstrels are plentiful. More often than not these itinerant music-makers go about in little bands or orchestras, as here seen (top) in the Maison Carrée market at Algiers. The piano accordion is a very favourite instrument with the blind street musicians of England (bottom), and remarkable effects can be obtained with it.

George Long

A BEGGAR BUT UNASHAMED

The beggars of Portugal support their condition with a grave dignity, as do the Spanish mendicants. The gay skirt and kerchief of this young beggar woman of Lisbon are worn with an air, and compare not unfavourably with the gala dress of the hardworking peasant.

tramp in the city of Frankfort-on-the-Main got eighteen pairs of shoes in a week from kind-hearted folk who were touched when he showed them what wretched things he had on his feet. That reminds one of R. L. Stevenson's beggar who played the same trick. ' Boots were, as they say on the stage, his properties. He was given whole ones again and again. They disappeared, and there he was again on the road with his toes exposed.'

According to Stevenson, there are ' no genuine beggars, not one ! ' Yet he admitted that some might be able to give you pleasure for your money. R. L. S. met one of this sort, but only one ; and he was not exactly a beggar, for he carried a knife-grinding machine about with him. He told Stevenson stories of his uneventful life which were vastly more entertaining than the talk of another mendicant who had been a soldier and fought in the Indian Mutiny. This was a foolish fellow who had some taste for poetry but no appreciation of it, and discussed the poets merely to show off his acquaintance with their names (which, by the way, is how many critics have made their reputations). The other had a genuine gift of observation and story-telling. Stevenson would stand beside his grindstone for hours.

The question whether a person who leads a wandering life but who practises or pretends to practise a trade can rightly be called a beggar is one of some difficulty. In England all who beg must manage to conceal the fact that they are ' askers ' (that is, people who ask for money). The law forbids begging. It is an offence which may be punished by imprisonment. There must be some pretence, therefore, of occupation ; some offer of small articles for sale ; some performance for which money can be demanded from listeners or spectators.

As a rule it is a very flimsy pretence, a very inefficient camouflage. The pavement artist used once to be seen drawing his pictures with coloured chalks on the stones. Now he usually puts up a number of pieces of cardboard with pictures on them that are scarcely to be made out, so much have they suffered from the weather and from transport. The probability is that he has hired these and possesses no skill in drawing or colouring at all. Here and there a man with some real ability may be found ' screeving,' but most ' screevers ' rely on their woebegone appearance and exhibit their work (or somebody else's) merely in order to keep off the police. The same may be said of those who go round with piano-organs. They do give real pleasure to children in mean streets who love to dance to their strains, but elsewhere the organ is an instrument of blackmail. Sometimes a street singer or violinist has a pleasing voice or skilful execution, but in most

E.N.A.

BEGGARS OF BULGARIA ON THE ROAD

Unlike India and Spain, where mendicancy is encouraged, Bulgaria is not a happy land for beggars. The population consists mainly of peasants, whose sole preoccupation is to wrest a difficult living from a land curtailed through the Great War by many acres.

IDLENESS THAT THRIVES ON THE GENEROSITY OF OTHERS

The Indian beggar never starves, for it is a recognized fact that he has to be kept by the community. Many, such as the one here seen, holding out his rice-bowl by the roadside, contrive to live to a sturdy old age. The religious mendicants of India are particularly insistent in their demands on charity.

cases their ‘ music ’ is nothing more than a cry of distress, genuine or fraudulent ; and, indeed, all who perform in the streets are more or less beggars. Those who give to them give because they feel sorry for them, not by way of paying them for their performances. The bands composed of ex-soldiers which parade the suburbs and sometimes the centre of London are not really offering their music as an entertainment worthy of reward, as did the ‘ German bands ’ of the 19th century. They are calling attention to their grievances and poverty. They are, in fact, beggars.

It would hardly be fair to class with ‘ street musicians,’ as we know them, such artists as may be met with (in Baluchistan, for example) playing fiddles and mandolins of queer shape (and queer sound, too, in Western ears). They are no more mendicants than are the members of a Queen’s Hall orchestra, unless ‘ sending round the hat ’ puts the badge of mendicancy upon them. They certainly contribute to the Baluchis’ enjoyment of life, as do wandering musicians in China and elsewhere. Yet they are generally classed as beggars, even among their own people. As to those who seek to excite pity by offering something for sale, they exist scarcely anywhere but in Britain—no doubt because the law here is stricter than in most countries. Some of the women and old men who sell matches, studs, pencils, pipe-cleaners, or boot and shoe laces have regular customers, but they can hardly be said to be plying a legitimate trade, since they get more out of sympathy than they do out of a genuine demand for their

E.N.A.

VAGRANT OF EGYPT MAKING MUSIC FOR A SPRIGHTLY COLLEAGUE

The Italian organ-grinder, with his monkey wearing fez and jacket, once so familiar a figure in the streets of London, has a close counterpart in Egypt. In that sunny land the performing monkey is a not uncommon item of the stock in trade of beggars. The music is as often as not provided by a gong, upon which the animal’s master drums with his fingers. To this accompaniment the monkey goes through its evolutions, as here seen, without a fez but armed with a swagger-cane.

E.N.A.

LIGHT-HEARTED BLACKMAILERS OF CEYLON: BEGGAR BOYS AT MOUNT LAVINIA

Begging is by no means the monopoly of the adult, as the tourist discovers when he goes on shore at Colombo and drives to see the far-famed beauties of Mount Lavinia. Arrived at the lovely shore, with its fringe of feathery coconut palms, he will immediately be besieged by hordes of dusky urchins, who, with outstretched hands, much vociferation and the most engaging smiles, proceed to wheedle money from the visitor. They offer neither goods nor service, making it quite clear that it is coins they want.

wares. However, it is better to offer something for sale, or to make music, even if it be distressing to possessors of a sensitive ear, than to deceive with lying tales or faked letters. Two tramps met one night in a ‘ doss-house ’ (sleeping place), where they went for their ‘ kip ’ (night's lodging). One said he had got 8s. 6d. out of a street known to them both.

‘ How did you manage it ? ’ the other asked, in amazement. ‘ I went down there selling laces not long ago and only got 1s. 2d.’

Then the first tramp showed him a letter he had taken round just at the time when the families in the street were having their tea. It stated that he had been on strike for a long time and had a wife and children to provide for. It was well phrased, and ended with a dignified request for help. Almost every family had given him something. It would have been doing the community a service if one of them had given him in charge.

Charles Lamb urged readers of his Essays to be lenient and even generous to such comedians, as he called them.

> When a poor creature (outwardly and visibly such) comes before thee, do not stay to inquire whether the ‘ seven small

> children,' in whose name he implores thy assistance, have a veritable existence. Rake not into the bowels of unwelcome truth to save a halfpenny. It is good to believe him. If he be not all that he pretendeth, give, and under a personate father of a family think (if thou pleasest) that thou hast relieved an indigent bachelor.

Lamb was, however, inclined to idealise those who lived upon their fellows:

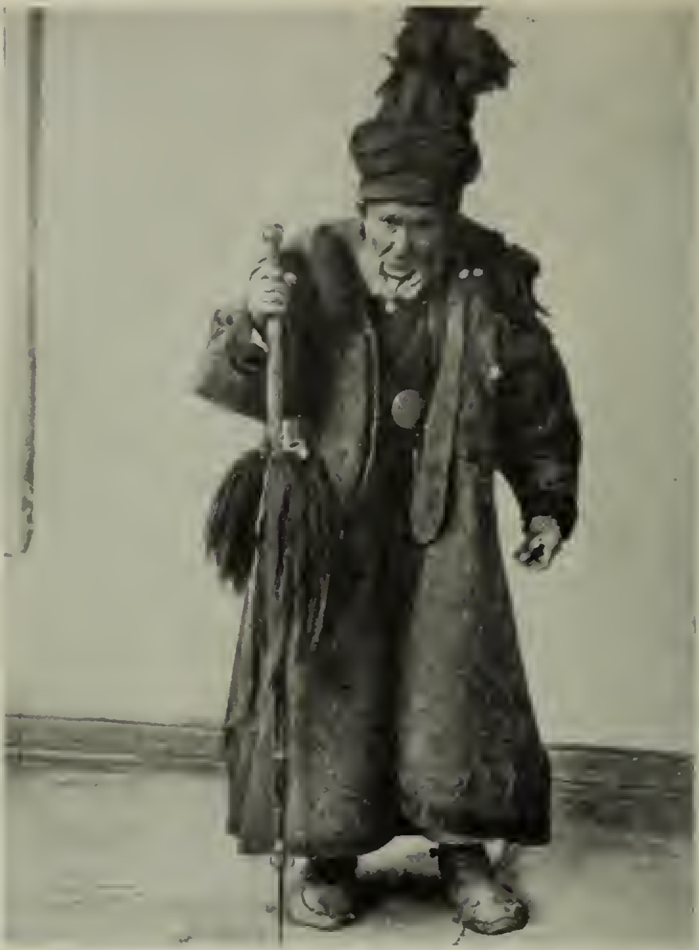
> Pauperism, pauper, poor man are expressions of pity, but pity alloyed with contempt. No one properly contemns a beggar. No one twitteth him with ostentation above his means. No one accuseth him of pride or upbraideth him with mock humility He is the only free man in the universe.

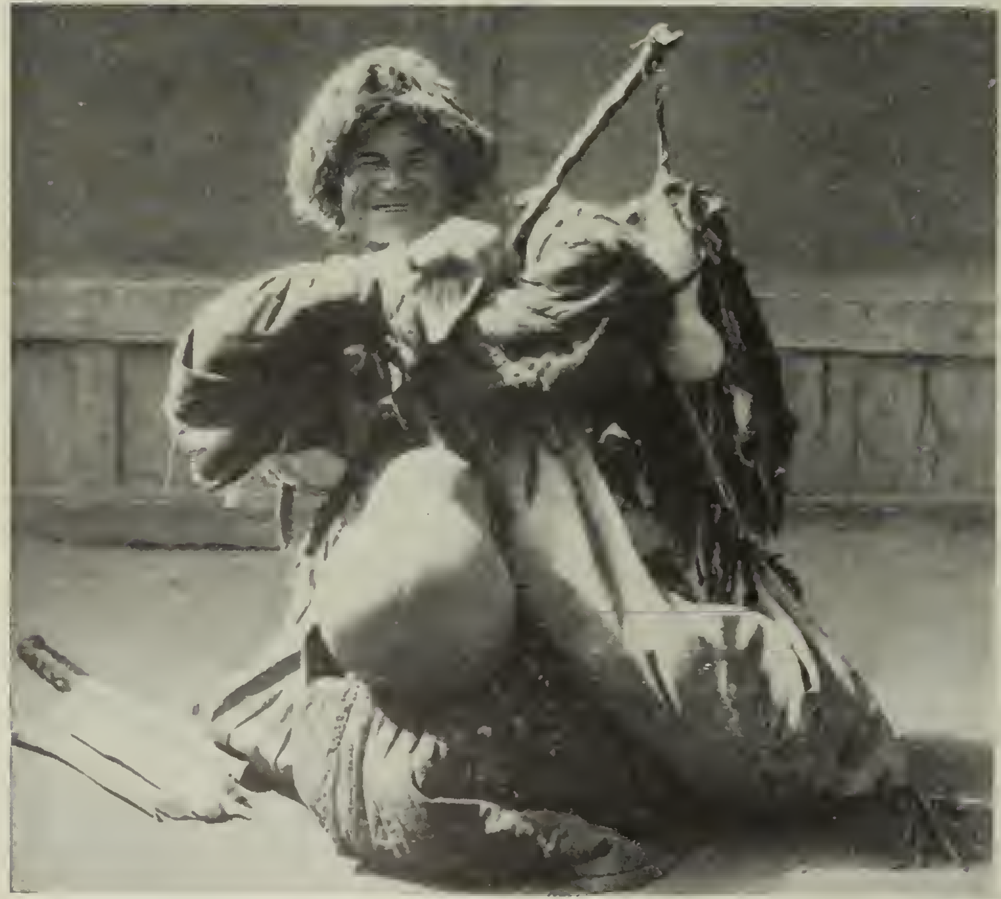
VERY different from Lamb's view is that of an English Poor Law institution master, who declared that tramps 'were lowest in the ranks of the community; as a rule most filthy both in appearance and dress, and a nuisance wherever they go.' With few exceptions, tramps as a class seem to justify that verdict.

The Germans, while they do all that is possible to aid the deserving unemployed, have no sympathy to spare for determined idlers. A German newspaper, discussing methods of treatment, referred to the English Poor Law institutions, maintained at enormous cost, as 'characteristic of the good-heartedness of the people who pay this cost out of local taxes without grumbling.' Yet there are many critics nearer home who think the system leaves a great deal to be desired. Mr. W. H. Dawson, who knows Germany as well as he knows England, says in his book 'The Vagrancy Problem':

> Think what we do for the professional idler. Take the urban type. While honest men are working, we give him the free run of our thoroughfares and set apart for him the best of our street corners. Should he be a vagrant, we make it possible for him to travel through England from the Channel to the Tweed without doing one hour's serious work, save for the labour tasks which are imposed by some of the workhouses at which he may call. In these institutions—erected at intervals not too far distant to overtask his strength—food is placed before him night and morning, with a bed thrown in; while outside he can always rely upon the alms which he is able to draw from the pockets of the unwisely charitable whom he deceives with his tales of misery, or the unwillingly charitable whom he terrorises into compliance with his demands.

To this indictment might be added the count that many tramps are able to live during the winter on what they have made in the summer months.

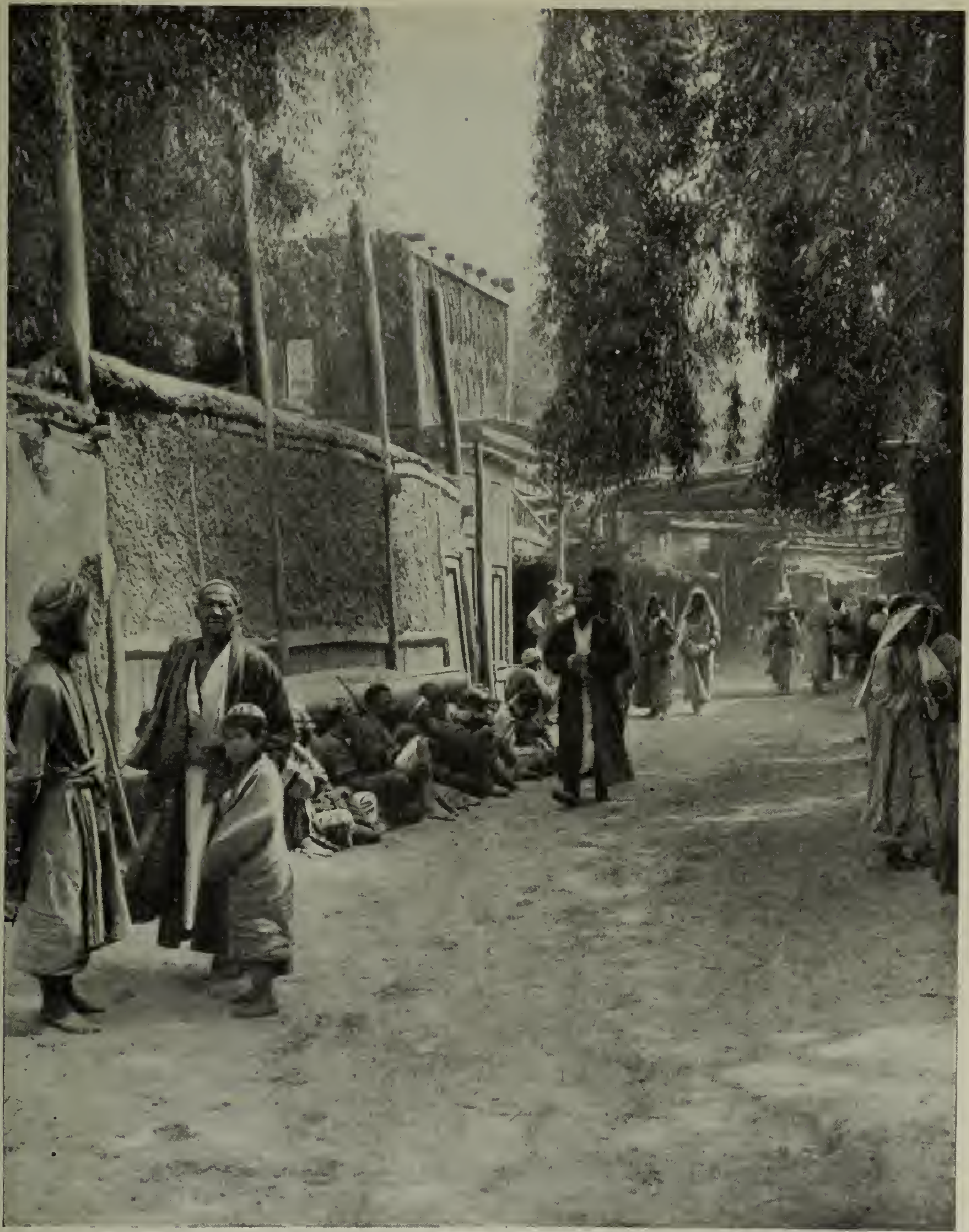




W. Bossbard

MASTER AND MAN AMONG THE BEGGARS OF CENTRAL ASIA

In some parts of the world mendicancy is highly organized. At Khotan, in Sinkiang, each beggar is equipped with a bowl for rice, a smaller one for coins, and a staff hung with amulets from the graves of holy men to ward off evil. The president of the beggars' guild (top) is distinguished by his staff of office.



C. P. Skrine

WHERE BEGGING AND THIEVING HAVE THE STATUS OF A TRADE

Khotan is one of the oasis towns that have grown up by river sides in Central Asia. The oasis lies on the ancient caravan route between China and the Roman Orient. The district is a centre of the jade industry but, besides legitimate commerce, mendicancy is a regular trade. Some of its practitioners are here seen sitting by the wall. The president of the Khotan beggars' guild is called the 'wise man,' for he knows the hiding places of stolen goods and the exact amount for which they can be restored.

E.N.A.

LAZARUS IN RAGS AND TATTERS IN THE STREETS OF SHANGHAI

In China, a country which is overrun with beggars, mendicancy has almost attained the status of a practical science. In Peking and other large centres the beggars are placed under the control of a headman, who is held responsible for the good conduct of his ragged army. The religions of the country extol the virtue of giving to others, and all day long such squalid figures in filthy rags as the Shanghai beggar here seen sit by the roadside awaiting the largesse of passers-by.

Theirs is a seasonal occupation. When the days grow short and the nights cold they leave the roads and settle down in some city slum. In this way they differ from gypsies, who pursue their calling all the year round ; but in other respects gypsies are born cadgers, scarcely to be distinguished nowadays from tramps. In the United States there are no gypsies, but there are outside many towns tramps' camps, which are well patronised so long as an outdoor life is possible.

W. H. Davies, who was a ' hobo ' himself for several years, and whose books are classics in the literature of begging, says that the English beggar needs to be more of an artist than the American—for the reason that he must pitch a good tale or pretend to sell something. He cannot simply demand food as the ' hobo ' does. Very large numbers of these pests are on tour every summer in the United States. There is a tradition of generosity towards them which makes housewives ready with packets of food which are called ' hand-outs ' ; their travelling is done not on foot, but on the ' bumpers ' of freight trains or sometimes inside the cars. Why they are tolerated it is hard to see, yet it must be admitted they are seldom so degraded-looking or so unsavoury of aspect as the English ' moocher.' Many of them are quite decently dressed ; they often have insinuating manners and voices. They do not suffer from an ' inferiority complex.' The English tramp is a poor creature beside his American counterpart. Indeed, another American student of beggars suggests that he is as a rule ' slightly insane.' This observer also remarks on the ' timidity ' of Irish mendicants ; they ' beg from beggars,' he says. Not less surprising is his testimonial to Edinburgh as ' one of the best mooching towns in Great Britain,' by which he means that the inhabitants of the Scottish capital are ' easy marks ' for the brethren of the road.

Of all the beggars who make a business of imposing upon the credulous and tender-hearted, the begging-letter writer is the most detestable, though it may be that he is cleverer than any other kind. Vast skill and ingenuity are expended on the concoction of appeals likely to arouse sympathy. No person of any experience is taken in by begging letters ; the more pitiful they are, the more impressive their phrasing, the greater the certainty that they are the work of professionals. The same qualities, applied to legitimate purpose, are needed for the success of the charity organizer. This is an occupation which has come into prominence during the present century. It is a growth of the competition among charities which has enlisted a very large amount of ability in its service. Every hospital of any size, all societies that require large contributions from the public, keep an organizer, probably an organizing staff, which begs systematically on behalf of those who are to be benefited. This is a phase in the process of transforming the relief of suffering and distress from an individual into a communal responsibility. In course of time all that is necessary in this direction will be done by national or local authorities. This will make private almsgiving unnecessary, and it will no doubt be made an offence to encourage idleness or feebleness of will. Beggars will be eliminated from the well-ordered state.

THE HARVEST HOME IN EUROPE

The harvest is so important a season to mankind, and so many customs have clustered round it, that the subject is dealt with in groups. There are separate chapters on Eastern Harvest Customs and on Harvest Time in Savage Life, and further reference should be made to the chapters on The Vintage and its Celebration, and Magic and the Means of Life.

Since the introduction of machinery, harvesting operations in these islands of ours have been robbed of their poetry and of many picturesque old-world ceremonial customs linking the present with the remote past. Fewer workers are employed in a field than when the yellow grain was cut with scythes and sickles and sheaves were hand-formed, bound with twisted straw and set up in 'stooks.' Gleaners, including the poor, like Ruth, who 'stood in tears amid the alien corn,' kindly permitted to gather a small share for themselves, have become very rare or have completely vanished. But on the smaller farms in comparatively isolated areas, where the clatter of the mechanical reaper and binder is never heard, old harvest rites and customs are still conserved and perpetuated. One can still see the scythe and even the sickle wielded by 'mowers, weary and brown and blithe.'

> 'Hush, ah hush,' the scythes are saying,
> 'Hush, and heed not, and fall asleep.'

The workers still pleat little old-world symbols of straw, carry home the last sheaf decorated with flowers and ribbons (see illustration p. 482), and at the harvest home engage in merry feasting, drinking and dancing.

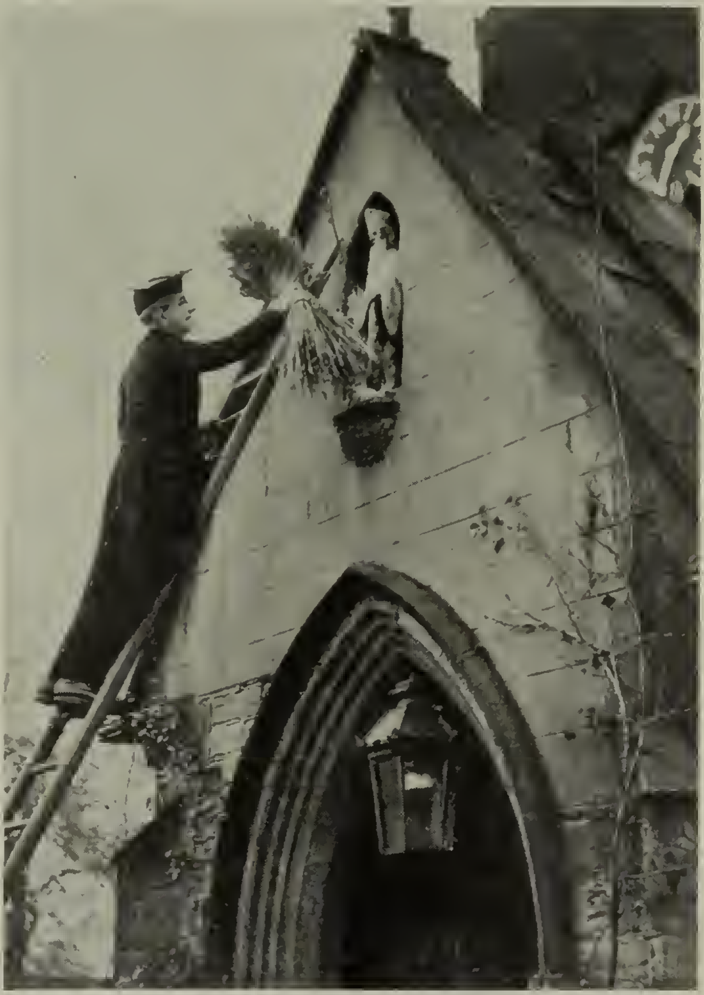
A feature of even the modern harvest is the enthusiasm displayed by the workers and the spirit of good fellowship manifested between employers and employed. This harvest spirit is more prominent, however, on the old-fashioned farms on which an elderly and experienced man is still 'lord of the harvest,' and takes the lead with his scythe. It is he who, when the last sheaf is cut, directs the ceremony of taking it home. It may be decorated with flowers or enclosed in a garment. When the sheaves are carried from the field, it is placed in the last cart, which is followed by the workers. In the poet Herrick's time the hock cart, as it was called, was itself decorated and the horse adorned with linen 'white as lilies.' The rustics laughed, shouted and sang. Herrick makes such a scene live for us :

> Some blesse the cart ; some kiss the sheaves,
> Some prank them up with oaken leaves.

At the harvest home which followed there was an abundance of food and drink.

> You shall see first, the large and cheefe
> Foundation of your feast, fat beefe :
> With upper stories, mutton, veale,
> And bacon (which makes fulle the meale),
> With sev'rall dishes standing by,
> And here a custard, there a pie,
> And here all-tempting frumentie.

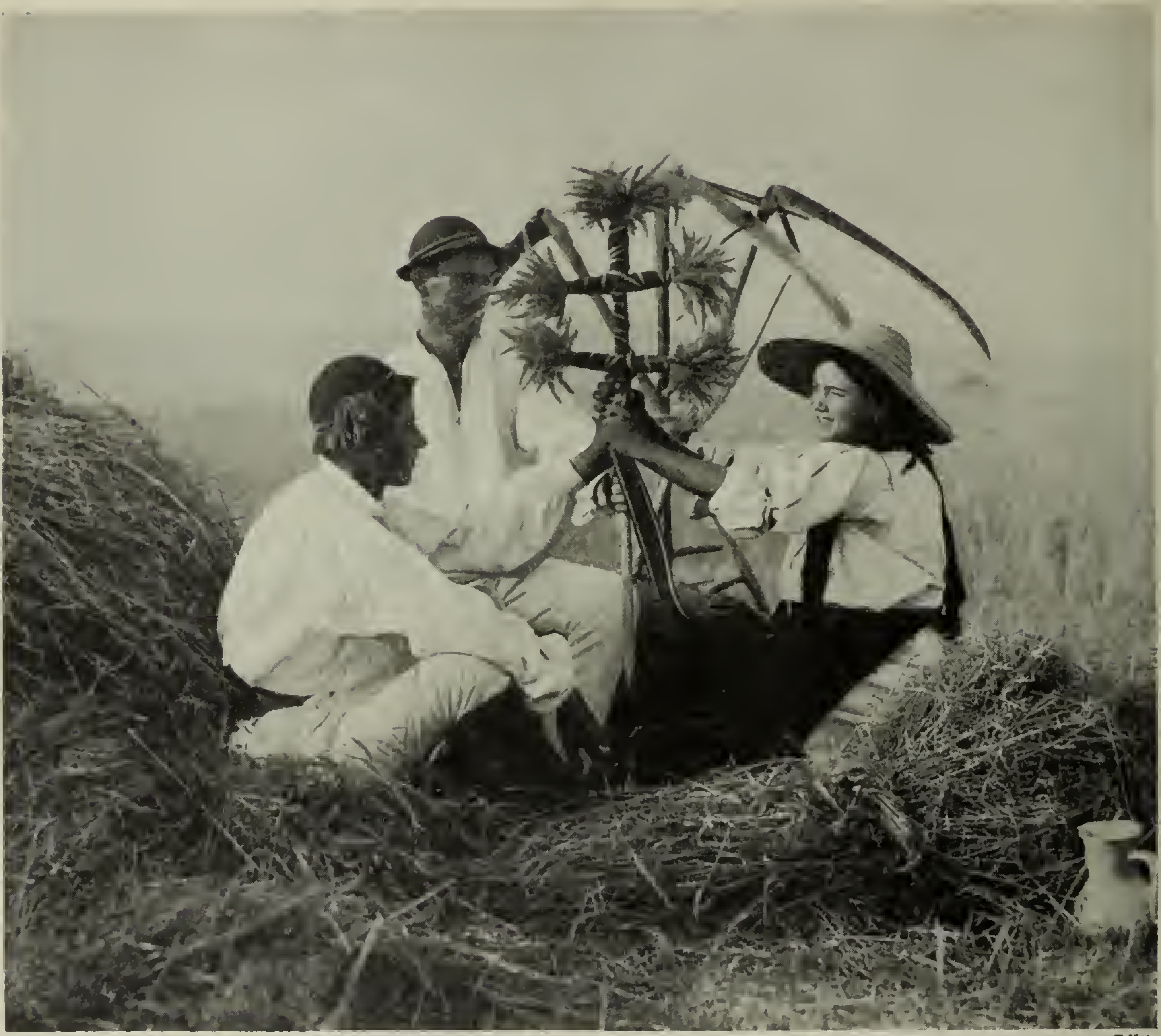
Good cheer and good will continue to characteris the harvest home, which, next to Christmas, is for agriculturists, especially of the old school, the happiest festival in the year. One can still see set up in prominence at the farm-house feast the straw symbol or image of the 'corn spirit,' which anciently represented a pagan deity. The feasting and drinking, as well as the singing and dancing, are obviously relics of the old-time ceremonial adoration of the divine giver of health, food and prosperity. The early Christian teachers had to suppress the worst features of the pagan festival, and when we find, as in Yorkshire, evidence of the custom of getting a clergyman to cut the first sheaf, as does the medicine man or sorceress among Eastern and African peoples, it would appear that our pioneer missionaries



Topical Press

NORSE CUSTOM FOR ENGLISH HARVEST

Every harvest festival the rector of Ackworth, near Pontefract, hangs a sheaf of corn on the staff of the effigy of S. Cuthbert over the church porch, in pursuance of an old Norse tradition. The Norsemen hung out corn for the ravens of Odin.



E.N.A.

SPLICING THE WHEAT CROSS IN THE FIELDS OF HARVEST

The Rumanian peasant is a lover of the old ways. In some parts reaping is still done with scythe and sickle, and the harvest is carried on low wagons drawn by slow-moving oxen. Many ancient customs of the harvest field still survive. One of them is the making of double crosses with the wheat, to be carried in the forthcoming harvest festival. This comely maiden, with the aid of her two admirers, is completing one of these crosses by binding the whole firmly together with broad striped ribbon.

must have supplanted the heathen priests and imparted a Christian significance to agricultural ceremonies

But the old deities have not been wholly forgotten. Probably their actual names were taboo, as are those of the elves and fairies, who are referred to as the 'still folk,' the 'hill folk,' the 'little folk,' and so on, by those who continue remembrance of them. In various areas we find that the secondary names have not yet been forgotten. In Kent the harvest spirit is the 'ivy girl,' in Shropshire and Hertfordshire the 'mare,' in Derbyshire the 'maiden,' in northern England and the Scottish Lothians the 'Kern baby,' or the 'Kern doll,' and in various parts of the eastern and north-eastern Scottish areas the 'clyack cheaf,' the 'maiden' or 'old wife.' In Skye the corn spirit is the 'cripple goat.' The animal names are of special interest, because in south-eastern Europe, whence came in ancient times those cultural elements that spread across our continent, the harvest gods had animal forms; Dionysus, Pan, the fauns and satyrs, for instance, were either goats or semi-goats.

In some parts of England and Scotland the old custom is either not yet extinct, or is remembered, of giving a drink of ale to the last sheaf image, or carrying water in the cart in which it is carried to sprinkle the sheaf and the people whom the home-returning harvesters meet on the road. Another lingering custom is to claim largesse from those persons who are casually met. It is remembered still that in Norfolk, the Lothians and Fife visitors to a harvest field who refused largesse, or 'head money,' were seized and 'dumped' roughly on the ground or on a sheaf, the workers seizing them by legs and arms to perform this rough ceremony.

Certain songs were sung at harvest homes and some of significant character still survive in various versions. A typical example favoured in the Scottish rural areas is the traditional ballad of 'John Barleycorn,' which Robert Burns utilised and altered, and of which an old English version, 'Allan-a-Maut' (Allan of the Malt) has been traced. It is evidently a fragment of ancient mythology, telling the Osirian-like myth of the slaying and burial of Barleycorn who, however, sprang up again through the clods to provide mankind with food and drink. When he 'became a man' and 'got a beard' he was sacrificed:

They took a scythe that was full sharp
  And cut him down at the knee;
And then they tied him in a cart
  Like a rogue for perjury.

The flails were then wielded to separate the grain from the husks:

They took two sticks that were full hard
  And sore they thresh'd his bones;
The miller served him worst of all
  For he crushed him 'twixt two stones.

Courtesy of Dr. Fielden

AN UPHOLDER OF OLD TRADITION

It is on farms where machinery has not been introduced that the picturesque old harvest customs survive. The flail, such as is seen in the hand of this old Dartmoor peasant, is still used on some isolated farms, especially where much stock is raised

Keystone

HARVEST THANKSGIVING OF THE COSTERS

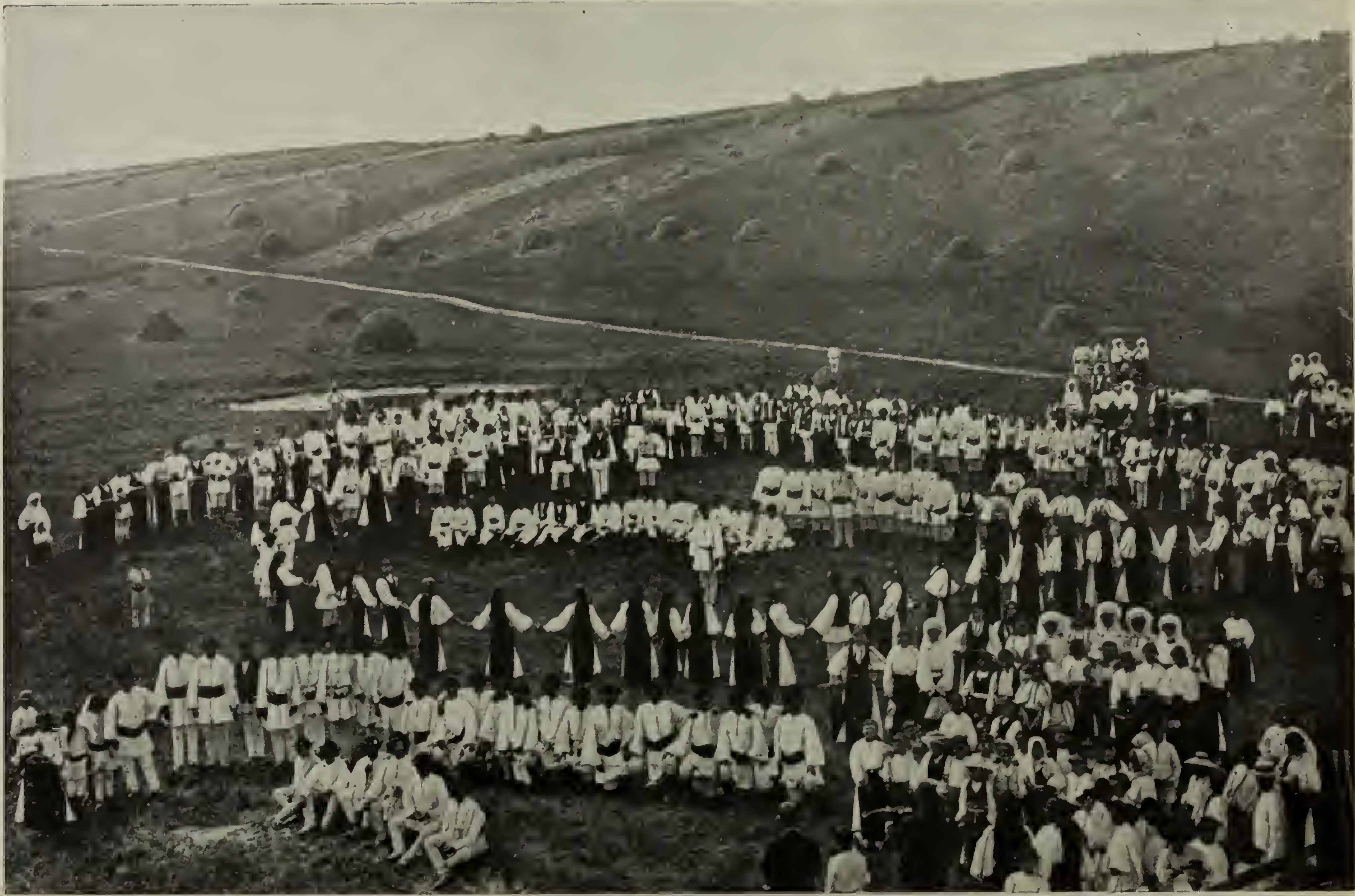
To the coster the harvest of fruit and vegetables is all-important, and every year services of thanksgiving are held in London. The coster 'king' of Walworth is here seen reading at the service at St. Magdalene's Church, Massinger Street, Old Kent Road

Then the 'brewster wife' took 'the sap out of his bodie' to make 'good ale':

And they have filled it in a cup,
  And drunk it round and round;
And aye the more they drank of it
  The more did joy abound.

Thus harvest-home drinking is found to have had originally a pagan significance. The 'first fruits' of the harvest were eaten ceremonially at the harvest home, and the fermented 'sap' of the corn spirit ceremonially drunk. Withal, the animals slain for the feast were, apparently, forms assumed by the deity. When the sickle was in general use for cutting grain the reapers flung their sharp instruments into the last portion of the standing crop, and the hares or rabbits killed were taken home to be eaten at the feast. Those animals that displayed a tendency to visit a newly-reaped field were likewise sacrificed and devoured. Throughout England geese were formerly prominent at the harvest home. An old folk song, 'The Ploughman's Feast Days,' refers to the custom:

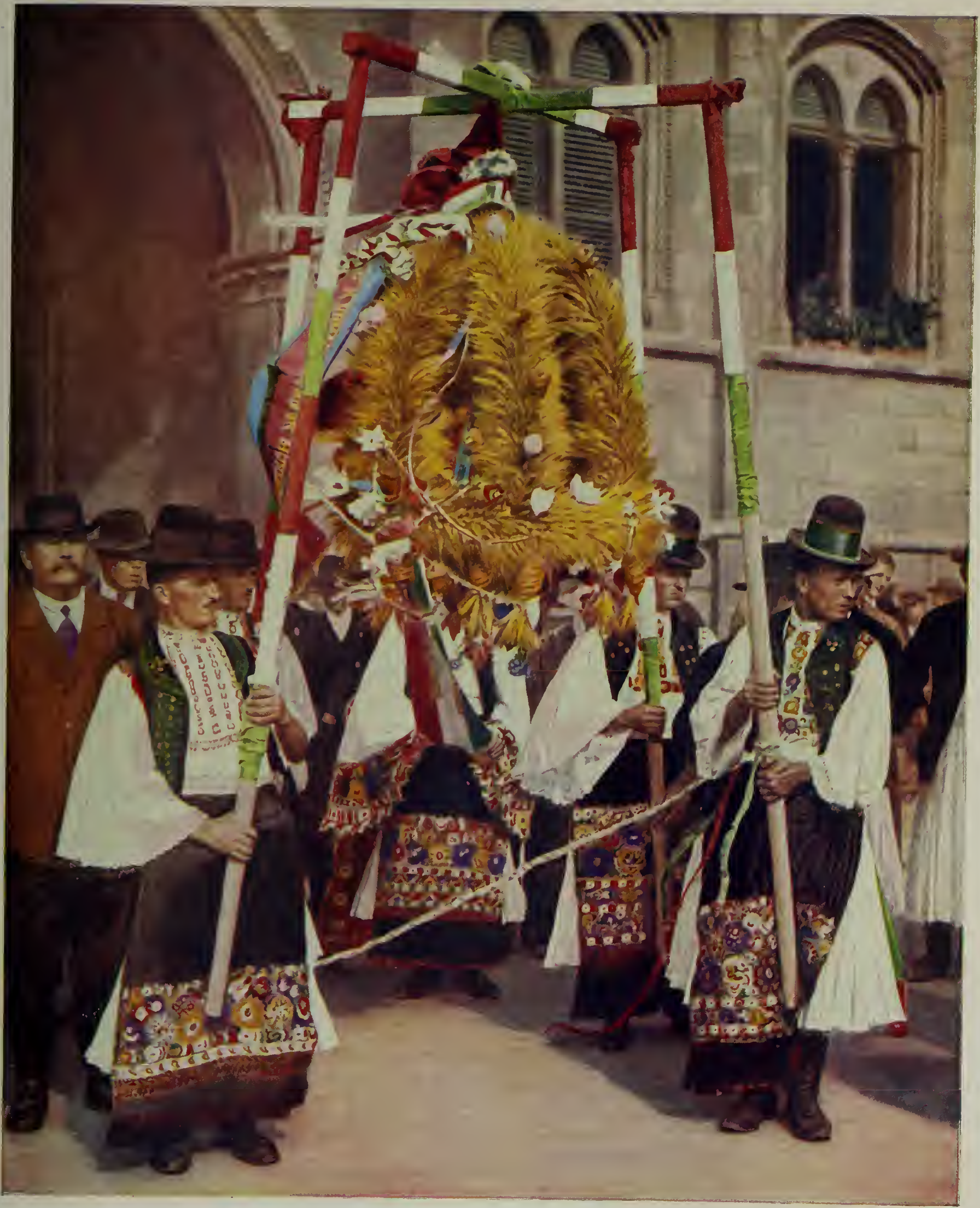
For all this good feasting, yet art thou not loose,
Till ploughman thou givest his Harvest Home goose.
Though goose go in stubble, I passe not for that
Let Goose have a goose, be she lean, be she fat



Underwood & Underwood

CELEBRATING THE HARVEST IN RUMANIA: PEASANTS DANCE THE HORA ON THE FIELD OF THEIR LABOURS

The harvest means a great deal to the hard-working peasants of Rumania, and a bumper harvest is always an occasion for much rejoicing. Dancing is frequently, though not invariably, a means of expressing gladness, and at Rumanian harvest festivals the peasantry more often than not show their joy by executing a hora, the popular round dance of the Balkan peoples, on the harvest field. Clad in their traditional costumes, the dancers, men and women, take up their appointed positions on the field, and when all is in readiness proceed to go through the intricate evolutions of the dance—a picturesque company in a romantic setting. A large party of peasants of Sibiu (Hermannstadt), in Transylvania, are here seen celebrating the harvest in this way.



HARVEST CELEBRATION IN HUNGARY: PRESENTING THE WHEAT CROWN

In Hungary the harvest festival nearly always coincides with S. Stephen's Day, August 20. All over the country delegations of farmers and peasants attend on the lord of the manor with a crown of wheat, which they present to him. Sometimes the wheat is borne in procession in a decorated wagon drawn by six wide-horned grey Hungarian oxen. The picturesquely garbed men here seen with their burden are from the Mezökövesd district, in the north-east of the country, on the great Hungarian plain, the Puszta.

In France one of the old names for the harvest home is the ‘ harvest gosling.’ Apparently there were people in ancient England who regarded the goose as a sacred animal connected with the harvest deity, and it is interesting in this connexion to find that Julius Caesar mentions that the ancient Britons refrained from eating the goose and the hare. The explanation appears to be that these animals were taboo except at the religious festivals connected with food production. In Ireland the corn image has various names, including the ‘ old woman,’ ‘ grannie ’ and ‘ carley ’ (? carlin). It is ‘ honoured ’ at the harvest home and preserved till ploughing time.

THE harvest home is observed throughout Scandinavian lands with as much fervour and merrymaking as in our own country. In Denmark it is the ‘ Hoerst Gilde ’ and is one of the most popular of the national festivals. The ceremonies connected with it begin on the harvest field, the last sheaf being formed in human shape with head, legs and arms, and it is called ‘ Gamle ’ (the ‘ old wife ’), or ‘ old rye woman,’ ‘ old barley woman ’ or, as in Zeeland, the ‘ beggar wife.’ When the effigy has been clad in female attire and decorated with flowers and ribbons it is carried in procession around a field or a small farm, and then into the farm-house kitchen, the workers making merry and singing harvest songs. In the

Ewing Galloway

E.N.A.

BLITHE YOUTH MAKES MERRY WHILE TIRED OLD AGE BEARS BURDENS

The gathering of the harvest is often the signal for a general holiday. Sports are indulged in, the villagers put on gala dress, and farm horses and carts are gay with ribbons, rosettes and flowers. The wearing of traditional costume, as here seen (bottom) in Czechoslovakia, adds colour and picturesqueness to the celebrations. Gleaning is still common in all countries, although the machine harvester leaves but small profits. This old Slovakian peasant woman (top) has returned from the field with a heavy load of wheat, which she will thresh by hand.

E.N.A.

MIRTH AND GOOD CHEER WHEN THE HARVEST IS SAFELY GATHERED

Of all the varied happenings on a farm, the harvest is one of the most momentous. The weather must be favourable, and the crop must be gathered quickly. Willing helpers for the harvest are never difficult to find, and in many parts it is the custom to regale the harvesters with a feast when the hard work is over and the dangers are overcome. Peasants of Finland are here seen sitting down to a harvest feast. Note the large round biscuits of rye bread.

kitchen the reapers sharpen their scythes to warn the housewife that if food is not provided they will cut all her vegetables. But the feast is always ready. The ' corn wife ' is set up and toasted, as is also the binder of the last sheaf, who is regarded as the living representative of the harvest spirit.

Harvest merrymaking is of boisterous character in Norway. A custom resembling that of ' dumping ' is observed. If a woman should visit a harvest field or threshing floor she is decorated with straw ropes formed for the occasion, and she is asked to ransom herself. A man receives rougher usage. He may be bound to a sheaf until he gives sufficient largesse to the harvesters. Laggards on a harvest field are called ' goats,' and mocked. Sometimes they receive punishment, a custom which formerly obtained in parts of England.

Swedish harvesters hail a woman visitor as the ' corn wife ' or ' corn maiden ' and decorate her with wisps of straw. Sometimes the farmer's wife is selected and honoured as the ' corn woman ' and as such is toasted at the harvest home. A man, however, may have to submit to a trying ordeal. They put a flail round his neck, pretending to throttle him, and a straw rope round his arms and body, and then say, ' Now we shall teach him the harvest song.' He may not be released, after singing the song, unless he provides funds for liquor so that he may be toasted. The Swedes, like other peoples, had an animal form of the corn spirit, as is made evident by the reference to the cutting of the last sheaf as ' killing the hare.' They, too, pay attention to visitors to the harvest field.

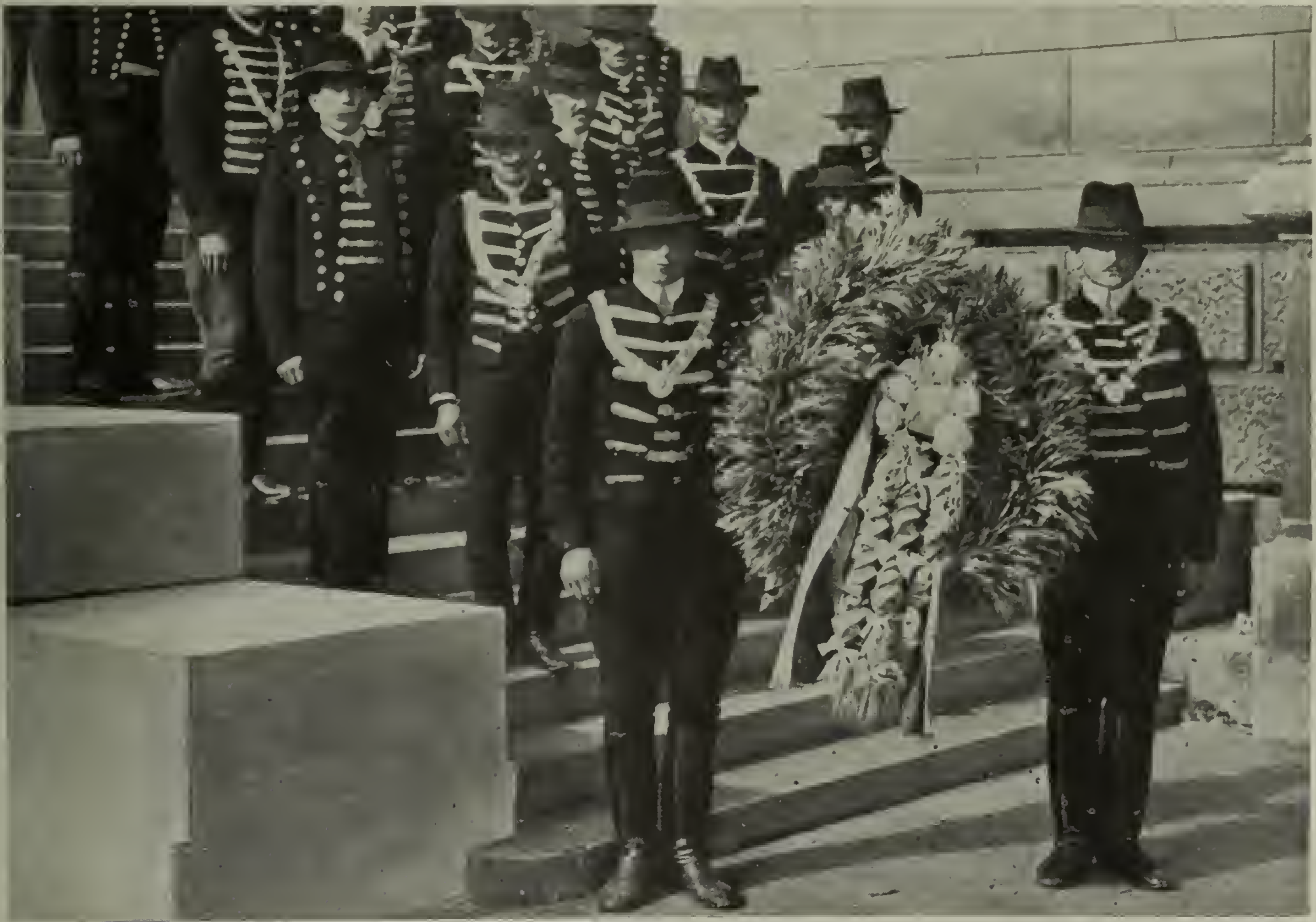
A CUSTOM survives in Holland which appears to throw light on the significance of both ' dumping ' and the pretended throttling. If, during the madder harvest, a passing stranger should shout some mocking remark to the workers, he is pursued and seized so that he may be buried in the ground to the waist. Mannhardt, the German anthropologist, suggests that the victim thus dealt with was originally regarded as a deity for, as Homer says in the Odyssey, gods sometimes roam about in the likeness of strangers. The man is buried in the ground because he is regarded as the harvest spirit in human form, just as the hare or goose forms must be sacrificed to ensure the continued fertility of the ground. The sinister aspect of the custom is that it suggests a memory of human sacrifice. Harvest homes were evidently in remote times accompanied by rites which survived from savagery.

In France and the Iberian peninsula the behaviour of harvesters nowadays resembles that of rural merrymakers elsewhere. The last sheaf is the ' barley mother,' the ' wheat mother,' or the ' rye mother,' as the case may be, and, as in Italy, the customs associated with reaping link with those of the vintage harvest, which are dealt with in another chapter. An interesting French custom, still surviving in the vicinity of Auxerre, is to make an image of the ' corn mother,' with floral decoration, human attire, a crown, and a scarf of blue or white colour. An oak twig, bearing leaves, is stuck in the breast of this image, which at the harvest home is set up in the middle of the floor. The reapers engage in a dancing competition, and the man who gives the best performance selects as his partner for the evening the most attractive girl in the company. All the women present wear wreaths of flowers and cereals, and when the dance is over they pull the image to pieces and, casting on it their wreaths, set the whole on fire. The ashes are subsequently scattered over the fields to ensure a good harvest in the following year. There is a Breton custom of presenting the last sheaf to the wife of the farmer, who, in return, provides drink money and other gifts as a reward.

Throughout France there are animal forms of the corn spirit. One of these is the wolf, which is also met with among Slavs and southern Germans. Children are scared away from fields of growing corn by being told that ' the wolf sits waiting for them.' A French saying when the last sheaf is being cut is ' You have caught the wolf.' A sheep is in some areas killed on the harvest field and afterwards eaten at the harvest home. Here, again, we appear to have further evidence of the sacrifice of an animal form of the corn spirit. The hare and quail are other harvest animals remembered by some French agriculturists.

A CURIOUS custom in Alsace is for farmers and workers to change places for twenty-four hours. At the harvest festival the servants are waited upon by the farmer, his wife and members of the family. The fox is a recognized form of the corn spirit in Alsace, and a stuffed one can still be seen on some threshing floors.

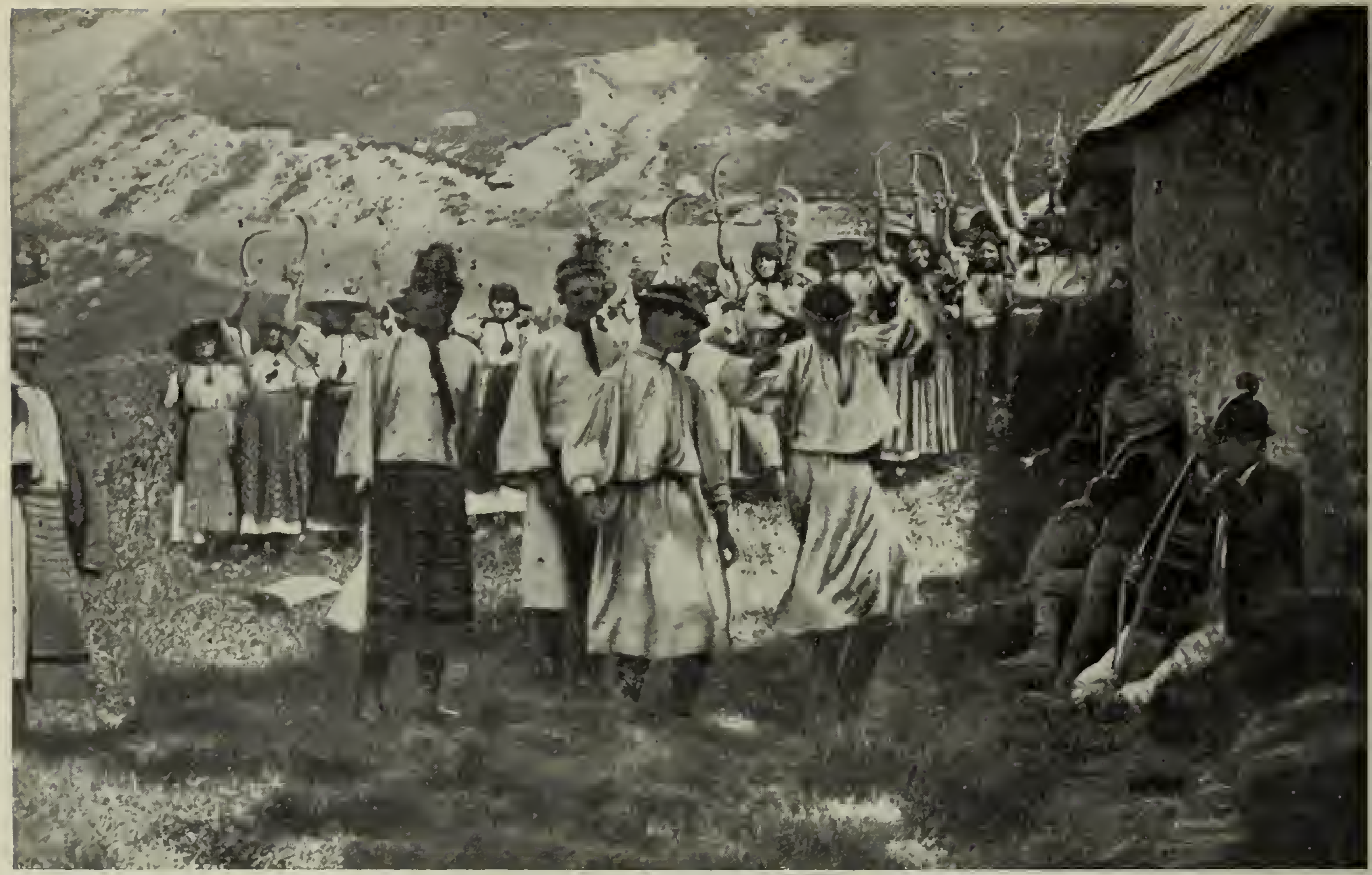
The harvest home is general in Germany and Czechoslovakia. It is the occasion of a general holiday, and the popular sports include running, sack

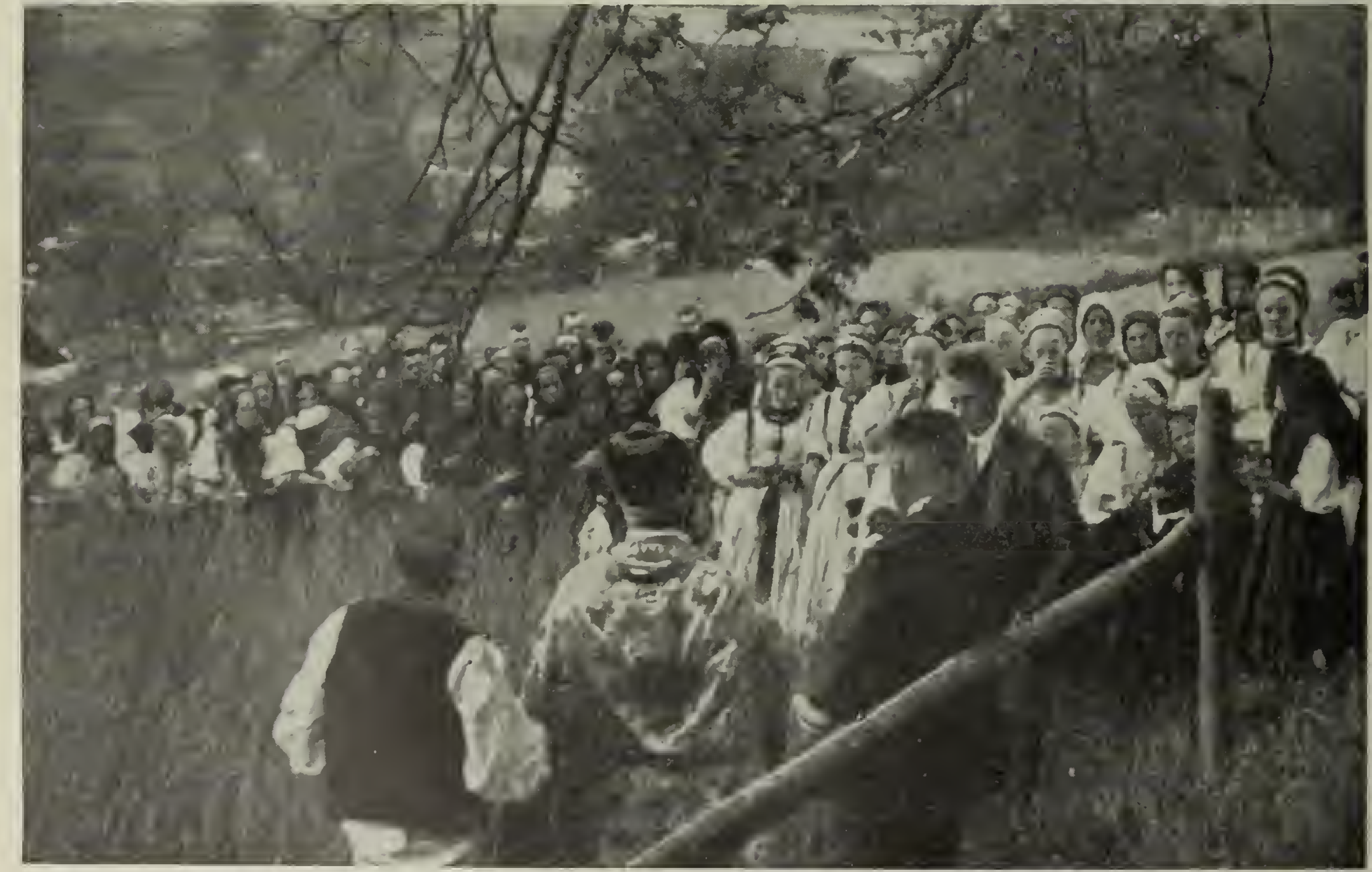


E.N.A

A POSSE OF STALWART HARVESTERS ESCORTS THE WREATH OF WHEAT

Making a wreath of wheat from the harvest field figures in the harvest customs of many countries. On some of the large estates of Hungary the wreath is embellished with straw plaitings and chains, which are worked by some of the girls who have been harvesting. When completed, the wreath is handed over to a party of men, who, dressed in traditional costume, carry it with due ceremony to the house of the owner of the estate. The harvest wreaths of Hungary are veritable works of art.

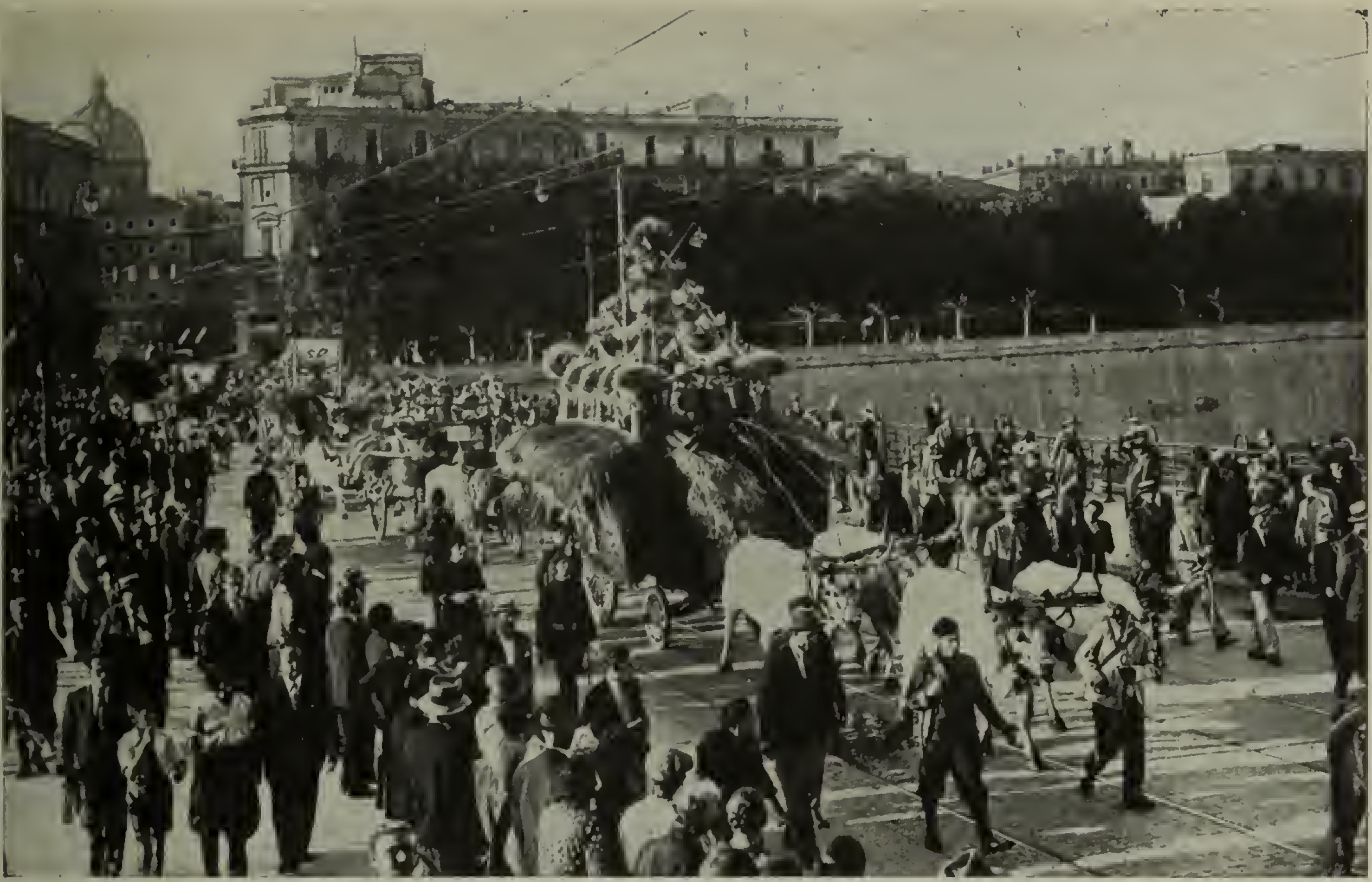


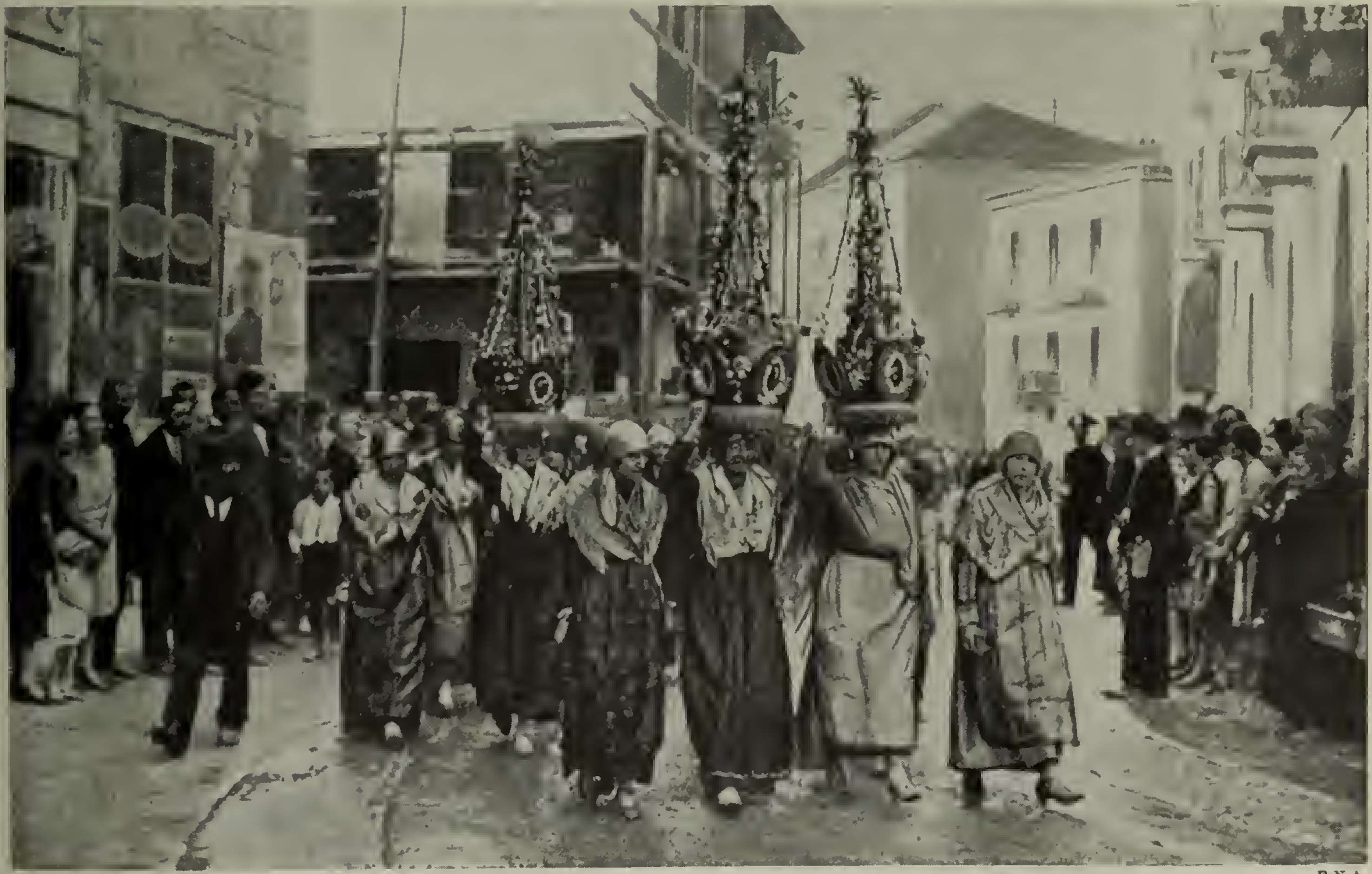


E.N.A

THE CHURCH'S BLESSING BEFORE THE HARVEST AND WILD MUSIC AND DANCING AFTER

As with so many picturesque old customs, the Church has thrown its mantle over harvest observances that are frankly pagan in their origin. It is a common practice for the priest to bless the standing wheat, as here seen (bottom), in Hungary. On the last day of the harvest in Transylvania a gypsy band is brought into the fields. As soon as the last stroke of the scythe is made, music, singing and dancing begin, and harvesters dance their way back to the village (top).

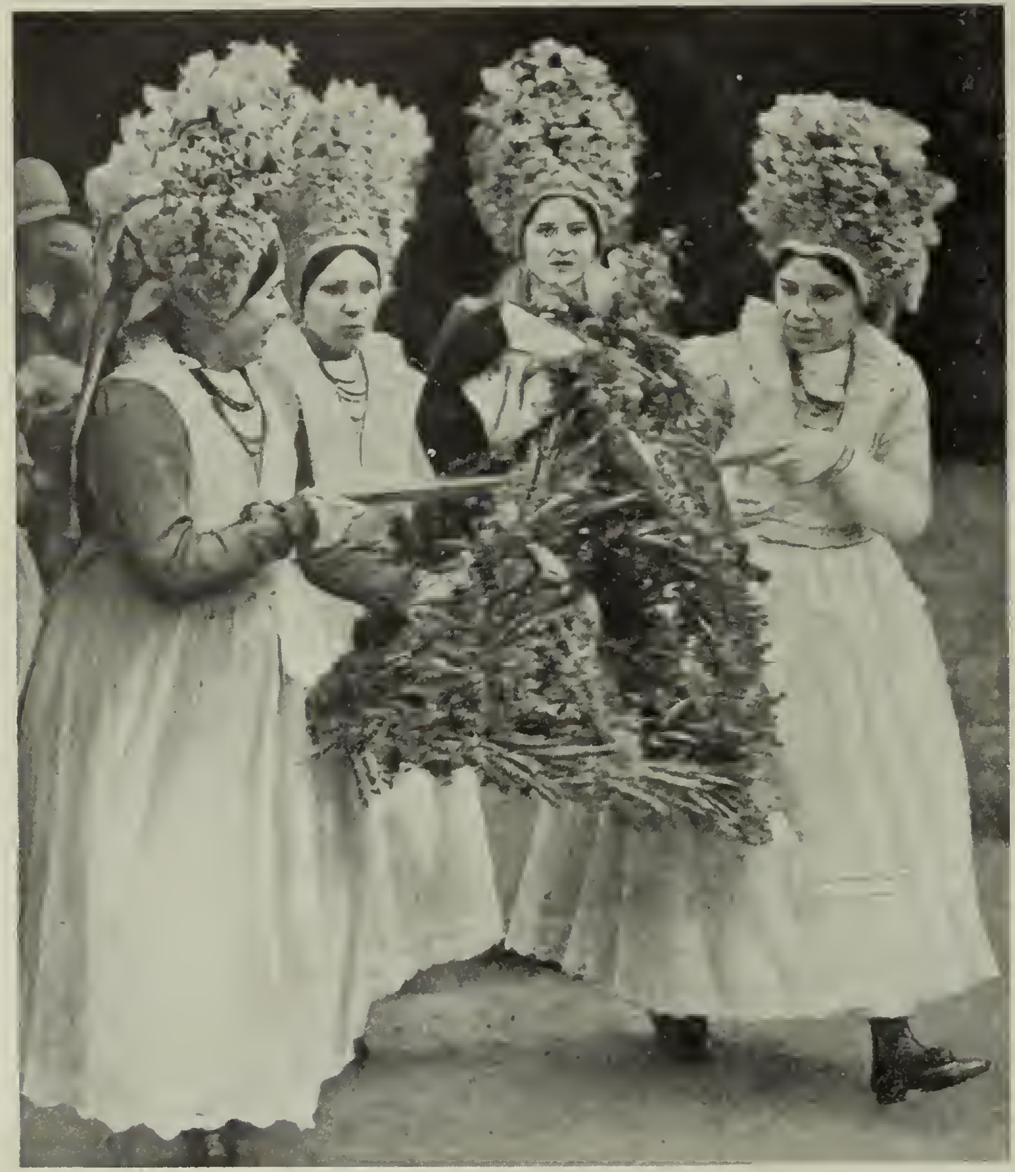




E.N.A.

RICH PAGEANTRY OF WHEAT HARVEST UNDER THE SUNNY SKIES OF ITALY

Among the most picturesque harvest processions of Europe are those staged in Italy. Every autumn an elaborate pageant of harvest is to be seen passing through the streets of the Trastevere district of Rome. Wagons drawn by oxen and decorated with sheaves in a profusion of artistic arrangements, and handsome peasant girls marching along with great baskets filled with wheat, are conspicuous features of the procession. Below are seen women carrying decorative baskets on their heads in a harvest festival at Ivrea, not far from Turin.



E.N.A.

PASSING THE PRESIDENT'S STAND WITH THE HARVEST WREATH

The peasants of Poland celebrate the harvest with a good deal of ceremony. These women are assisting in a harvest festival at Spala, south-east of Lodz, in which representatives from all sections of Poland took part. Adorned with marvellous floral head-dresses, they are carrying in procession a wreath of wheat to present to the president of the republic.

racing, putting the shot, jumping and wrestling. Women have their contests as well as men, and all are gaily costumed in those areas in which old customs are conserved. The ' corn mother ' is widely known. When the wind passes in waves of shadow over a grain field, the folk say, ' There goes the mother of the crop.' Children who venture near a field of corn to pluck wild flowers are warned that the ' corn mother ' may catch them, and some folklorists think this may be another memory of the antique custom of human sacrifice to ensure a good harvest. An old belief is that the ' corn mother ' may sometimes be seen at night, clad in linen and with cornstalks for hair. If a crop should be bad, the farmer is said to have sinned and is being punished. This may be a memory of the vengeance taken by a pagan deity for neglect of magico-religious rites. Perhaps, in ancient times, a sacrifice was considered necessary to help the crops by propitiating the ' corn mother ' with blood.

When the last sheaf is being cut the German reapers may be heard shouting ' Waul ! ' or ' Wol ! ' or ' Wôld ! ' A staff crowned with flowers is placed in this symbolic sheaf, and the reapers, baring their heads, strike their scythes with the whetstones in tom-tom fashion and shout ' Waul ! Waul ! Waul ! ' In some parts of Germany the image is called the ' old wife,' and in others the ' old man.' A girl is often selected to carry the ' corn spirit ' to the farm house. She wears a floral and cereal wreath which she gives to the farmer's wife, and it is hung up in the room in which the harvest feast is given. The image is placed in a barn so that the mice may get their share, and it is afterwards suspended for preservation. Some deposit the wreath in the church until the following spring. An Austrian name of the last sheaf is ' queen of corn ears.' It is conveyed in a carriage with much honour to the harvest home. The Poles call the image ' Baba '—' old wife ' or ' mother '—and the woman who binds, decorates and dresses it is the ' Baba ' for the rest of the year. In Lithuania the name is ' Boba.' When the image is carried to the farmer's home it is drenched with water, and the merrymakers, after feasting, dance round it. In some parts of Lithuania every reaper makes haste to finish his task, for the ' old mother ' lives in the last stalks, and whoever cuts them kills her and thereby brings trouble on himself.

The Russian harvest festival was given a Christian significance and the girl selected for honour as ' queen ' had placed upon her head a crown of thorns. On a harvest field an image of pleated corn ears is called Volos, believed to be the name of an old thunder and rain god.

The customs in Galicia and Transylvania resemble those of Western and Central Europe, but a cock is sacrificed and its skin and bones preserved with the last sheaf. In Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece the image of the corn spirit is either sprinkled with water or drenched in a river before being set up at the harvest home among the merry feasters and dancers. Evidently the harvest customs of Europe, as Sir J. G. Frazer suggests, ' date from an extremely early age in the history of agriculture.'

TOTEMS AND TOTEMISM

TOTEMISM enshrines the fundamental laws of tribal organization and is a principle applicable to almost the whole of the primitive world. Subjects which in the strict anthropological sense may be regarded as side issues from the main principle appear in this and other sections under such titles as Magic and the Means of Life, Taboos Connected with Food, The Mysteries of Taboo, and others.

Of all the generalisations of anthropology none is more certain than that the ancestors of all existing peoples have passed through the hunting stage. True, such hunting must be taken to include mere gathering, since one tribe may hunt chiefly for elephants and another for acorns. One and all, however, who thus go straight to nature for their nutriment are alike in being, not food-raisers, but mere food-collectors. Life is a perpetual game of hide-and-seek as played between them and the other denizens, animal and vegetable, of their immediate environment. No wonder, then, that animal-lore and plant-lore together form the very sum of their philosophy. Further, with but rudimentary appliances to help them in the chase, and confronted by beasts as fierce and almost as cunning as themselves, men are less conscious of being, as they are today, veritable lords of creation, but humbly deem themselves very much on a moral level with the brutes—part and parcel, in fact, of the democracy of the wild—a welter of perpetual faction-fights, in which foes are many, and friends few but correspondingly valuable.

To illustrate this primitive attitude of equality towards what we now think of as the lower creatures, one has only to consider the world-wide belief that birds and beasts talk their own languages—nay, that if a man is clever enough to understand what they say he can pick up a marvellous amount of curious and useful information. One still hears people remark, 'A little bird whispered me that secret,' and in such a case it would be only fair to inquire how the knowledge of bird-speech was acquired—whether it was by picking up a magic ring, for example, or by eating a serpent's liver, or simply by putting fern-seed into one's shoes, all of these being well-tried specifics. Thus, in the story of the Boy who became Pope, he annoys his father by learning nothing at school except the languages of the dogs, the frogs and the birds; but this turns out to be quite enough education for him to qualify as a social climber. As for the hunting savage, it is told, for instance, by Sir Everard im Thurn, in his 'Indians of Guiana,' how round the camp-fire at night his native companions would spin the most impossible yarns about their conversations and communications with the furred and feathered tribes of the forest; not only commanding implicit credence from others, but evidently tending to believe it all themselves. For the matter of that, many of us are prepared to hobnob with a favourite dog or horse almost as if he were a Christian.

Mondiale

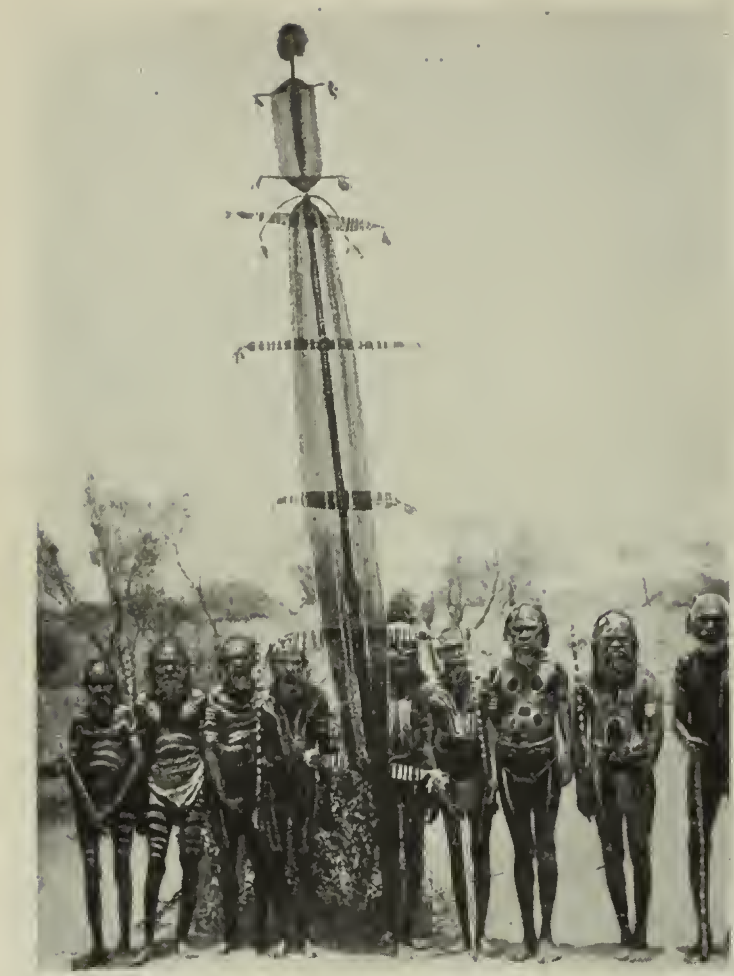
TOTEM OF A RED INDIAN CLAN

Legend says that the son of a Niska (British Columbia) chieftain, given a box of stars, sun and moon to play with, threw them into the sky and rose as a raven to heaven. Thus the raven became his clan's totem

It is, then, against such a general background of a naive sense of fellowship with all living nature that the special facts should be viewed which anthropologists class together rather loosely under the head of totemism. Current definitions of the term are none too satisfactory, but for our present purpose it may suffice to say that totemism is that complex of beliefs and institutions which is based on the mystic self-identification of a human group or individual with some non-human natural kind. The word comes from America, and occurs first, in the form 'totam' and 'totamism,' in an account of his travels written in 1791 by an Indian interpreter named Long. Among the Chippewas, a large tribe inhabiting the region of the Great Lakes and belonging to the Algonquin-speaking stock, *ototeman* translated literally meant 'his-own-kin,' and thus stood for a man's clan—in this case the group that counted relationship through the mother's, not the father's, side of the family. The word then found its way into American literature; so that, for instance, Longfellow sings in 'Hiawatha':

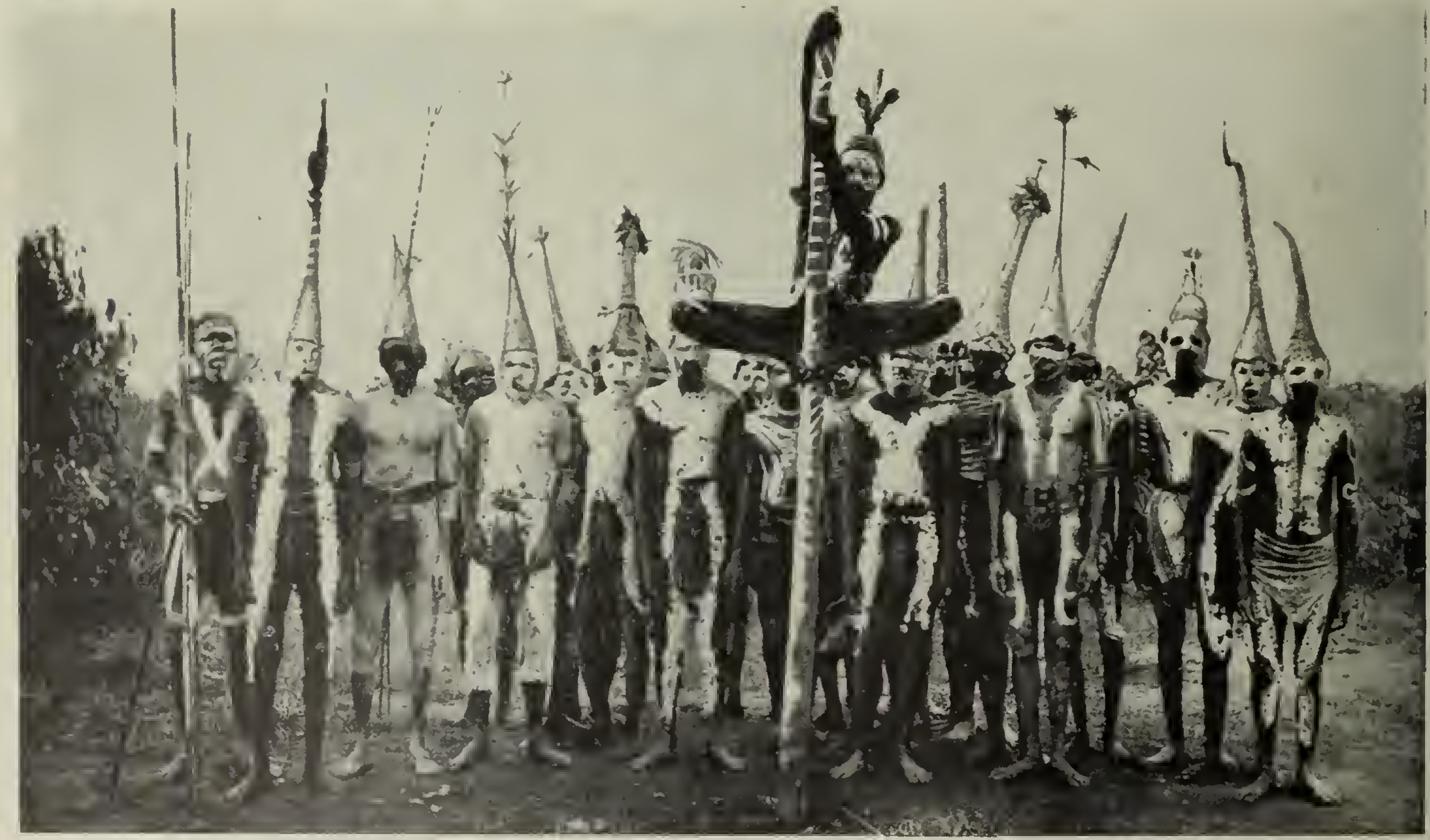
> From what old ancestral totem,
> Be it Eagle, Bear or Beaver,
> They descended this we know not.

It was, however, the British anthropologist J. F. McLennan who



in 1869 published a paper on 'The Worship of Animals and Plants' which raised the term 'totemism' to the status of a principle applicable to the whole of the primitive world. Today one has only to consult the four immense volumes of Sir J. Frazer's 'Totemism and Exogamy' to realize that, in view of the endless ramifications of the subject, one is almost entitled to speak of a totemistic stage of human society. Only a few hunting peoples show no traces of such a custom, and, with perhaps the single exception of the Eskimo, they are very backward in respect to all the arts of life, and indeed may well have degenerated. Meanwhile, though the provincial forms of totemism, as they may be called, are very various, so that, for instance, Australia, North America and Africa can each boast a type of its own, there are also common features so numerous as to warrant the guess that we are in the presence of a very ancient distribution of culture from some central cradle-land, such as south-western Asia

Be this as it may, we have not the evidence to bring home definite totemism to palaeolithic man in Europe, however much we may suspect it in view of the preoccupation of the cave-artists with the figures of animals, including those of animal-headed men, who are presumably meant for masked dancers. We know at least that in Australia the aboriginals divide up among themselves the responsibility of



Dr. R. R. Marett

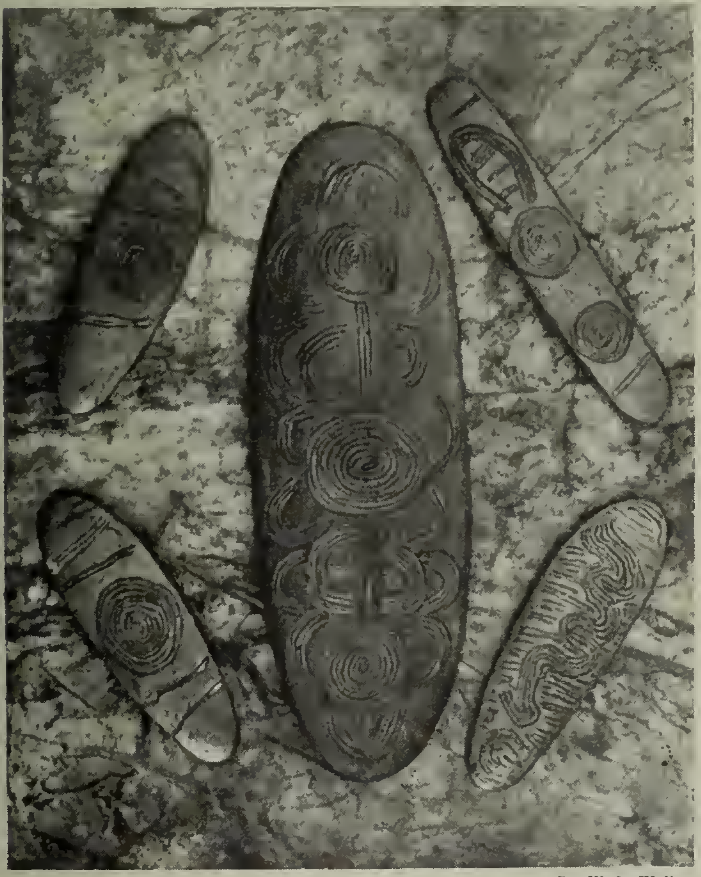
RUDE SYMBOLISM WHEREBY PRIMITIVE MAN COMMUNES WITH THE DIVINE

Wherever totemism prevails the dominant feature in the ritual celebrations is the head-dress worn by the participants, the basic idea of it being representation of the totem animal. Thus the Australian emu men fashion a long tapering head-dress of grass stalks bound round with human hair and swansdown, which, swaying as they move, suggests the action of the emu when in search of food. That it is a sacred dance for which the Northern Territory aborigines (top) are assembled is shown by the symbolic decoration on their totemic pole.

persuading the different animal kinds by means of symbolic ritual to be fruitful and multiply, so that, as described in the chapter on 'Magic and the Means of Life,' the men of the kangaroo totem do their best to stimulate the kangaroos, the emu men bring their influence to bear on the emus, and so on. Hence it is not unlikely that the impressive sorcerer of the cave of Les Trois Frères, with his reindeer mask, may have styled himself a reindeer, and that there were likewise human cave-bears or bisons, whose business it was to keep in mystic touch with their animal counterparts and incite them to do their duty by mankind.

On the other hand, hunting rites intended to control or conciliate the game are not necessarily totemistic, but form a wider class within which falls the particular variety involving the totemite's belief that his totem is of one nature with himself, and must therefore be in sympathy with his wishes and needs.

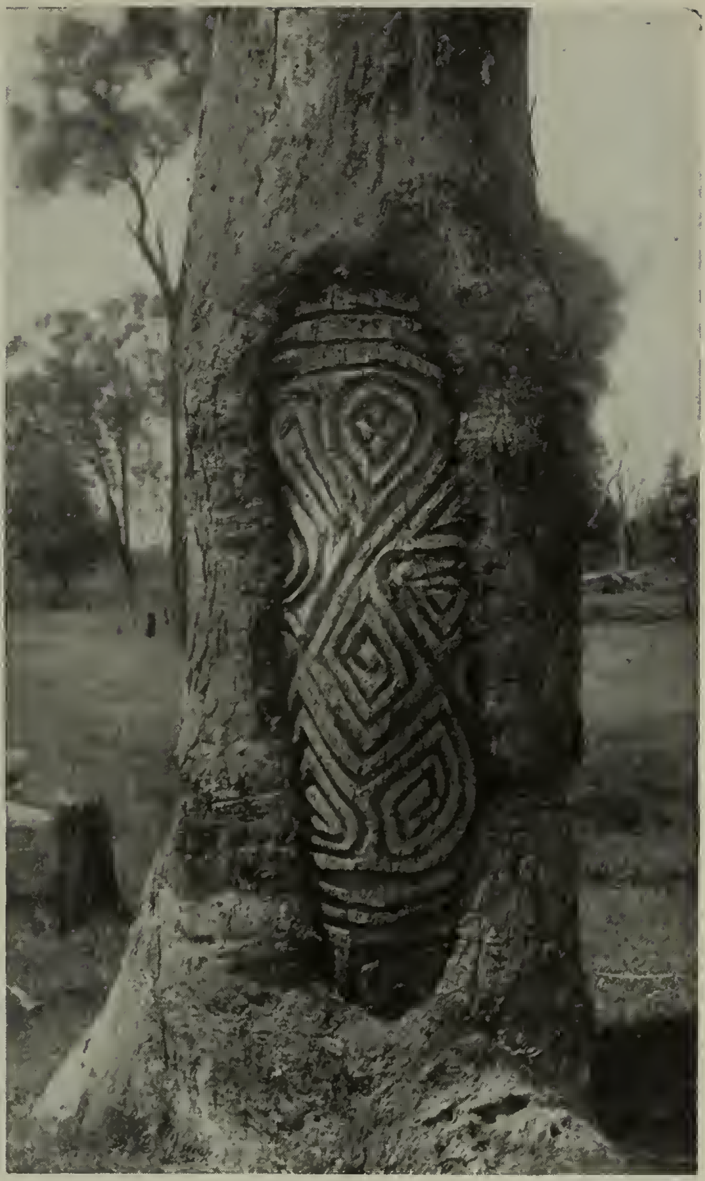
Indeed, however preferable it may be to stick to known facts, it is tempting to indulge in speculation concerning the mysterious origins of a scheme of thought and behaviour so widespread and so alien to our civilized notions. As plausible a theory as any is that given at the outset by McLennan, who supposed totemism to arise out of a system of naming individuals or groups after different kinds of animals or plants; all the further developments being due to the fact that in savage philosophy the name is taken as equivalent to the thing named; which in this case happens to include both the borrower of the name and its original owner. Indeed, if a savage came thus to see in his namesake animal or plant a sort of second self or double, he could hardly fail to feel a respect for it that might easily ripen into awe. Moreover, he might reasonably expect help from such a source as being an extension of his own personality; while, contrariwise, to injure it would amount to suicide by proxy.



Dr. W. D. Walker

RITUAL PEBBLES OF AUSTRALIAN EMU MEN

Designs representing the emu, or its fat and eggs, are painted on the earth or on stones by Australian aborigines of the emu totem. Round these the men sit and chant, associating them with the spirits that can influence the fertility of the emu

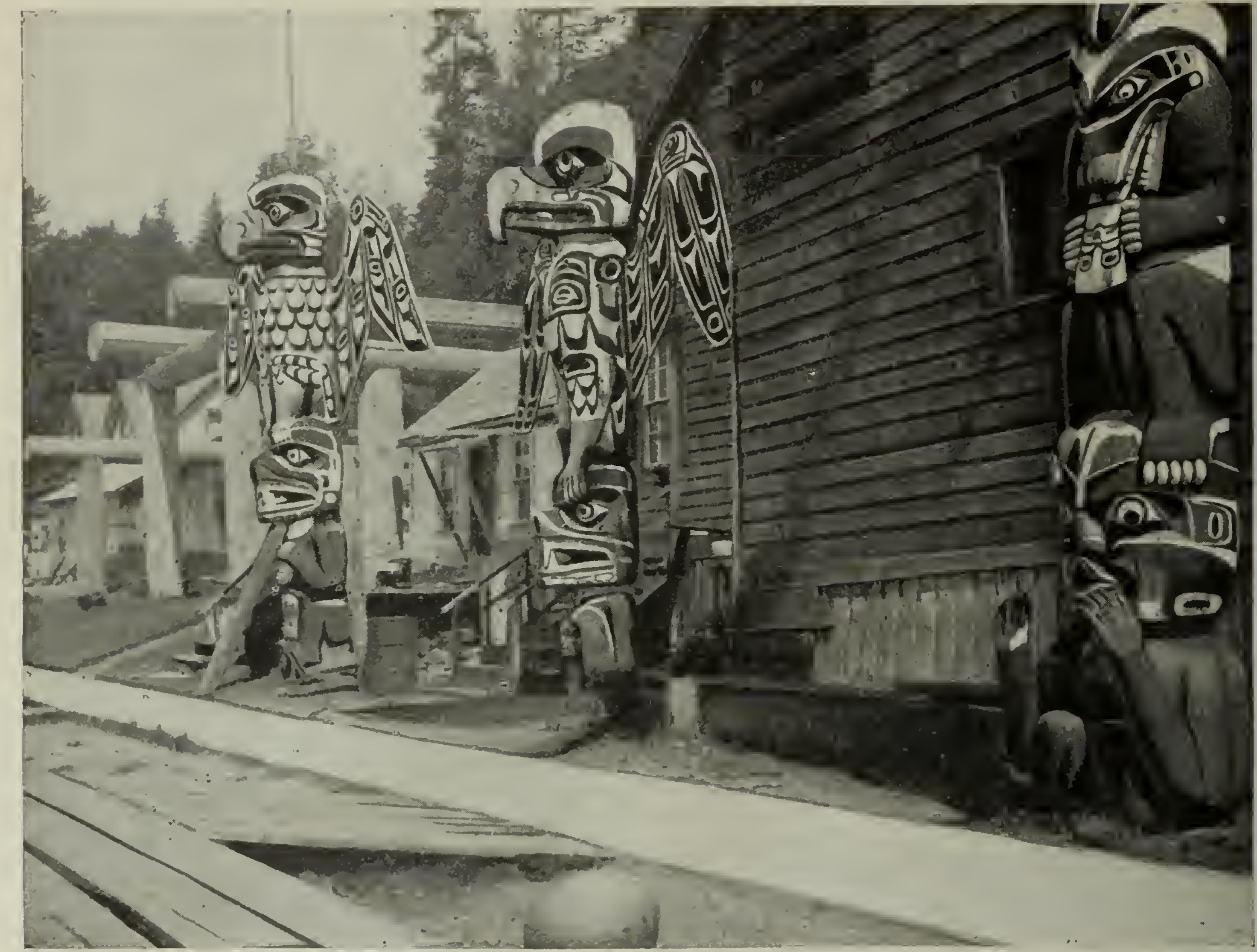


Dr. R. R. Marett

STYLISED DESIGN WHOSE ORIGIN IS LOST

Many Australian totemic designs are so conventional that they bear no resemblance to the thing symbolised. The designs, such as that cut on this tree, have been handed down from a remote ancestry with certain meanings attached, and it suffices that these are understood.

Of course, there lurks in the background the further question why such animal or plant names should, in the first instance, have been bestowed on individuals and groups. We might be clearer on this point if we knew whether the individual name or the group name came first. Thus an individual name, if given at birth, might have something to do with the imagined cause of the birth in question; for primitive notions on this subject are apt to be entirely



Ruthven Stuart

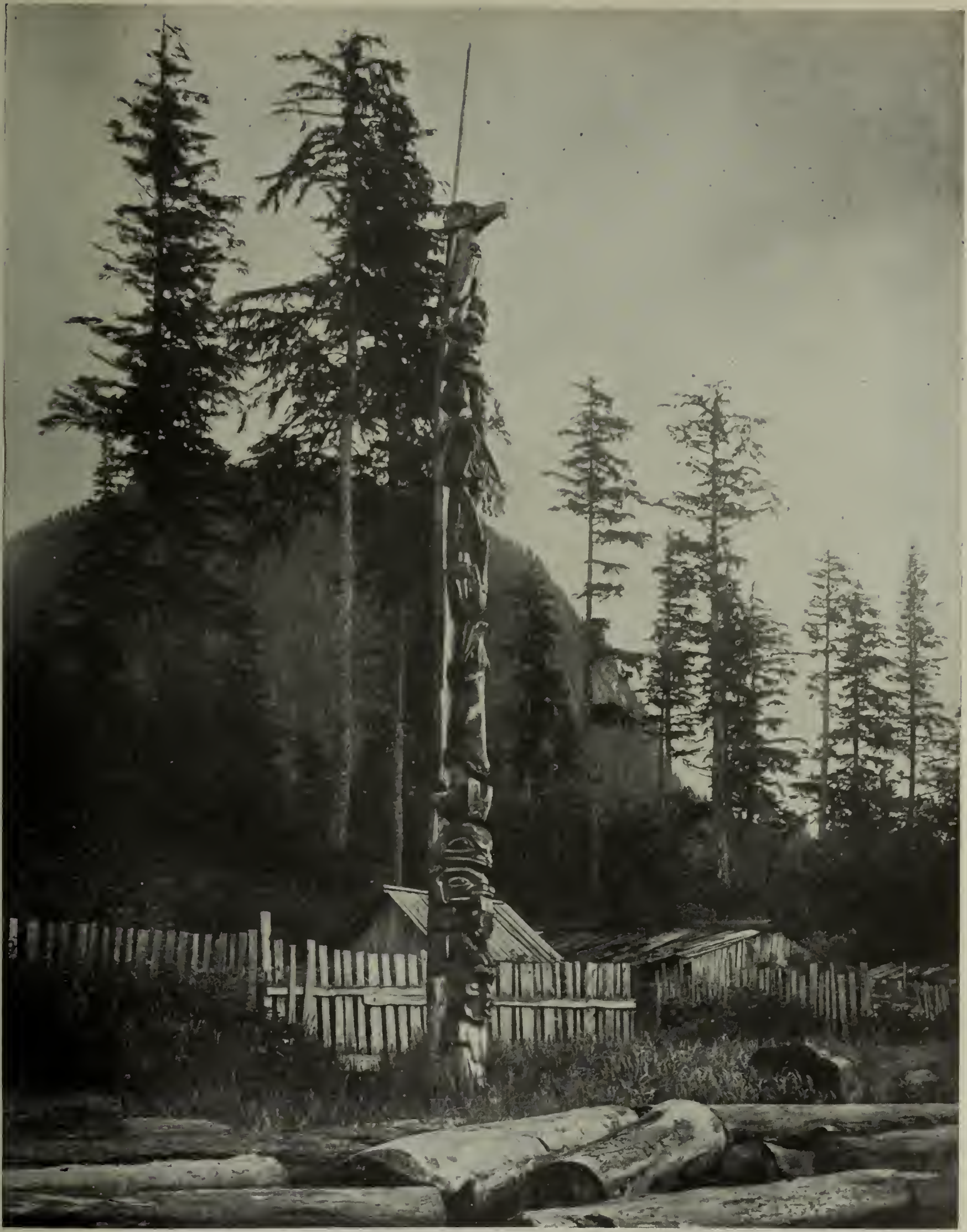
TOTEMIC EMBLEMS WITH RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

Regulation of intermarriage between groups of a tribe which severally prohibited marriage between their own members is one of the primary social obligations entailed by totemism. Each clan has spiritual association with its own totem animal, by whose name it is known and whose appearance it simulates in its ritual ceremonies. Among the North American Indians totemism approximated to heraldry, and the emblems on their totem poles, like these at Alert Bay, Alaska, indicated a clan's origin and commemorated events in its history

non-physiological. Thus in the New Hebrides conception is attributed to some animal or even some fruit with which the mother has been in accidental contact; it being thereafter incumbent on her child to abstain religiously from food of a like nature. On the other hand, a group might come to be known as the bear-folk because they chiefly hunted bears and were well posted in all the lore conducive to that purpose. All this however, is mere conjecture, and, even when the savage professes to explain how he came by his totem, we may be sure that he is following our example and simply drawing on his imagination.

Here, for instance, is a tale told by the Tsimshians of British Columbia. Once upon a time a man met a bear in the forest. Instead of attacking him, the bear took him to its home and there it taught him many clever and useful things. So when at length the man came back, his sister made him a dancing-blanket on which she painted the figure of a bear. Whereupon her children took the bear for their crest, and were ever afterwards known as the bear clan. So explains the primitive anthropologist, making up a Just-So story with a fancy that draws no line between men-folk and bear-folk, unless it be in favour of the latter.

Most typical of all, however, among the ways of accounting for these animal or vegetable family names is it to invent stories of descent from supernatural ancestors of mixed traits, so that an Australian will speak of one of his forerunners of the great days of old now as a man-kangaroo and now as a kangaroo-man. At most the natives occasionally show themselves to be aware of a slight distinction between the two. Thus, at Undiara, the great centre of the kangaroo totem in the Arunta country, there is a water hole, and close by a rocky ledge. The first is full of the unborn spirits, which in that state of existence have neither legs nor arms nor head, of kangaroos destined to become real men and women; while the second contains similar unborn spirits of kangaroo animals. By cutting themselves freely and anointing the rock with their blood, the men drive out in all directions these animal spirits, so that they



American Museum of Natural History

QUASI-HERALDIC BLAZONRY ON A RED INDIAN TOTEM POLE

In the timbered country of British Columbia and Alaska many of the Indian totem poles are impressive objects—towering trunks of pine or cedar fantastically carved and garishly coloured with as precise attention to prescribed convention as is given to the blazoning of arms by the College of Heralds. This specimen at Alert Bay is crowned by a beaked raven, and a fish, a mythical beast half frog, half lizard, and bird and human heads, all highly stylised, complete the decoration.

can enter the female kangaroos—exactly as the human spirits are believed to enter the women—and may so cause the species to multiply. Quite apart from such utilitarian purposes, it is edifying to relate stories or to hold dramatic performances in which the legendary doings of the old-time semi-bestial folk are duly celebrated ; which doings are often more wonderful than those of man or of beast as we know them now.

Thus, when a celebrated kangaroo-man called Ungutnika was wandering about in the good old days, he came upon some wild dogs, who tore him to bits and swallowed the meat, leaving, however, the skin and bones on one side. But Ungutnika was by no means done for. The skin simply covered up the bones again, and off he hopped. Three times this happened, until at last they dragged him to Undiara and ate him up all except the tail, which they buried ; and there, to prove the truth of the story, the tail may be seen to this day, turned into a stone. It may be added that during his lifetime Ungutnika was afflicted with boils, which he tore out of himself and put into the ground, where they likewise became stones. Hence, a modern kangaroo man who wishes to score off an enemy has only to charge a toy spear with the evil magic contained in one of these stones, and he can pass on the boils merely by pointing the weapon in the other man's direction.

Or, again, to dress up as an emu ancestor is an elaborate affair involving the construction of a long, tapering head-dress of grass stalks bound round with hundreds of yards of human hair string. The performer then struts about with a swaying motion that suggests the aimless peering about of the actual bird. So, too, a couple of the eagle-hawk people make up a play by pretending to be eagle-hawks squabbling over a piece of meat.

All this mummery may seem to us rather pointless, but it is the most solemn and moving thing in the life of the native, enabling him not merely to assert his right to his own distinctive name in the sight of all, but, over and above that, to acquire that sense of increased power and worth which the glamour of ancestry invariably confers, whether one claims to be descended from a totem or from a god, from a prophet, or from a simple pirate.

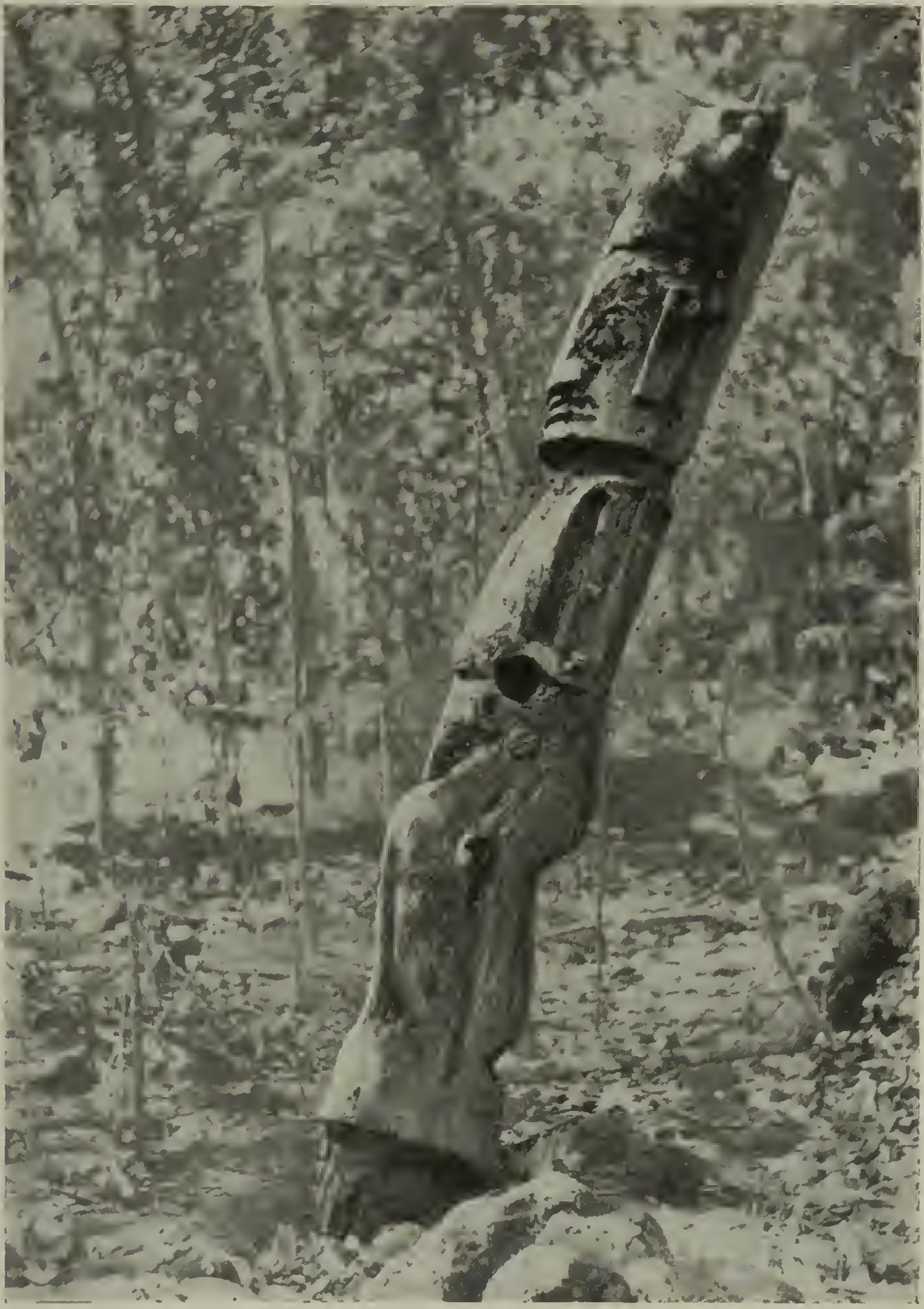
Indeed, the interest in ancestry may develop to such an extent that totemism virtually passes into heraldry. This has been the case on the north-west

Mondiale

PROUD HUNGARIAN PEASANTS WHO KEEP THEMSELVES TO THEIR CLAN

Endogamy is the name given to the principle whereby men are obliged to find their wives within their own racial group. An interesting example is provided in Europe by the Matyok clan, peasant people of Kur-Tatar race settled in Hungary. A group of young married women at Mezökövesd are shown here in their characteristic rich costume, of which more is said in page 344. A proud race of splendid physique, artistic and intelligent, these people never marry outside their clan.

coast of America, whence come those huge totem poles that are the glory of any ethnological museum fortunate enough to possess them. One sees the best part of a great pine tree carved fantastically so as to exhibit here the projecting beak of a monstrous raven, there a bear hugging a man, and somewhere else a killer-whale—for a clan may possess not one only, but many of these crests or emblems, which are supposed to commemorate events in its early history. These chronicles, however, are not strictly veracious, unless, for instance, we believe the eagle family of the Haidas when they tell how they 'first came out' from an ancestress with the unusual name of 'Property-making-a-noise,' and she took them to the Tsimshian country wearing a dogfish tattooed on her back, whence they came back bringing a beaver, and so on.

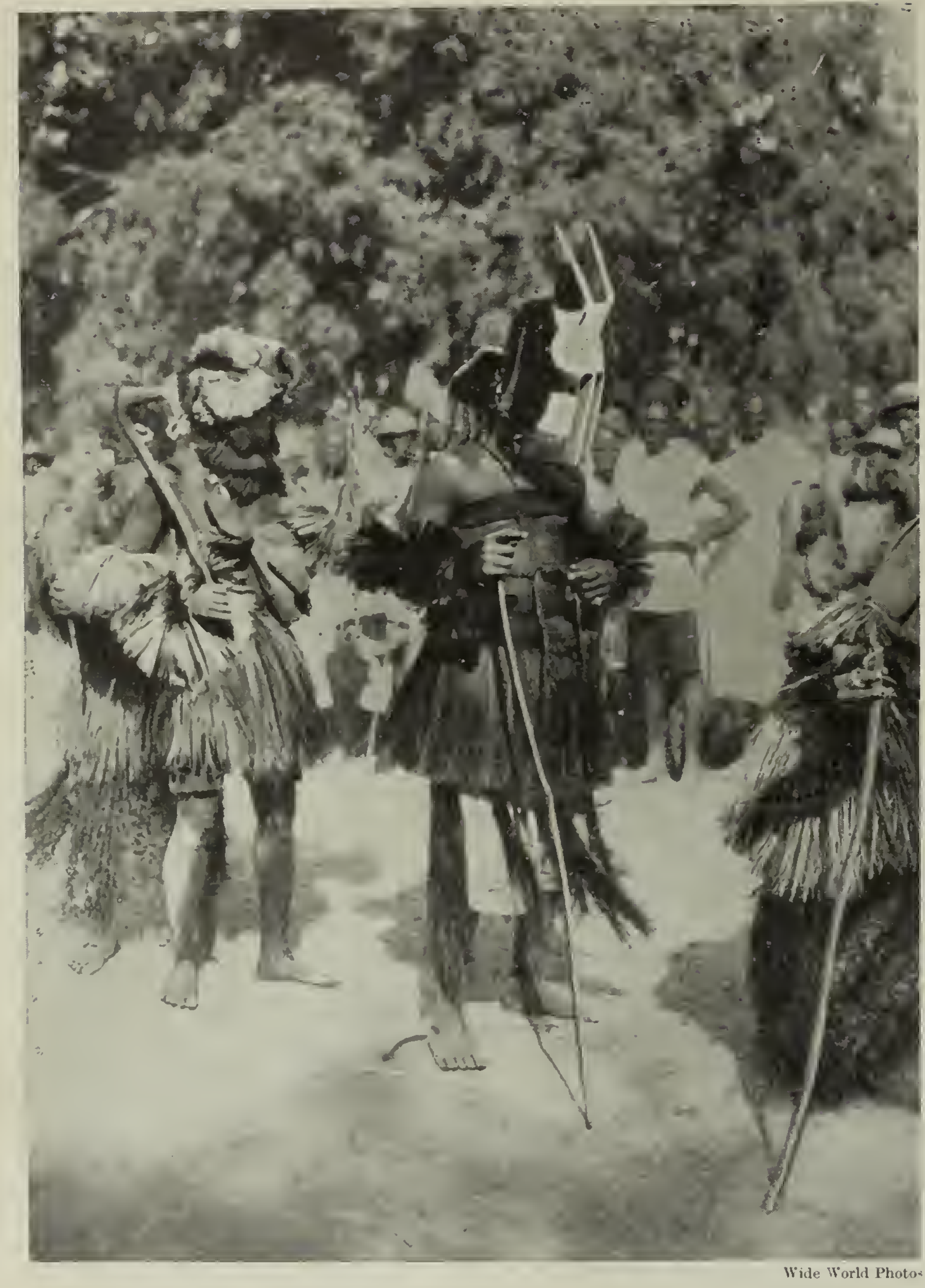

J Hornell

MARQUESAN FAMILY HERO AS THE FAMILY TOTEM

This wooden Atlantid pillar from a ruined and jungle-overgrown shrine in the Marquesas Islands illustrates an advanced stage in totemism wherein the paternal ancestor is adopted as a totem. New myths emerge and the animal totem recedes into the background, to be replaced by a hero of the family, who gradually develops into the god of the clan, and ultimately perhaps the nation.

To use the total number of such crests belongs to the chief of the clan only, and a youth, if an Eagle, starts with only the eagle crest and can add dogfish, beaver, or what not, only after he has made lavish potlaches—that is, distributions of property—to the members of the other division of the tribe. Nay, as happens elsewhere, aristocracy among these children of nature is not far removed from plutocracy. The leading people jealously guard possession of some famous crest, and if a chief of lower rank were to adopt it, the head of the superior family would put him to shame by giving away, or simply destroying, valuables beyond the means of the upstart, who must thereupon relinquish such expensive honours. Truly this is property-making-a-noise with a vengeance!

From heraldry it is but a step to art, and, as in medieval Europe, the crest may become part of the Indian warrior's bravery; so that, for example, wooden war helmets were carved in the shape of sea lions, while totemic animals figured on canoes, paddles, clubs, rattles, spoons, boxes and so forth. In one way, however, the American brave had the better of the European—at any rate after the latter ceased to decorate himself with woad—because he could express his social importance by means of body paint. Thus a man entitled to the devil-fish crest would get up his face in red and black to resemble the creature, the goggle eyes staring from his forehead, while its feelers squirmed over his cheeks. Again, tattooing was resorted to so that every member of a family must carry with him a permanent proof of pedigree in the shape of a frog or a humming-bird, a dragon-fly or a codfish, sometimes more or less naturalistically rendered, but often so conventionalised that no one not in the secret could possibly recognize what was meant.



Wide World Photos

TRIBUTE TO THE MYSTIC POWERS OF THE CROCODILE

The Habbe, who live not far from Timbuctoo, have a legend that they were driven from their original forest home by marauders, and were miraculously carried across the Niger by a band of crocodiles. The legend, and others connected with their ancestral history, is represented in dances in which crocodiles are symbolised by curious wooden helmets and other totem animals by equally stylised masks and head-dresses

Just so, too, the totemic designs of the Australians for the most part bear little or no resemblance to the real objects; so that a series of concentric circles or a spiral on one bull-roarer will stand for a frog, while on another it means a tree. Such sacred drawings are supposed to have been handed down from the time of their remotest ancestors with certain meanings attached; and for them it is sufficient to know those meanings, without asking themselves how they came to be acquired in the first instance.

It remains to notice very briefly the bearing of totemism on religion—a difficult subject if only because it is not easy to define religion so as to indicate the precise point at which respect passes into the reverence which implies worship. We may certainly go so far, however, as to say that the totem is sacred. For instance, the Bechuanas of South Africa call it their 'glory.' If you want to know a man's clan you ask him 'What do you dance?' He must not eat the animal in question, or wear its skin; nor, if he can help it, would he even look upon it, lest evil befall.

THERE are, however, subtle differences in the degree of regard such as we can scarcely appreciate. For instance, one group has two totems, the hartebeest and the eland, and distinguishes between them by saying: 'The dance is to the hartebeest; the veneration is for the eland.' The crocodile folk call the crocodile father and master. When the chief makes an oration, his followers must cry aloud, 'Oh crocodile man!' at every fresh point that he makes. They swear by the crocodile. If they unwittingly go near one, they must spit on the ground and say, 'There is sin.' The totemite is unhappy even when other people take liberties with his animal friend. Thus the porcupine clan are distressed if anyone has killed a porcupine, and having religiously collected its quills, they spit on them and rub their eyebrows with them, lamenting thus: 'They have killed our brother, our master, one of ourselves, him whom we sing.

Of course these ritual observances are largely of a negative order, so that such religion as they amount to might almost have to be described, with Reinach, as 'a system of scruples.' On the other hand, to dance one's totem is to enter into communion with it and share its 'mana or mystic power. Whether as a clansman participating in the collective luck, or as an individual acquiring a personal protector in response to a vision obtained by fasting, the totemite by identifying himself mystically with his totem feels that he is somehow enlarged in soul-power; and this is in essence a religious feeling, and a positive one at that.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS

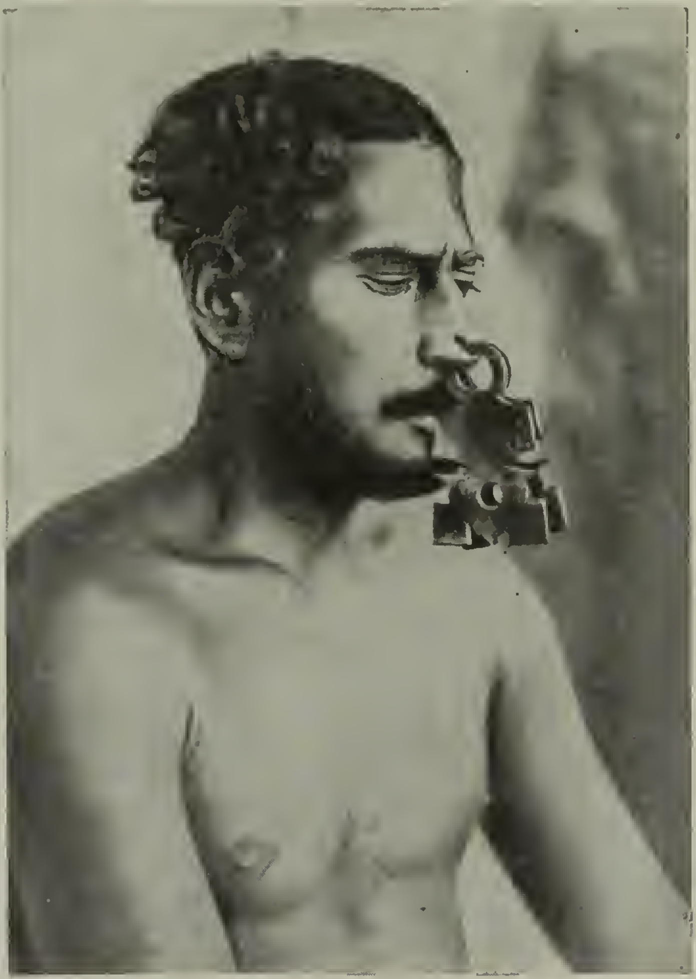
THIS is the fifth of our territorial descriptions of the marriage customs of the modern world. Others deal with Asia, Africa and various parts of Europe. The Various Forms of Marriage should be referred to for the general treatment of the subject; specific aspects are discussed in Widowhood Among Savage and Civilized, Strange Marriage Prohibitions, and Polygamy and Polyandry.

MARRIAGE is a crisis in the life of the individual which brings with it a complete change in personal and social relations, and exacts from man and woman alike a modification and readjustment of personality. Entry into the married state, therefore, is not merely a matter of sexual relation; it has its magico-religious, sociological, psychological and economic aspects, and marriage ceremonies and related customs vary among different races and peoples according as one or more of these aspects is stressed above the others. Thus in England the interest of the state in the purely social requirement of civil registration has weakened the religious conception of marriage as a sacrament, and the admission of incompatibility and mental cruelty as valid grounds of divorce in the United States of America is a recognition of the psychological factors which are involved. This principle applies with equal force in the ceremonial observances on marriage of the peoples of simpler culture.

In dealing with the more primitive forms of society it is not always easy to say in what the marriage ceremony consists. Among the Australian aborigines, for instance, it is usual to hold that there are no marriage rites whatsoever. A man must marry outside his own group in accordance with the practice of exogamy. The regulation of marriage by an elaborate and complicated division of the members of the tribe into classes which may or may not marry leaves him with a very restricted field of choice; the individuals who are eligible are few in number and known from birth. The necessity for a marriage rite does not arise, though when a wife is stolen from another horde, as often happens, the theft in itself fulfils the purpose of a rite.

MARRIAGE, essentially, is the reservation of a member of one sex from all the members of the opposite sex with the exception of one. The fact that in polygamous marriage this applies to one member of the partnership only is immaterial for the present purpose. The marriage ceremony, to which a wide publicity is given and at which the guests are witnesses, has the effect of imposing and at the same time proclaiming the mark of reservation. The wearing of the wedding ring by each or either sex, the special dress or the different mode of wearing the hair after marriage, and other means adopted by different peoples, are further advertisements of the fact. In the case of the Australian aborigine the translation from potential into actual marriage needs no special advertisement, as it was patent *ab initio*. The entry into a state of union is the marriage, very much in the same way as under old Scottish law, in certain circumstances, mere continued cohabitation might be recognized as constituting the married state.

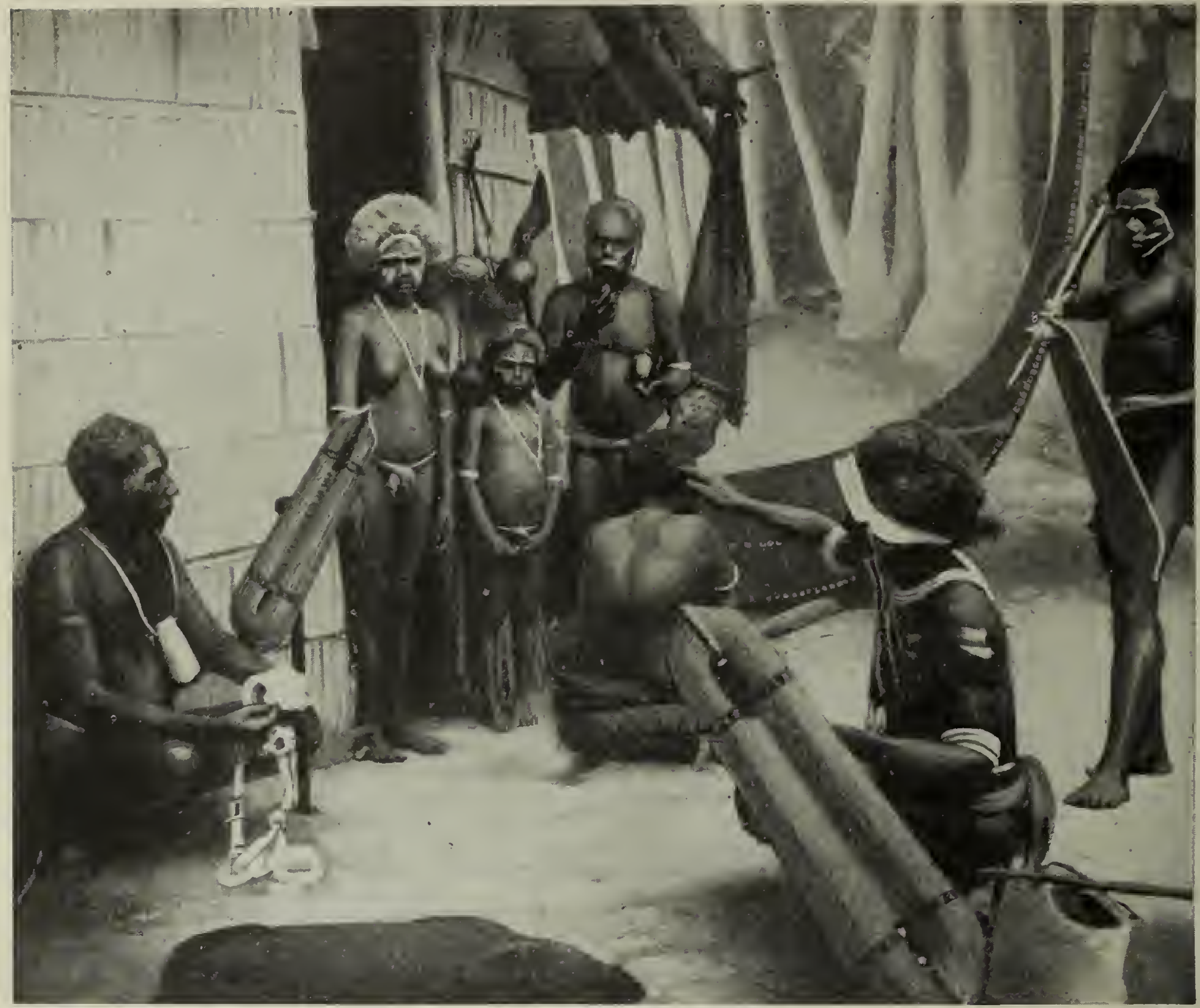
Among many peoples who have advanced beyond the primitive arrangements of the Australian aborigine there is still an apparent absence of any special marriage rite, or it is of the simplest character. Very often, however, the actual entry into the state of union, whether it be by consummation or partial or complete cohabitation, is merely the end of a series of acts, extending sometimes over a period of some years, which must be taken in their entirety



Ian Hogbin

MARKS OF A FAMILY MAN IN MELANESIA

In Ontong Java, in the Solomon group, a married man has two longish slits cut in the alae of his nose as soon as his first child is born. The nose ornament worn by this native of the island is made of turtle shell.



E.N.A.

THE BRIDE'S FATHER IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS FINDS THE BRIDE-PRICE ACCEPTABLE

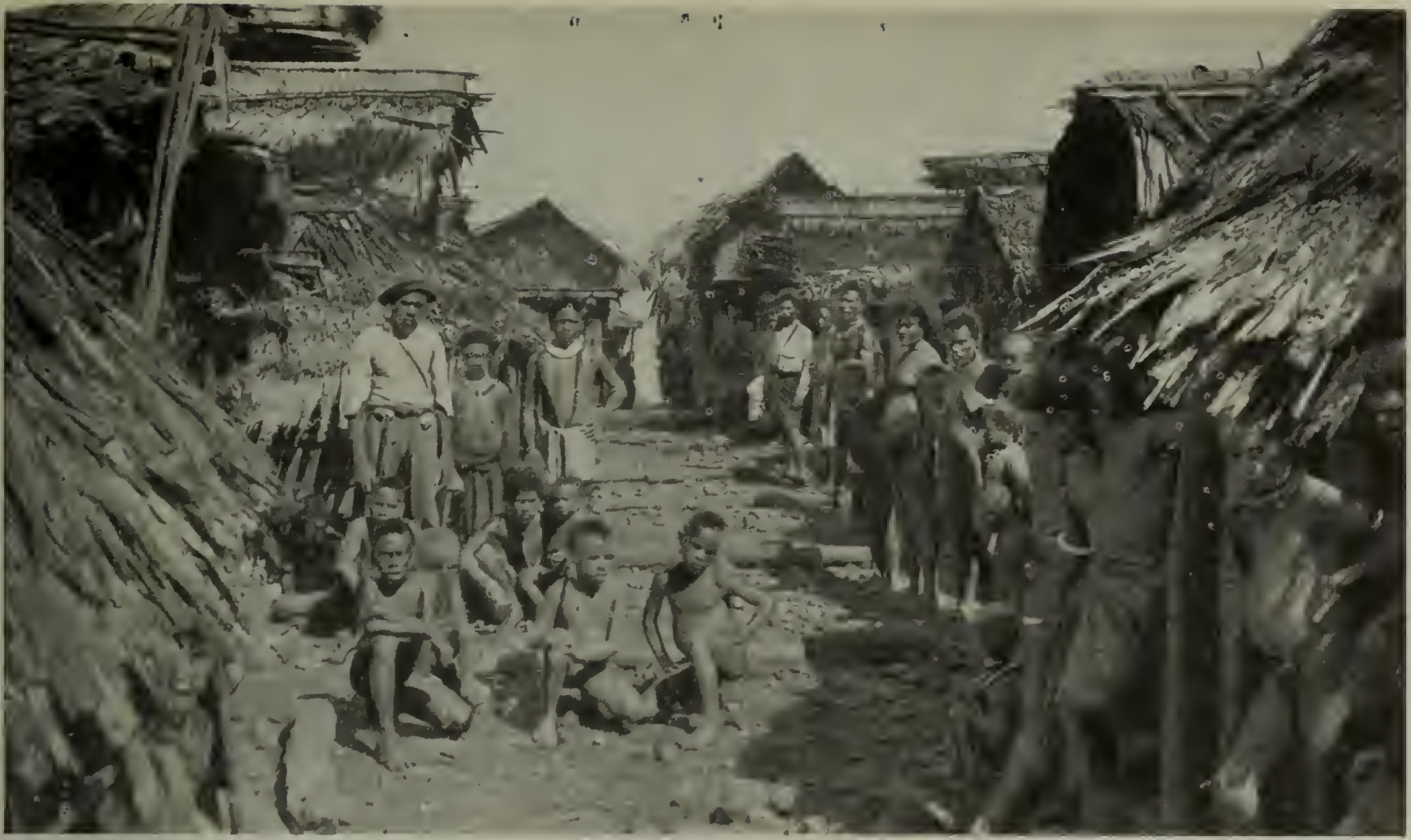
This bride of Vella Lavella, in the Solomon Islands, having been rendered eligible for marriage by being tattooed, is standing in the doorway of her father's house. The bridegroom, who has been selected according to the number of pigs and the amount of shell money he can produce as bride-price, is squatting beside one of his gifts. The bride's father, the old man on her left, has signified that he approves the match by touching the presents, a token that he has accepted them.

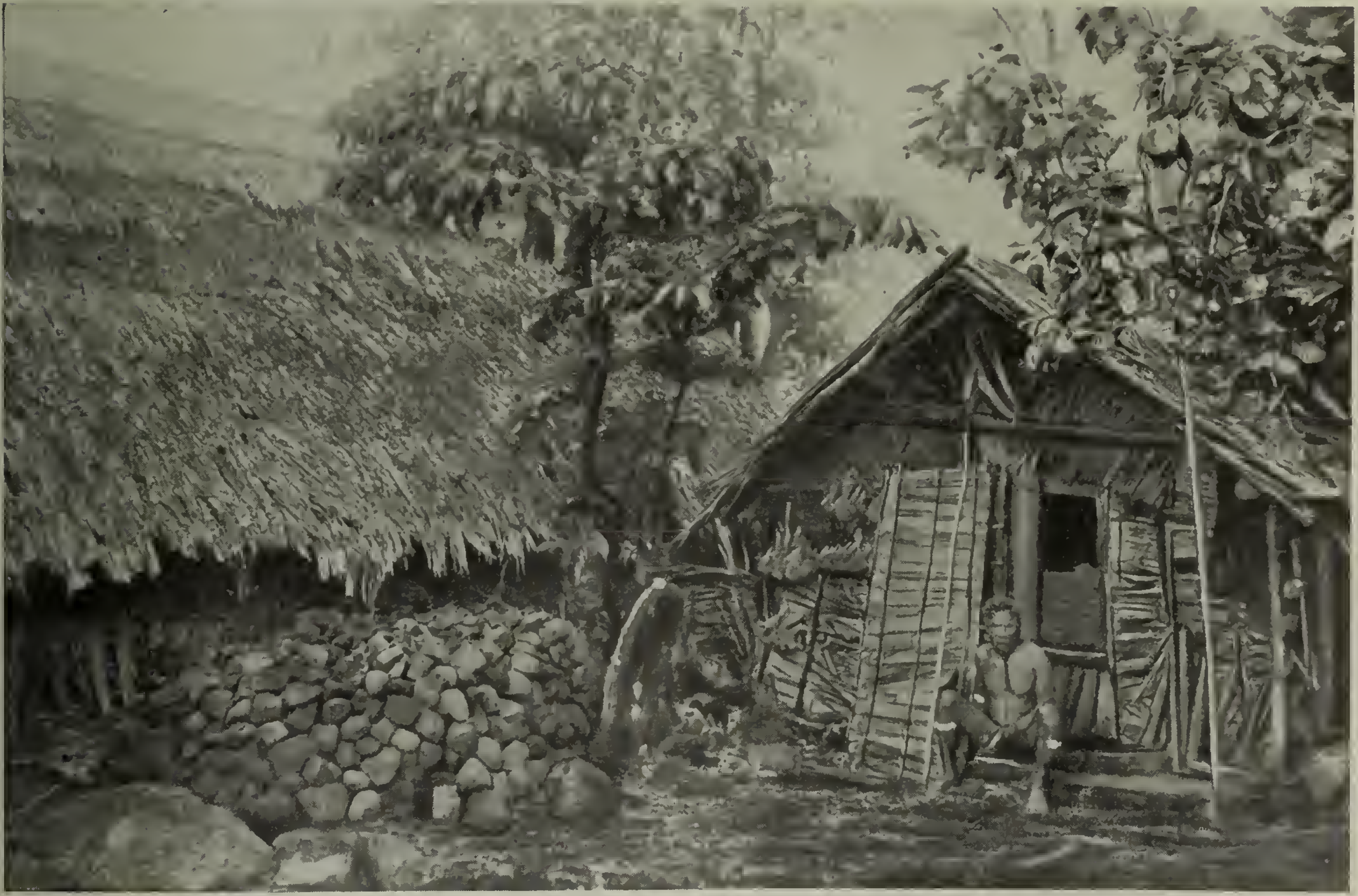
as constituting a marriage rite. Several instances of such practices are to be found among peoples in the different parts of Melanesia. Thus, in New Britain a chief who desires an alliance with a powerful family may make a payment on account of a bride before the child is born. Should it prove to be a boy the payment is refunded. If it be a girl she stays with her family until old enough for marriage, but during that time she is regarded as reserved for her future husband.

Betrothal at an early age is common. It was the custom of the Maori, and was often still observed after their customs had relaxed under outside influence. Marriage did not take place until the man had attained the age of seventeen, the girl being a little younger. Early betrothal was considered as binding as marriage.

On Long Island, Papua, while the future pair are still quite young, the parents enter into negotiation, and as soon as the price is agreed it is paid over to the future bride's parents. From that time forward the boy and his family must carefully avoid meeting the girl and her family. Indeed, this custom of avoidance was sometimes the first and only intimation the interested parties received of their coming fate. In Santa Cruz, where early betrothal is practised, the boy is told nothing, but is warned that he must avoid a certain house in the village. In the New Hebrides infant betrothal is the custom, but only in connexion with the marriage of chiefs and other important people.

The custom of avoidance between the betrothed and their families is not universal. In some cases the reverse takes place. In the Solomon Islands, after betrothal a girl may go and live with her fiancé's parents for a longer or shorter period, while among the people of Sa'a, Malaita, after the preliminary payment the little girl comes, bringing food,





E.N.A.

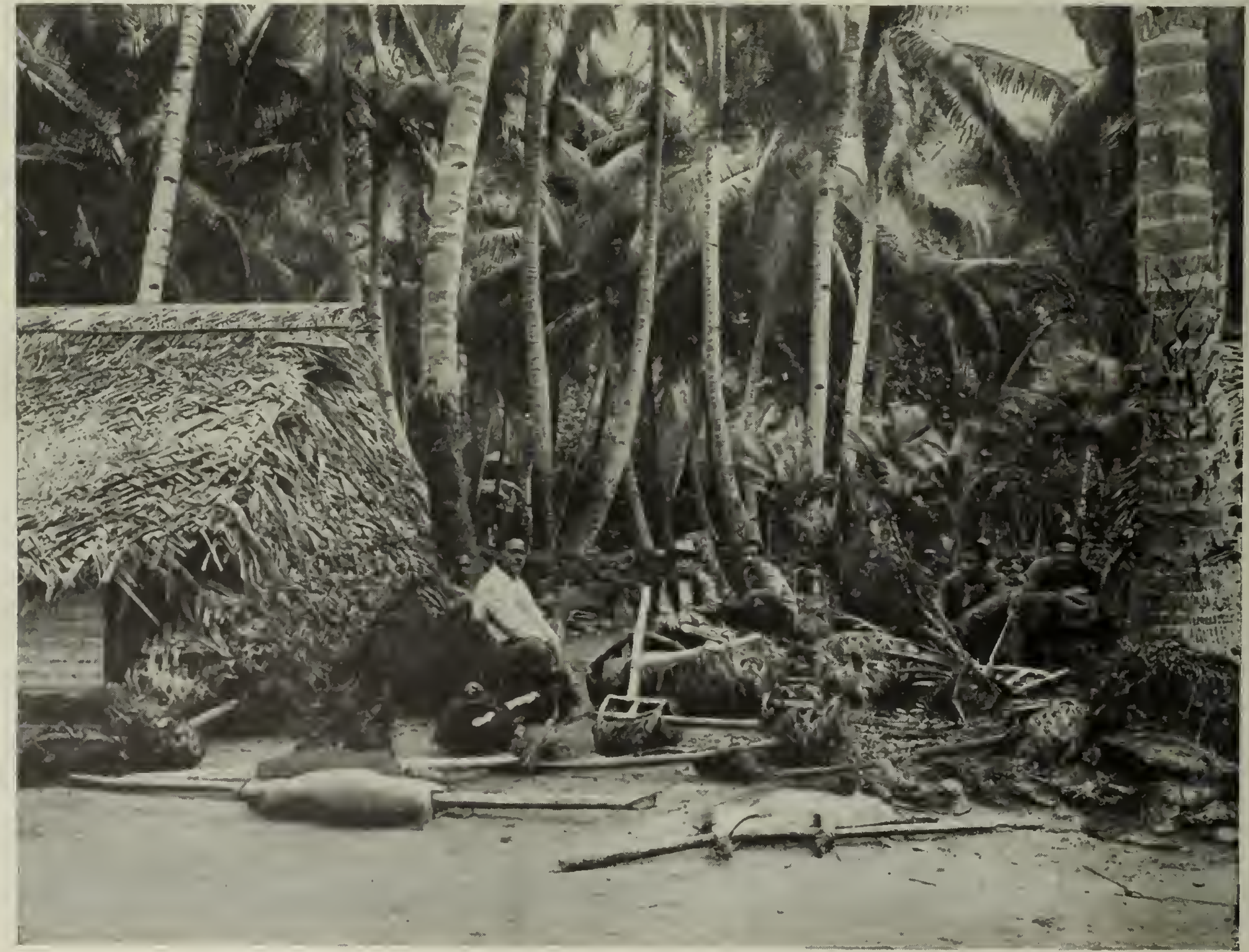
WHERE ENGAGED GIRLS MAY BE KEPT FOR YEARS IN A CAGE

In the Solomon Islands, if a girl is betrothed to an important person she is generally secluded for several years in a betrothal cage, which is sometimes so small that she has to sit in a crouching attitude. She is only allowed out once a day to bathe in a bowl placed outside. The girl with the mop of hair standing by the central hut on the right of the top photograph has just been released from her cage in Ferasiboa, off Malaita, after three years of captivity Her father is seen below, guarding the cage.

to the house of her future husband's father and stays there for some days, playing and conversing with her future mate. This is in order that they may get to know one another, and the visit is repeated from time to time until the marriage payment has been completed. Elsewhere, however, on Malaita the stay is of a more permanent character, and the boy and girl grow up as brother and sister, sometimes much to their embarrassment, it is stated, when their true relationship is revealed.

The attainment of marriageable age by the girl—generally coincident with puberty—is usually marked by an outward sign. In Papua a graceful, voluminous skirt is the most conspicuous and characteristic article of woman's dress. In the women's dance its sinuous waving, induced by purely muscular movement of the back and buttocks as the dancers stand, otherwise motionless, in a long line, has a grace which is unsurpassed in effect in any other dance among primitive peoples. This garment is assumed on the attainment of marriageable age, and a new skirt is the most prized article in the bride's attire

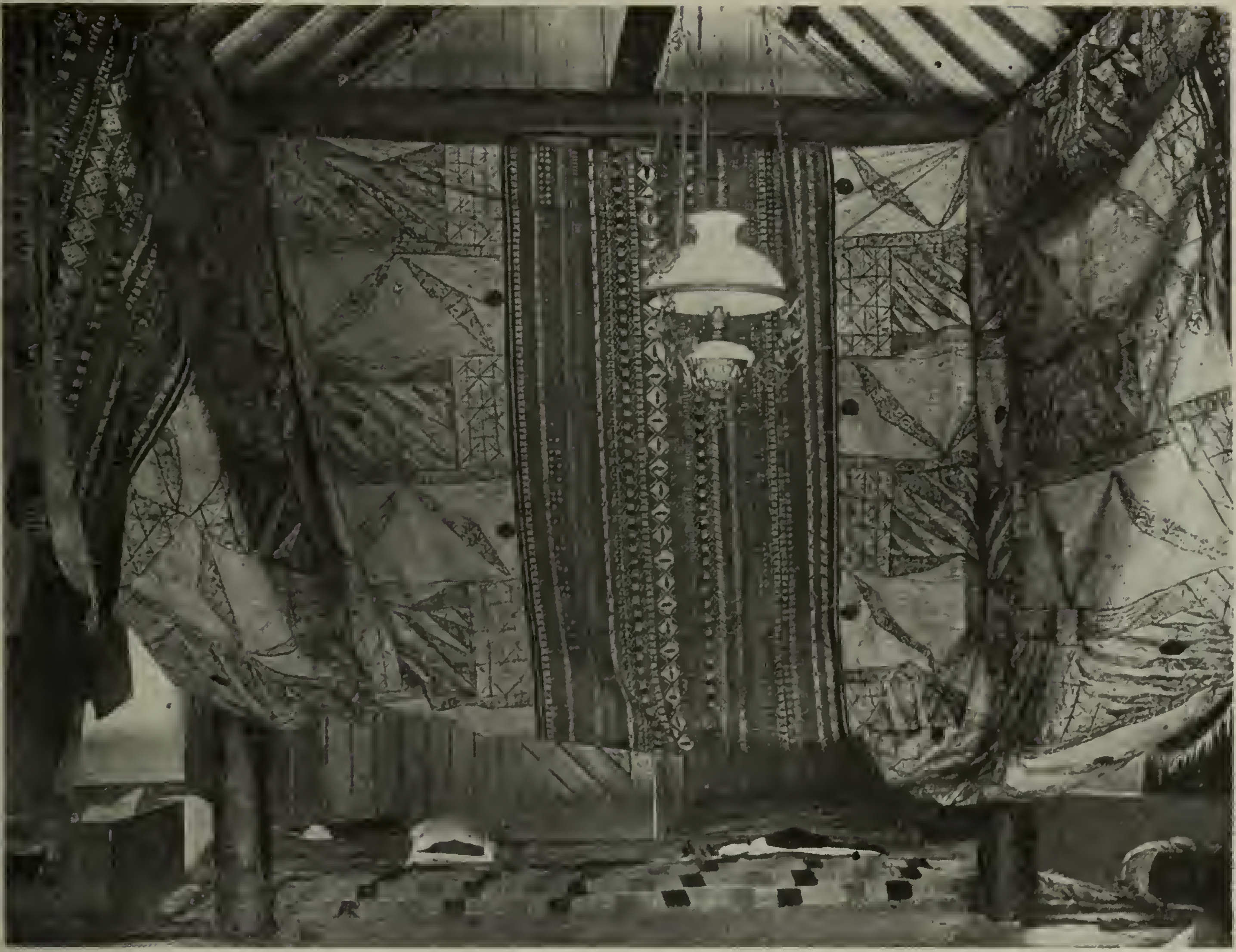
More widely distributed as a mark of nubility is tattooing. Papuan girls are tattooed all over, with the exception of the face and breast. When the wedding day approaches this is completed by tattooing the face. Sometimes the bride's hair is cut off. Frequently, as in the island of Florida, a considerable interval elapses between the operation of tattooing and marriage, owing to the difficulty the bridegroom may experience in raising the amount required in payment for the bride. In the Solomon islands a girl is not eligible for marriage until she has been tattooed. As this is an elaborate and expensive operation, entrusted to an expert of magical powers, the cost is borne by subscription among the bride's relatives and the friends of the family. When the expert has received his payment he hires a band of musical performers, who sing appropriate songs all night. To these the girl must listen, and at sunrise the tattooing begins. Those who have borne the cost are reimbursed from the payment received for the bride; when this has been completed, the bride's family give a feast to which all those who shared in the cost are invited.



A. M. Hocart

MEAT AND VEGETABLES FOR A MARRIAGE FEAST IN POLYNESIA

In many of the South Pacific islands a marriage is usually clinched by a feast. The wedding victuals here seen are in the island of Rotuma, some 250 miles north-west of Fiji. Pigs have been killed, and yams dug up and put into baskets woven from coconut leaves. The pigs are slung on poles in island fashion. The food is cooked in hot stones. Much curious etiquette attaches to the marriage feast, some points of which are touched upon in page 764.



Clarendon Press

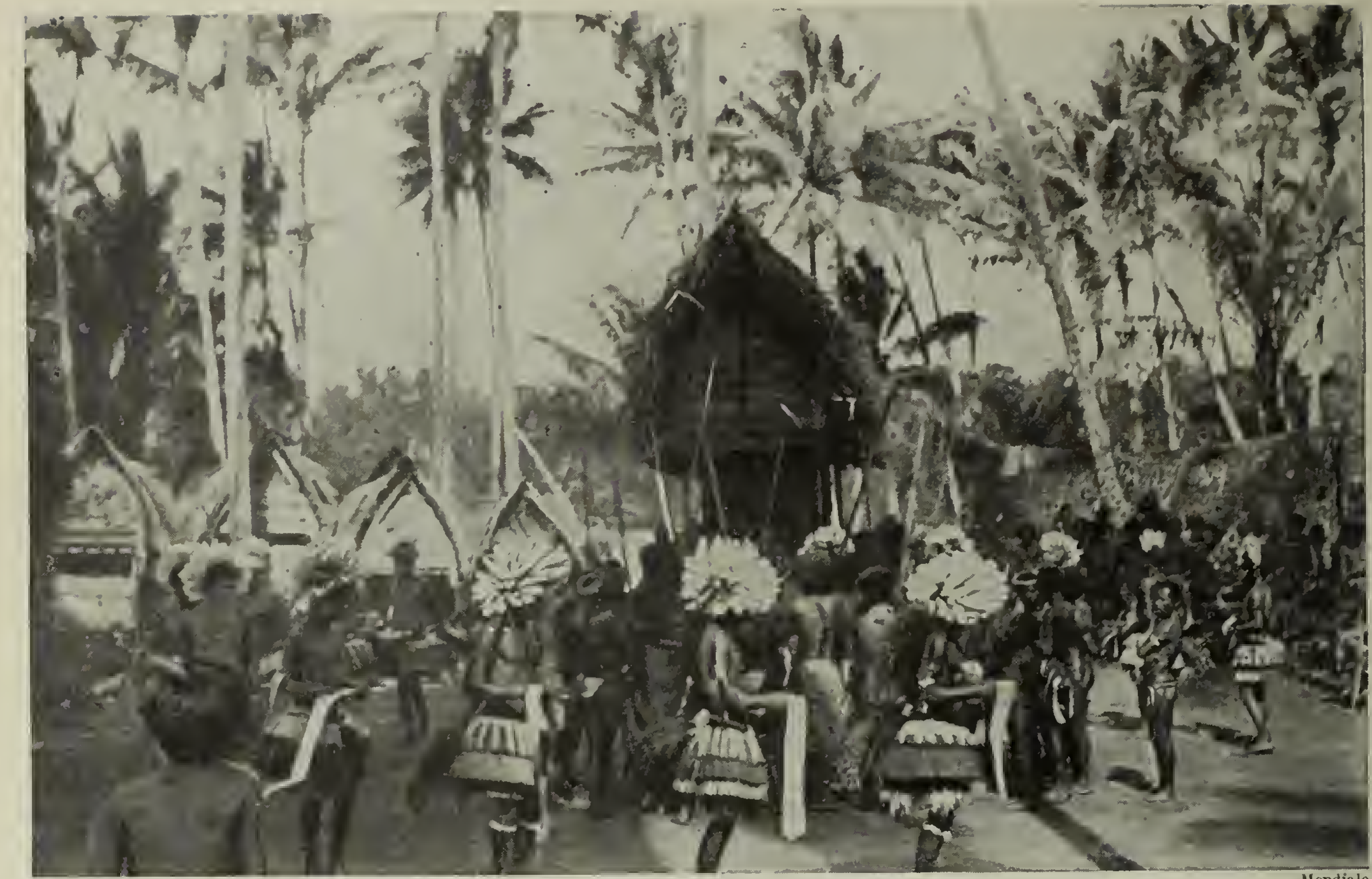
CHOICE TRAPPINGS OF WOOL AND BARK FOR THE NUPTIAL COUCH

Although the Fiji Islands are included geographically in Polynesia, some of the conceptions upon which the marriage rites of Fiji are based approximate to those obtaining in Melanesia. On the marriage bed of a bridal pair of Fiji a mat is spread made of coloured wools worked in geometrical patterns. Round about the couch curtains of the finest bark cloth are hung like tapestry. The example of a Fijian nuptial couch here seen (from A. M. Hocart, 'Kingship'), with its incongruous hanging oil lamp, was photographed on the island of Lakemba.

A few days later a similar feast is given by the bridegroom's family, to which they are again invited. There is no other ceremony.

A brief summary at this point may help to make clear a generalised conception of marriage at the level of development of some at least of the peoples of Melanesia. Marriage is the outcome of a contract or agreement between two family groups in which one agrees to hand over one of its female members to a male member of the other group in return for a specified payment. This payment may be spread over a considerable period, especially when the parties to the marriage are of immature age ; but however long it may be, the male and female are held to be firmly contracted, and this fact is known to all who are concerned, the members of the two groups. Hence when once payment is complete the marriage may be regarded as an accomplished fact. This completion is sometimes celebrated by a feast. This marks the linking of the two groups ; for it must be remembered that a primitive feast is no mere orgy, however boisterous it may become, but a rite which implies or forms a bond between those who participate. Hence the wedding guests bring presents which for the most part consist of food—an essential condition of their attendance at the solemn seasonal feasts held, for instance, in Papua. And again, although an individual may undertake negotiations for marriage on his own behalf, as happens in Papua, where a young man may perhaps entertain no thought of marriage until he has attained the age of twenty, yet its essential character as a matter for the group is indicated by the practice in New Britain, where an orphan has to depend upon his chief for the necessary preliminaries to his marriage.

The stress which in these rites has been laid on payment for the bride is sociological rather than economic. This comes out very clearly in an observance in the island of Florida. When full payment has been made the bridegroom's father goes to fetch the bride from her father's house. He stays there for two days, but before he is allowed to take her away her female relatives gather round and demand a



Mondiale

DANCING ROUND THE GRANARY TO FIND A MARRIAGE PARTNER

In the Trobriand Islands, an archipelago of the New Guinea group, dancing by boys and girls is resorted to as one of the preliminaries to pairing off and marriage. Dancers from one village will arrange to dance in another. The dancing takes place round the granary which stands in the centre of the village, the scene of the public and festive life of the natives. The boys are here seen wearing fibre skirts and head-dresses of cockatoo feathers, with pandanus streamers in their hands

further payment 'to break the post near the door [which is held in coming in or going out of the house] to finish her going in and out of the old home.' When this payment has been made the women hand her over to the father, by one of them taking her on her back and carrying her over the threshold. She then stays with the man's parents until a sufficient number of presents has been received for the wedding feast.

SUCH ceremonies as this are known as 'rites of separation.' They mark a parting from one social group and aggregation to another. Payment for the bride is by no means a crude commercial transaction, but is in the nature of a cachet of the transfer from one group to another. It must be remembered that the payment consists of edibles such as pigs, bananas and other fruits which are consumed at the feast, or shell money which has no commercial value as a medium of exchange, but is a token of wealth used in many areas solely for this one purpose of paying for a bride. Again, in many cases what is held to be evidence of a so-called marriage by capture, such as the fight which takes place after the wedding feast between the kin of bride and bridegroom in the New Hebrides, is in reality a rite of separation, making the act of transfer definitive.

In the magico-religious aspect of marriage in Melanesia the avoidance of the two families after betrothal, instances of which have been mentioned, expresses the fear of the intimate contact about to take place between hitherto independent entities, embodying almost unlimited potentialities of mutual danger. The mysterious powers inherent in the individual are much enhanced on such a critical occasion as marriage. It is also a time at which spirits are unusually active. It is for this reason that in New Britain, when once the negotiations for marriage have been completed, the man hides himself in the bush up to the moment the marriage feast is about to take place, and has to be found and brought in to take part. In fact it is clear from the nature of some of the marriage rites that what civilized peoples regard as an occasion for a sacramental ceremony is among peoples at the magical level of thought a time for protective measures against the danger incurred by bringing together two people in a mutually dangerous relation. They must each be made immune.

Thus the Papuans of Long Island perform the wedding ceremony in a room set apart for the purpose in the bride's house. The bride and bridegroom are set back to back in the middle while their friends stand around, men on one side and women on the other. An old man then joins their right hands together and spurts a mouthful of water over them.

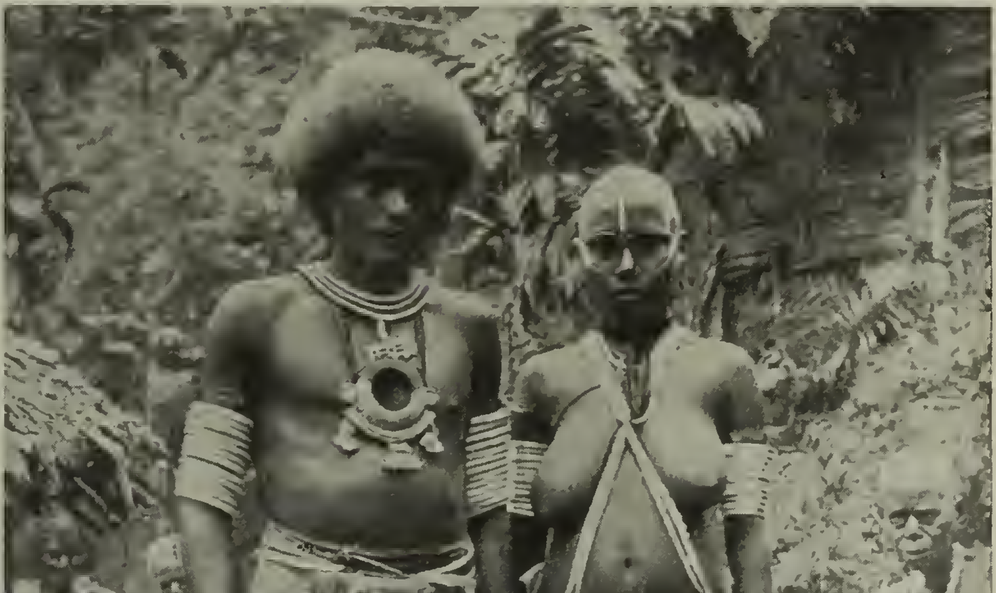
saying 'May no enemy kill you, may no evil spirit affect you with sickness.' Sago is brought, of which the husband and wife and then the guests partake. Then for four nights the pair sit up and are watched by their friends, who do not allow them to fall asleep. This is held to ensure long and prosperous life; but it is really a precaution against the attacks of evil spirits. Only on the fifth day are they allowed to meet alone and then only at night.

Although it is true that the conception of the marriage rite does not, as a rule, rise above the magico-religious level, it does seem in Western Melanesia to attain to something in the nature of a religious sacrament. For there the bridal pair partake of a joint meal of sago before an ancestral image, and the bride presents tobacco to her husband, and he gives her betel.

WHEN we turn from Melanesia to Polynesia the marriage rites correspond more closely to our conceptions of what constitutes a marriage ceremony. In Fiji, however, as might be expected in this area of complex culture, ideas which recall those of Melanesia have still to be recorded. Here the ritual requires that the occupations of the man and woman in the period immediately preceding marriage should be expressive of their future duties. After the betrothed man has sent the conventional gifts of food prepared by himself to the house of his bride, she takes four days' holiday. She then goes out in a canoe with a number of married women on a fishing expedition. On her return she is tattooed, while the man is occupied in building a house. On its completion the marriage feast is held.

In Samoa the economic aspect of marriage is prominent, for the object of both families is to get together as much valuable property as possible for the event. In the bride's case this consists of white mats or cloths of fine quality; for the man, canoes, pigs, cloth, and the like. If the parties are of high rank the wedding takes place on the ground of public assembly. The groom takes his place at one end of this ground, and the bride approaches him at the head of a procession of her handmaidens, each of whom bears a mat. These mats are laid on the ground before the bridegroom, and the women return again and again for a further supply until as many as two or three hundred have been laid out. The bride then takes her seat by the bridegroom, and his friends then display his wealth. The respective families then decide on the disposal of this property.

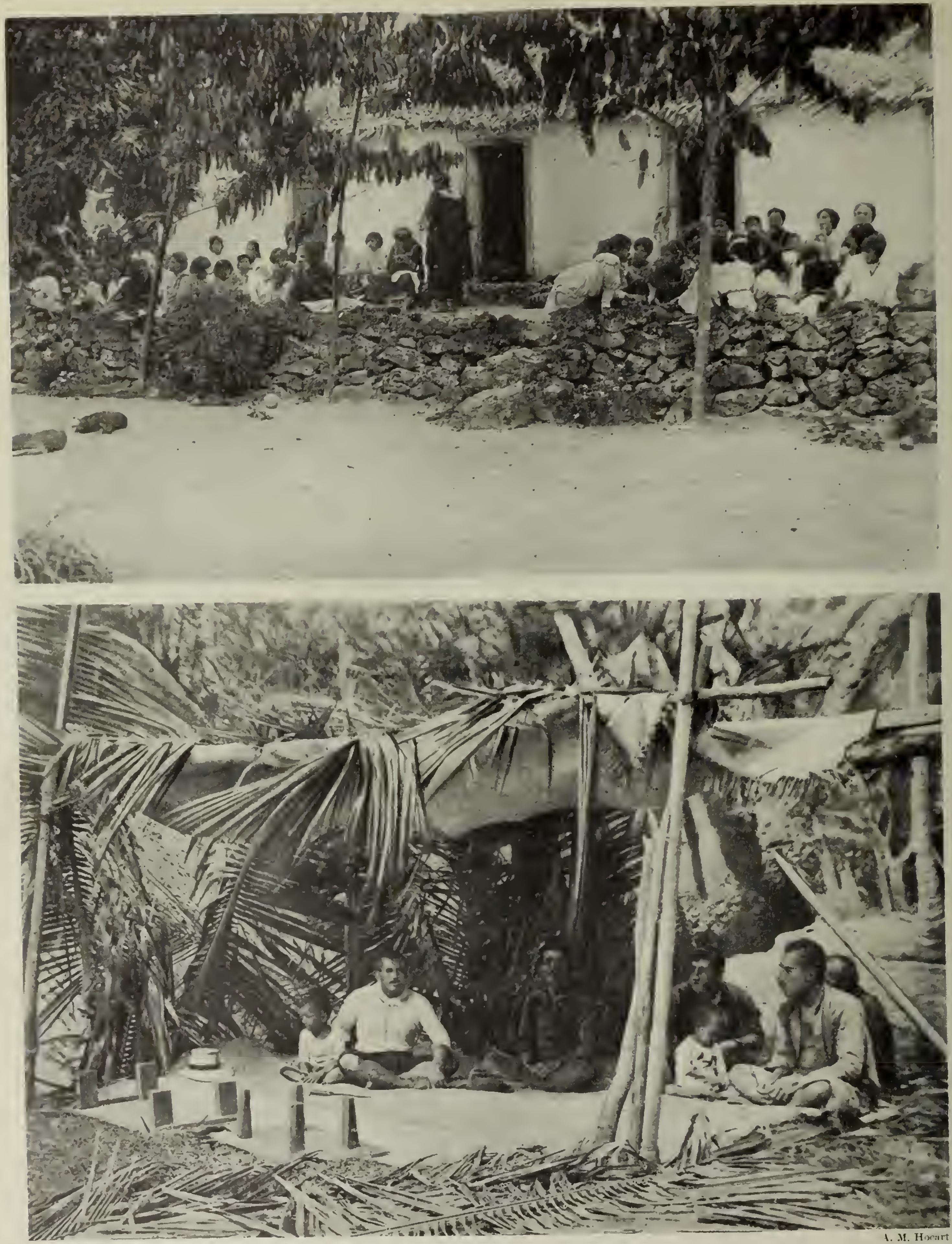
A remarkable custom observed on Hervey Island requires that if the bride is the eldest daughter she should walk from her own house to that of the groom on a pathway afforded by the backs of her husband's tribesmen as they lie prone on the ground. This takes place a few days after the wedding; but on the actual day of the ceremony the bridegroom has



A. M. Hocart

BRIDAL PAIR WEAR THEIR WEALTH ON THEIR ARMS

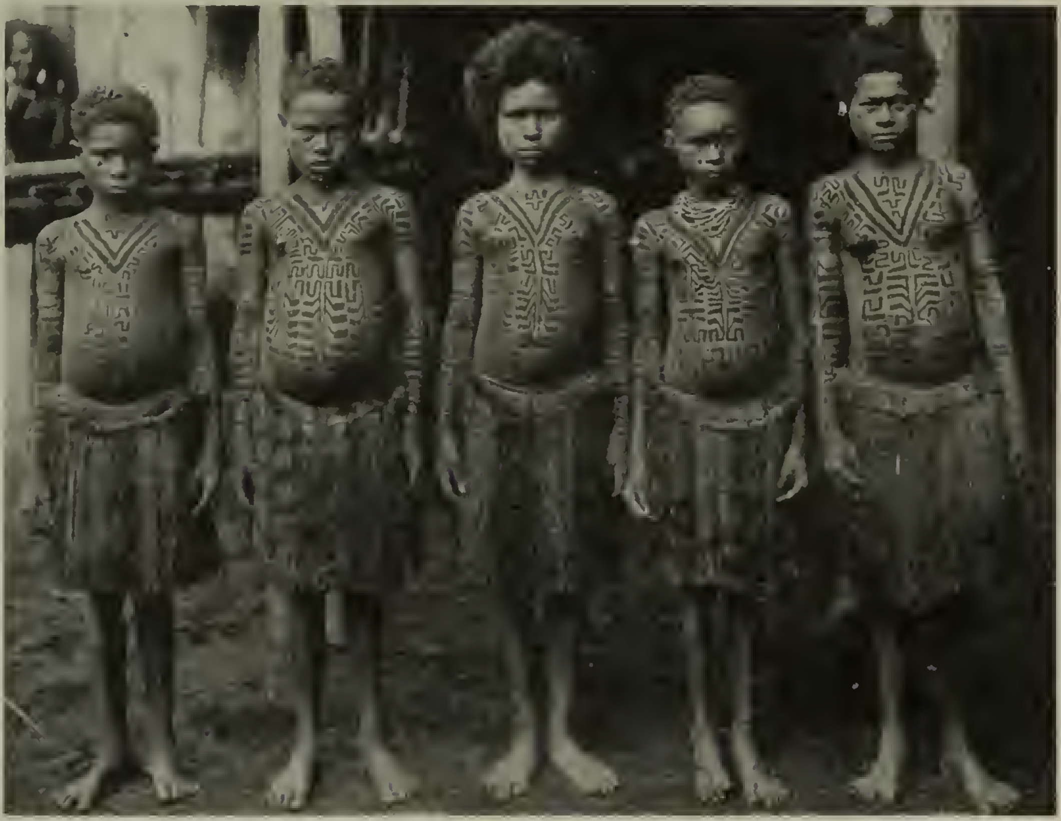
Shell money is used in some parts of Melanesia, not as a medium of exchange, but merely to show that a husband-to-be is a man of substance; but in Narovo, or Eddystone Island, shell rings are currency. This photograph (from the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute) of a bridal pair of Narovo shows their arms loaded with all the family riches in this form.



A. M. Hocart

NICE POINTS OF ETIQUETTE AT A POLYNESIAN WEDDING

At this wedding in Rotuma an arbour (bottom) has been erected near the wedding house (top) for the chief and his elders, where they assemble to partake of the feast. Small tables are placed upside down before those of higher rank. When their share of the feast is brought the tables are put right side up and the food is laid upon them. Before the feast the bride and bridegroom sit in state in the wedding house, while the women gather together on the platform outside.



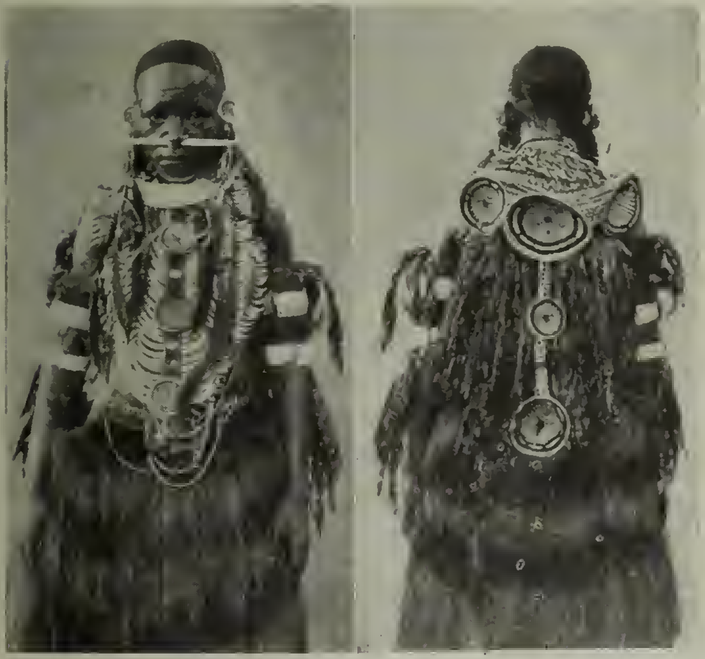
Rev. H. M. Dauncey

INDELIBLE ADORNMENT PRESCRIBED FOR BRIDES

In many of the South Sea islands tattooing is a mark of nubility. The Waima women of New Guinea are tattooed from head to foot, the operation extending over several years. First, the hands and arms are tattooed, and last of all, the face. The photographs on this page are from Dr. C. G. Seligman's 'The Melanesians of British New Guinea' (Cambridge University Press)

walked from his own house to that of the bride on a similar pathway formed by the bride's tribesmen, while his friends walked by the side, reciting his praises and the glories of his ancestors.

This last-named rite has a special interest. It links up with a belief found in many widely separated parts of the world that certain persons, kings, chiefs and holy men are too sacred for any part of their person to touch the ground. They are not allowed to walk, but must be carried. In Cairo, at one of the holy feasts, it was the custom for the heads of one of the holy orders of the Moslem faith to ride a horse over the backs of the faithful, who lay in his path as he went to the mosque. In Polynesia the chiefs are held to be persons of such a sacred character, and it is evident that the bride and bridegroom are regarded as being similarly sacrosanct, which makes it taboo for them to walk on the ground. In other parts of the world, too, in the marriage ceremony the bride and groom are regarded as royalties—that is, of divine or sacred character. The ritual of the Samoan marriage, to which reference has been made above, also suggests that the man and woman are regarded as being in the position of royal or divine persons when they stand in the public meeting place and the wedding gifts are laid before them.

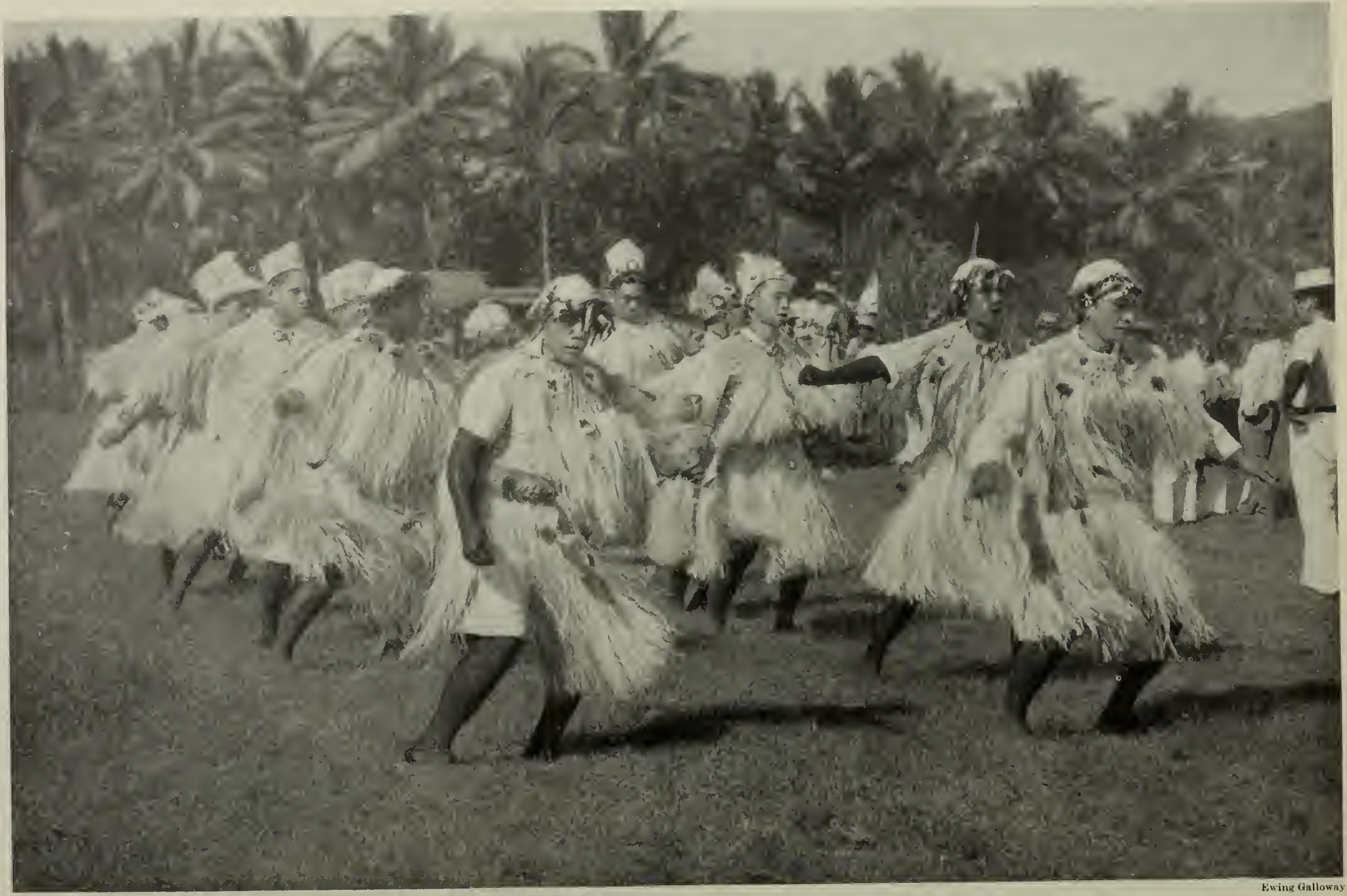


Rev. H. M. Dauncey

FINERY FLAUNTED BEFORE MARRIAGE

A Waima girl is marriageable as soon as her face has been tattooed. She is then decked with all the ornaments her family possesses or can borrow. These she parades for five days, after which she wears only those provided by her own people.

Finally may be mentioned a marriage rite from Tahiti which is very definitely of a religious character, though it is possible that in part it may have been affected by the Christian rite. After betrothal the girl is kept in seclusion for a period of some months, and is allowed to do nothing for herself. On the wedding day an altar is set up in the house, and all the ancestral relics, skulls, bones and weapons, are brought and laid upon it. If the bride and bridegroom are related to the royal family, they repair to the temple, in which are the two most important sacred effigies of the land, in order to receive their blessing. If they are people of private standing only, the blessing is conferred in their own house. After promising constancy to one another they are blessed. Then, stepping on to a white cloth which is laid on the ground, they take each other by the hand. A piece of sugar cane wrapped in the branch of a sacred tree is laid on the shoulder of the bridegroom and then on the ground between them. This binds the families for ever. Finally, a cloth is thrown over both of the bridal pair—a piece of marriage ritual of widespread occurrence. This, with the garments they wear at the ceremony, is for ever after considered sacred. The day ends with a feast.



Ewing Galloway

WHILING THE IDLE HOURS AWAY IN AN ISLAND PARADISE

Tahiti is the loveliest island of indolence in the world, blessed by nature with fruits and vegetable foods to be had for the gathering, and with an unexceptionable climate. Thus the people have plenty of leisure, and they devote much of it to singing folk-songs, of which they possess a rich store, and to illustrating them with action dances. In some of these both sexes participate, a choir of men singing addresses to a choir of women, who sing their response. In others, as here, men dance alone, representing some occupation such as wood-craft, boat-building or fishing. They present a fascinating picture in their silvery raffia skirts that sway about their finely moulded figures and in their characteristic head-dresses interwoven with scarlet hibiscus blossoms.

THE DANCE IN TRIBAL LIFE

In numerous other chapters in this section dances have been studied chiefly as they affect the individual In what follows they are considered as the highest and most complete formal expression of the unity of the social group. The war dance, by which the feeling of social solidarity and common responsibility is roused to the highest degree, is dealt with separately.

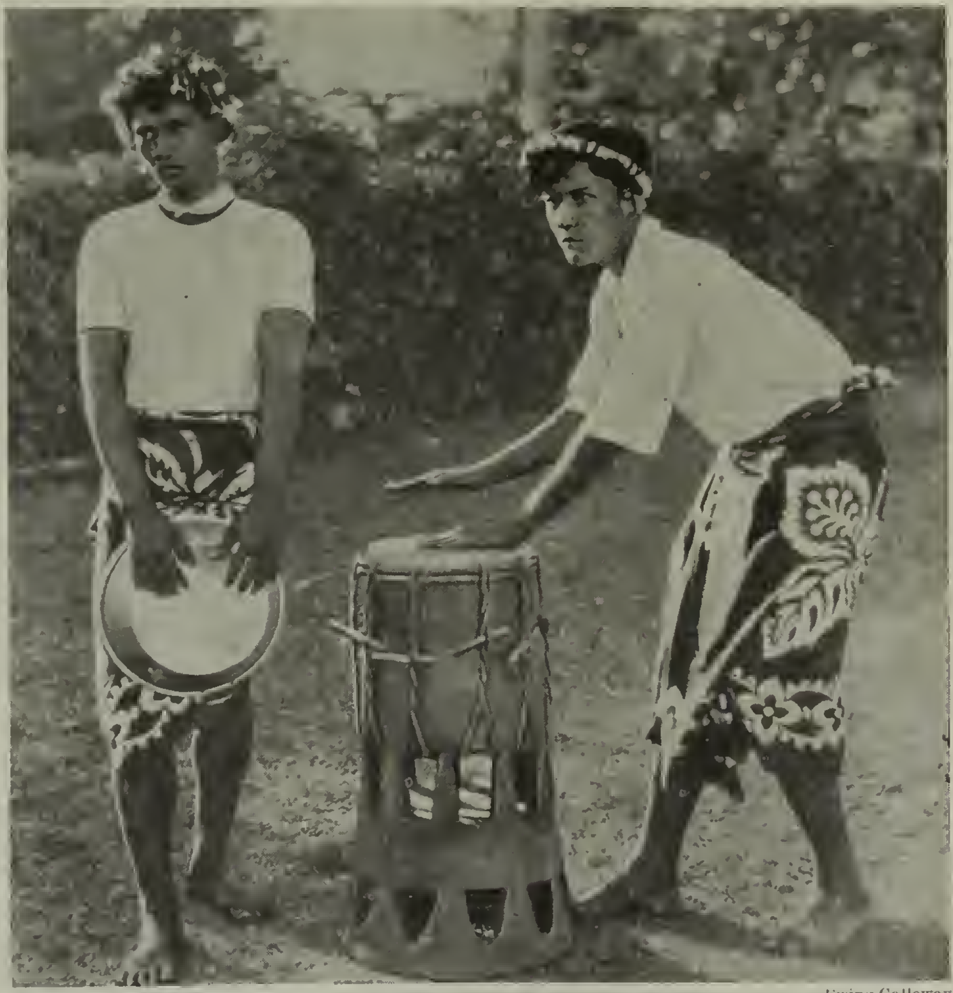
PROBABLY there is no primitive or semi-civilized people of whom it is not true to say that dancing figures prominently in their lives. In tribal custom dancing is more than an amusement: it is an integral part of the ritual appropriate to each and every one of the major, and many of the minor, occasions of life; and that not merely the life of the individual, but of the individual as a member of a social group. For primitive dancing is essentially an expression of social solidarity. Among the peoples of South Africa, for example, a birth, a death, a marriage—anything, in short, which in the mind of the tribesman can be construed as affecting the well-being of his group, is made the occasion of a ceremonial beer-drinking and dance.

The full significance of primitive dancing may perhaps best be brought out by force of contrast. The dancing of modern society is by no means entirely devoid of social significance, for it is usually the accompaniment of hospitality or some form of entertainment in common with others; but, nevertheless, it has become a matter purely of individual enjoyment, almost entirely a gratification of the muscular sense without emotional content affecting anyone beyond the individuals actually taking part in the dance, and their enjoyment includes no factor of common or corporate emotion Or it may be an exhibition of professional art which may simulate but is not a genuine expression of an emotion.

In the primitive tribe, on the other hand, it is commonly an activity of the whole group, and it has a meaning in that it expresses the emotional attitude of the group towards some event either in the present or in the future which, it is conceived, affects the group as a whole.

It would be wrong to infer that dancing among such people invariably has this ritual meaning. Savages frequently indulge in dancing purely for amusement, or an individual may dance for his own personal ends, as in courtship; but such dancing for pleasure is to be regarded as secondary and derivative. Even so, in the character of the dance its original and essential meaning is often to be discerned. Thus among the Nuer of the Upper Nile at that season of the year when the rains bring a certain leisure it is customary for the younger people to indulge in dancing purely as an amusement, the two sexes, of course, dancing apart. The movements in the dance of the men, who carry their spears, are clearly those of the war dance which have been adopted for the less serious function The Scottish reel is such a war dance of earlier and more primitive origin which has been adapted to purely social uses.

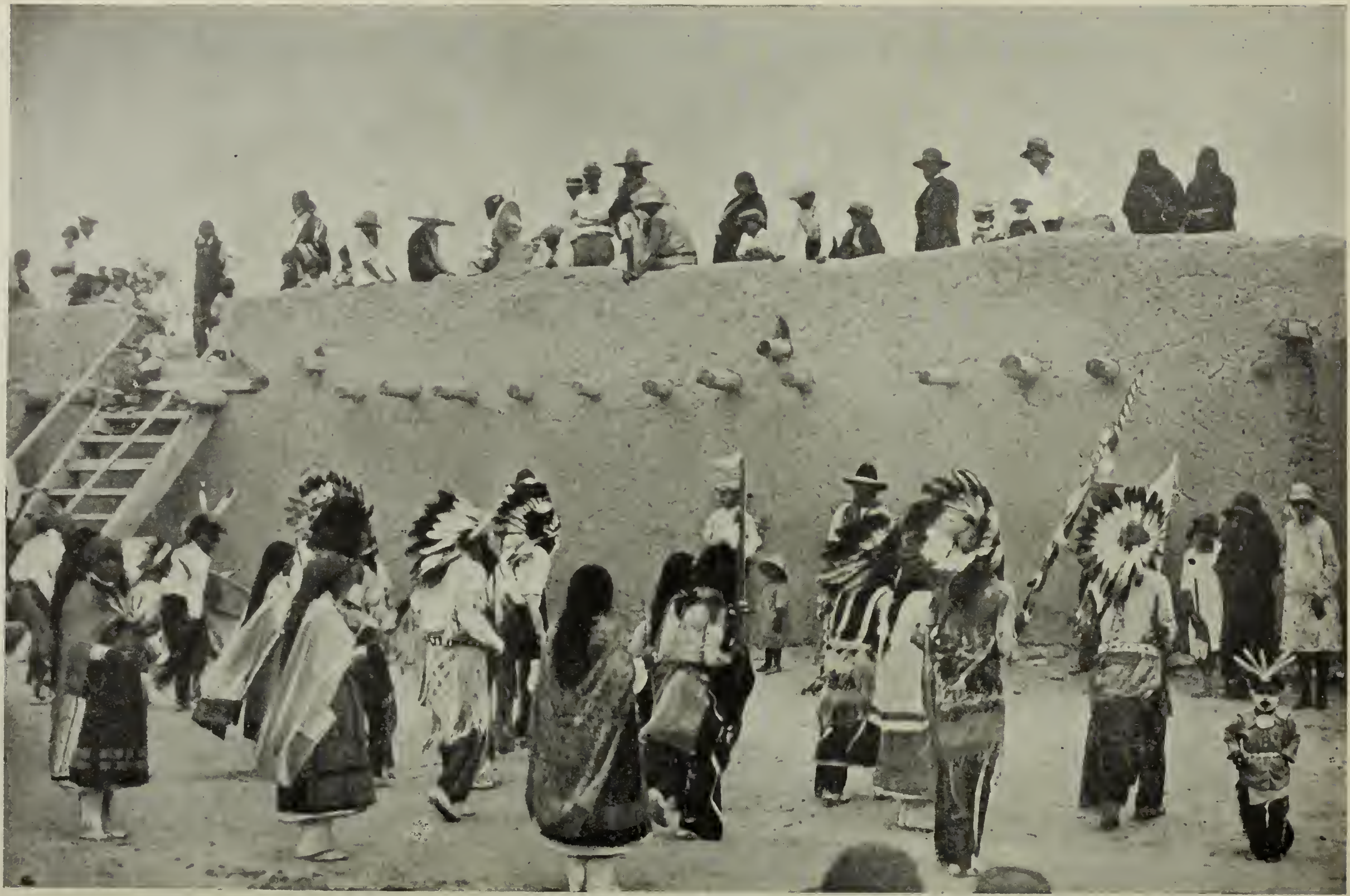
It is unnecessary to go outside the bounds of England to find examples of dances which may serve both to indicate the character of the tribal dance and at the same time illustrate the differences between the essentially emotional but vitally realistic



Ewing Galloway

ORCHESTRA OF TIMPANI FOR MARQUESAN DANCERS

To enable a large company to keep the perfect rhythm that is the essence of the dance 'time must be beaten.' Hand-clapping is the simplest method, and from this it is but a step to the drum used throughout the world. The native standard drum beaten with his bare palms by this earnest young Marquesan is supplemented by thumping on a tin pan.



Ewing Galloway

CEREMONIAL FERTILITY DANCE OF PUEBLO INDIANS AT SAN JUAN, A NECESSARY AGRICULTURAL RITE

Pueblos, village Indians, is the name given to the semi-civilized agricultural and sedentary Indians dwelling in adobe or in stone-built communal houses in Arizona and New Mexico. They depend mainly upon agriculture, and the intervals between crop seasons are devoted to a succession of elaborate and spectacular ceremonies, of which a public ritual dance is a principal feature. One of these, the snake dance of the Hopi Indians, performed every two years, is of world-wide notoriety. Most of these ceremonials are of a sacred character, being either petitions to the nature powers for the rain that is a fundamental necessity in this arid region, or thanksgivings for rain and good crops. The symbolism of these dances has been handed down from a remote antiquity.

communal features of the tribal dance and the purely sensuous and artificial reactions of the modern spirit in dancing. During the present century great interest has been taken in the revival of folk-dancing. Many delightful songs and tunes have been rescued from oblivion; some companies of folk-dancers have been saved from the extinction which was rapidly overtaking them; and a number of scientifically interesting and aesthetically pleasing movements have been preserved and perpetuated—movements with a long tradition behind them which were on the point of dying out. But these dances were survivals: their meaning had been lost; and although they are now danced by village dancers with fervour on the appropriate festivals and other occasions and by amateurs with enthusiasm on all occasions, the spirit is that of antiquarianism or intellectual or aesthetic enjoyment, and not that of an expression of the feeling of a community which has a specific object in view. For this was their original intention. The Morris dances at Whitsuntide, for example, the maypole dance or the sword dances—all described in other chapters in this work—were, in the usual interpretation, dances in which the whole community took part, either in person or through representative dancers, with the specific object of renewing or ensuring the common well-being by revivifying the spirit of fertility and the spirit of vegetation or of securing by imitative magic the growth and prosperity of the cattle and the crops.

Domville Fyfe

HAND-PAINTING COSTUMES FOR AN AMAZON BALLET

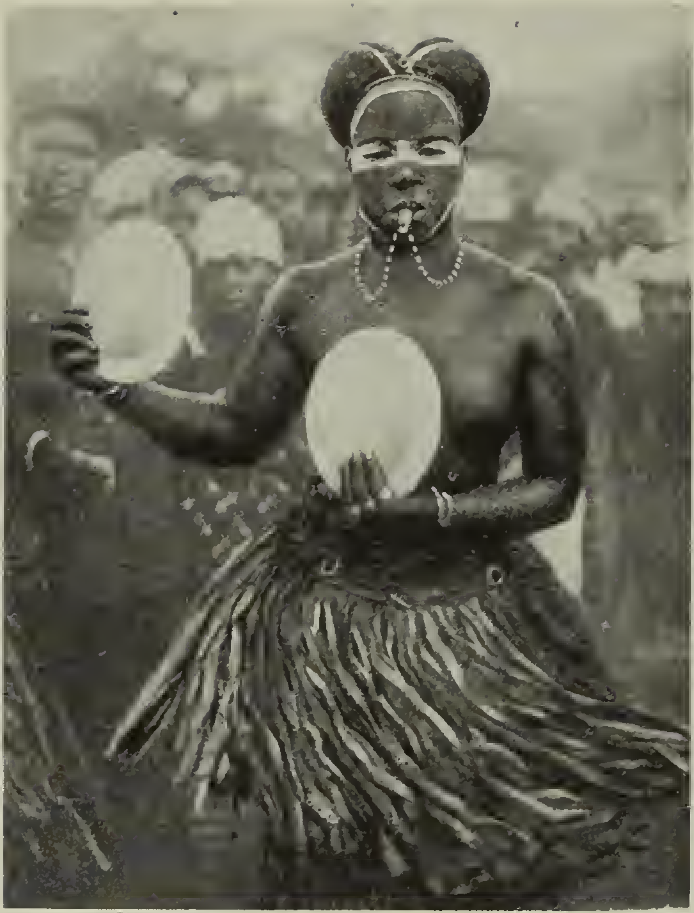
Many of the Amazonian Indian dances approximate rather to acrobatics than to ballet movements, and girls are specially trained for the profession. Troupes of professional dancers are engaged to give continuous performances at wedding festivities. They dance naked, but their bodies are so covered with garish paint that the absence of clothes is not noticeable.

The reason why dancing, with its natural accompaniments of singing and music, should bulk so large in tribal life is not far to seek. Dance and song are no more than organized forms of the simplest and most elemental expressions of emotion—the involuntary response in cry and movement to an emotional stimulus. If the stimulus is recurrent at stated occasions the movement and vocal expression soon begin to take on rhythm and to assume a stereotyped form in association with these stimuli—joy at birth or marriage, grief at death, and the like. The full significance of these reactions lies in the fact that not only do they provide a release for emotion, but they also enhance it. The aggressive spirit expressed in the war dance is worked up into a fanatical fury. Further, the emotional content is more highly coloured when it becomes a form of expression common to a number of individuals, either as a unison of rhythmic movement, or in the exhibitionism of an individual, who

Ewing Galloway

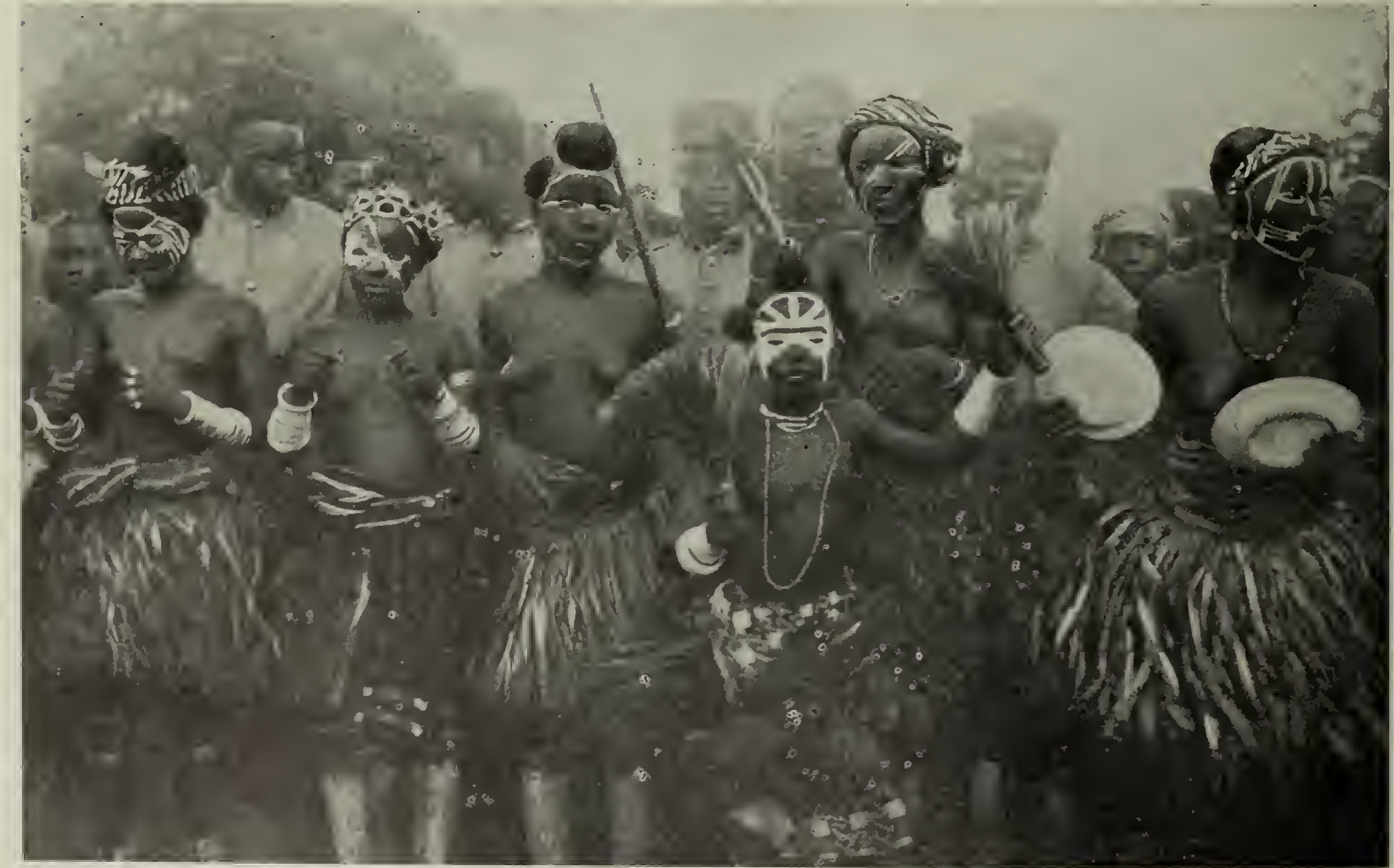
WIFELY SOLICITUDE FOR A HUSBAND'S CREDIT

Among the Bororo Indians, who live in the Paraná region of Brazil, face paint and fantastic costume for tribal ceremonies are reserved for the men, as is the custom also of the North American Indians. Bororo women use no face paint and wear no fancy dress, but they display fastidious care in making up their husbands when these latter are to take part in a dance.



as leader expresses the emotions of a group of dancers. The humming which almost invariably accompanies muscular movement among primitive peoples then develops into song, and the hand-clapping, which both expresses emotion and marks the time, grows into the music of the drum.

It is not difficult to see how a special significance, and more particularly a magical or religious import, has come to be attached to the dance. When the peasant women of Transylvania wish the crops to grow they go to the fields and leap repeatedly as high as they can. Thus they hope to induce the crops to grow high. The wild tribes of Formosa fear the effects of tropical storms. When they see the clouds massing they go out and throw spears at them to drive them away. In Australia, to end a drought, members of a rain totem will imitate the falling of rain. These dramatic actions are the beginnings of the magical imitative dance. But they, and others like them, are concerned with matters affecting the well-being of the whole group, and the greater the unity of the group in carrying them out, the more certain and far-reaching the effect. In fact, in the ceremonial dance, whether it be a fertility dance, a war dance or a totemic dance, the unity of the group finds its highest and most complete formal expression, comparable with that of a service of universal supplication in a Christian church.

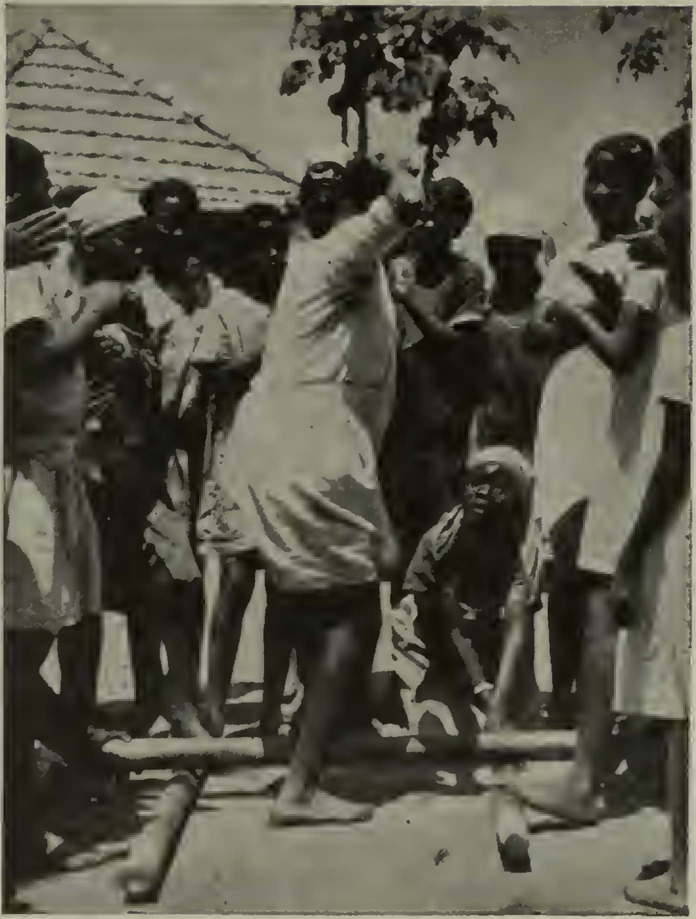


Wide World Photos

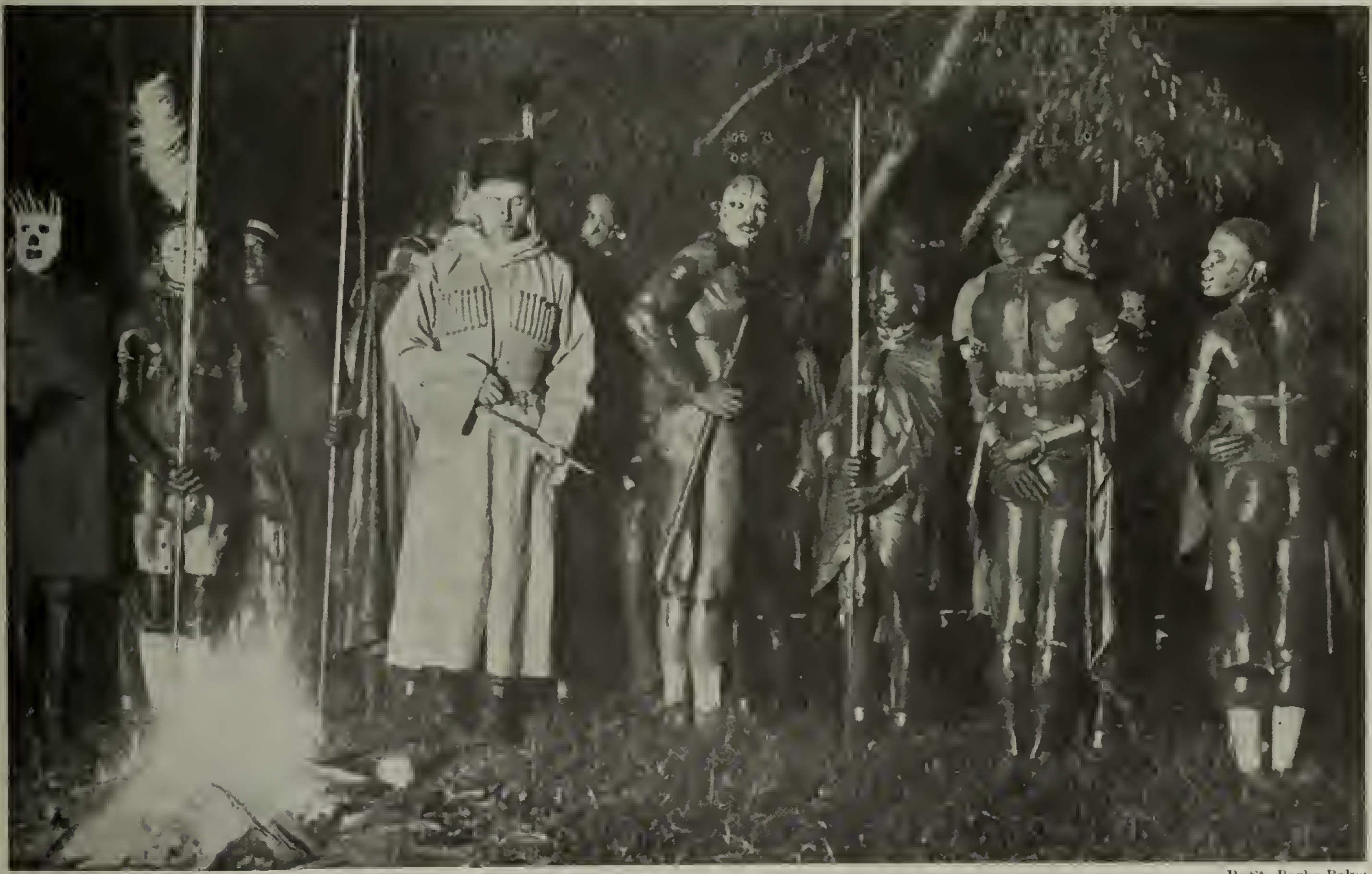
THE TRIVIAL ROUND AND COMMON TASK HONOURED IN A TRIBAL DANCE

At an entertainment provided for him by the chief of the Yafouba tribe Mr. William Seabrook saw a number of Ivory Coast native dances. They included sexual dances, dances representing ape-hunting with bow and arrows and panther-killing with spears, and a highly formalised ballet by women, pantomiming all manner of village, field and household tasks. This was directed by a ballet mistress (top), who gave signals for the evolutions by blowing a whistle carried round her neck. The dancers' faces were painted, not masked, and all wore grass skirts.

The conception of concerted action and community of interest is brought out still more clearly in the processionals or ritual marches, which are closely allied to the tribal dance in idea, if somewhat distinct in form. In many cases, however, they appear to be an adaptation of the movements of the war dance, and are thus, as it were, a mobilisation of the community in force which is intended to scare away adverse influences. Thus in China at the time of a cholera epidemic the whole population of the area affected will assemble and march in procession with music and dancing as they go, hoping thus to scare away the demons of disease. This form of solemn dance is usually practised at a more advanced stage of culture than the primitive tribe, and it was characteristic of the ritual in the religions of the ancient world. The dance around an object either sanctified the object or gave the dancers power over it. Witness the fall of Jericho after the children of Israel had encircled it seven times. Classical literature affords many references to the processional type of dance. One of the best known is, perhaps, the dance of the Salii, the priests of Mars in ancient Rome, whose violent movements, to which reference is made more than once, would appear to have been a survival of the war dance intended to scare away the demons of disease and misfortune. Survivals of the solemn processional dance may be



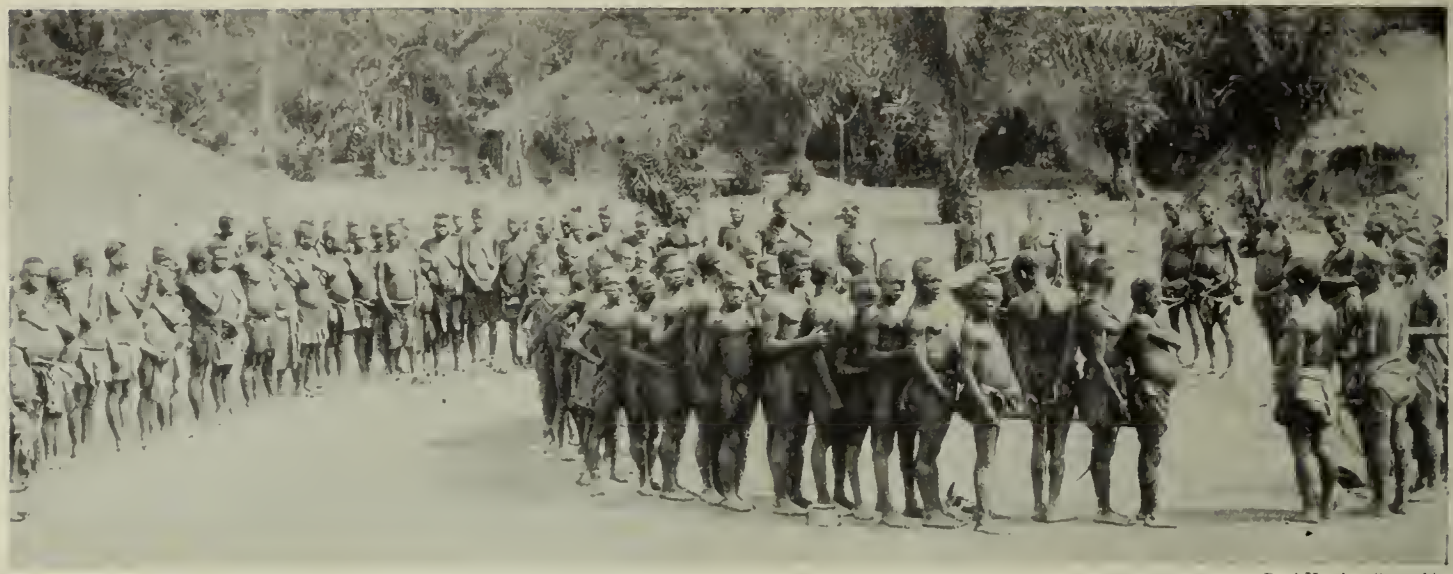
W. F. Taylor



R. St. Barbe Baker

RITUAL AND SECULAR DANCES POPULAR IN AFRICA

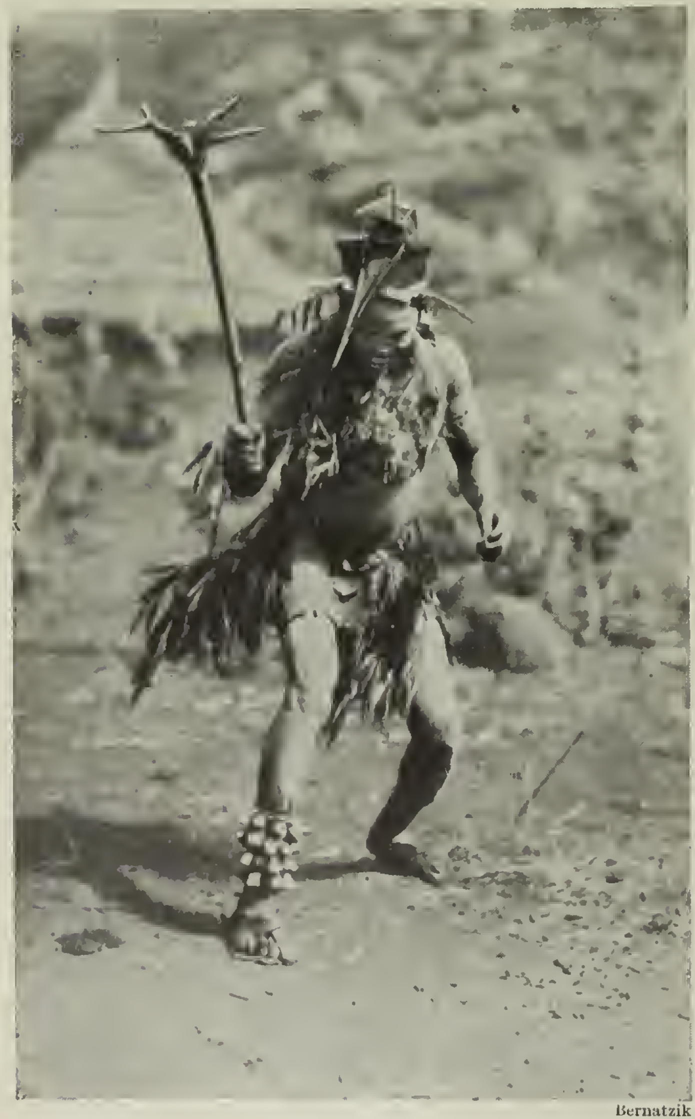
An interesting example of a sympathetic magical dance to promote fertility is the M'Goiyu dance shown here, which takes place at night in the highlands of Kenya during the bean-planting season. Some 500 couples gather round a circle of camp fires and sing and dance until midnight. (The white man here was a casual visitor.) In the stick dance (top), popular among girls on the West Coast of Africa, two girls roll a stick from side to side along rounded poles, trying to trip up the girl dancing over it.



Paul Hoefler (Columbia

IFI PYGMIES OF THE CONGO REGION PREPARING FOR A DANCE

African pygmies are probably the most shy people living today. Thus it was a distinct achievement when the Paul Hoefler expedition secured photographs of a Congo group of the little people. The expedition established a camp in a clearing in the forest, and through a local chief of a non-pygmy tribe succeeded in persuading half a dozen of the pygmies to come in on a visit. After a few days their friendship was won and they sent out a drum message which brought over a hundred of the tribe into the clearing.



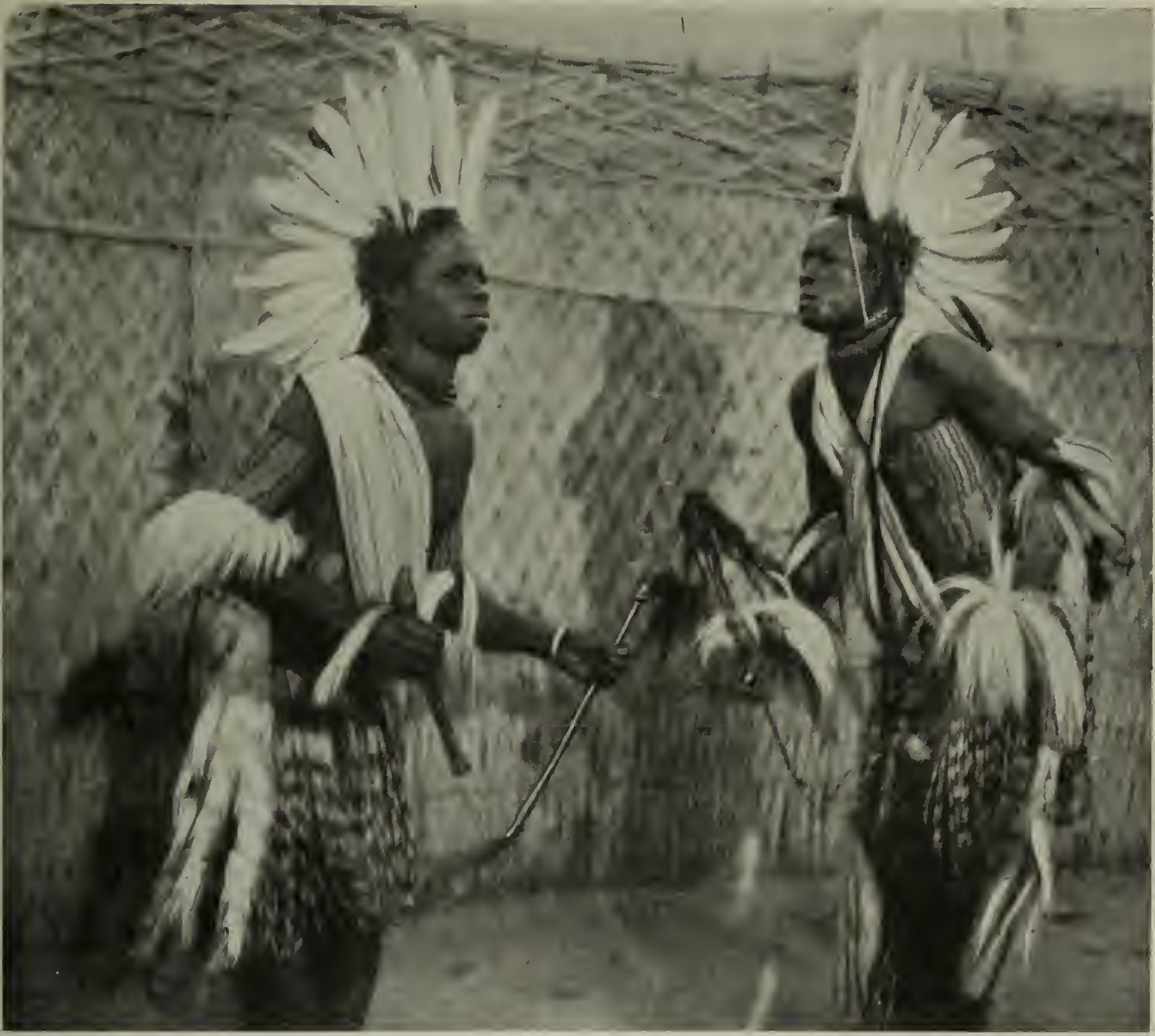
Bernatzik

SOLO DANCE BY A KORDOFAN COURT JESTER

Attached to the court of many African chiefs are men corresponding to the subsidised minstrels and jesters who figured in European courts in medieval times. The minstrel's function is to glorify his master in improvised chants and orations. The jester is a mere buffoon to whom every outrageous licence is permitted.

seen in the practice of beating the bounds and the processionals of Church ritual. At the patterns, or saints' day festivals, in Ireland part of the ritual is usually a procession around the church. As many of the shrines and churches dedicated to the earlier saints are on the site of an ancient pagan cult, it may be inferred that these processions perpetuate the memory of a ceremonial dance of the older worship. Processionals of this sort march with the sun. This is characteristic of circular dances, such as the round dances of the peasants of Brittany and the circular dances which formerly were part of the wedding ceremonial in the Faroe Islands. Such dances may undoubtedly be regarded as survivals of sun worship. It is in accordance with the practice of black magic that the dances of the witches' sabbath which, in so far as they had any foundation in reality, are supposed to have been fertility dances, were always danced against the sun.

Such dances as these figure prominently in many, if not most, of the sun cults. It will suffice to refer here to the dances as they are or were recently practised among the Indians of North America. The Blackfeet Indians recognize a great annual festival known as the 'sun dance' in which the medicine men heal the sick and sacred vows are expiated by the infliction of self-torture. Some of the dances are specially devised to test the powers of endurance of the young men, who dance around a burning tree as it showers sparks on them. The Salish of British Columbia dance in a circle with hands extended before them, palms upward, as their bodies sway from side to side in rhythmic motion in time to a chant. The performance is repeated three times—at sunrise, noon and sunset—when a spirit is invoked which, apparently, is the sun. Among the Mandans the sun dance was performed with the infliction of such excruciating tortures on the devotees that it was forbidden by the United States



W. F. Taylor

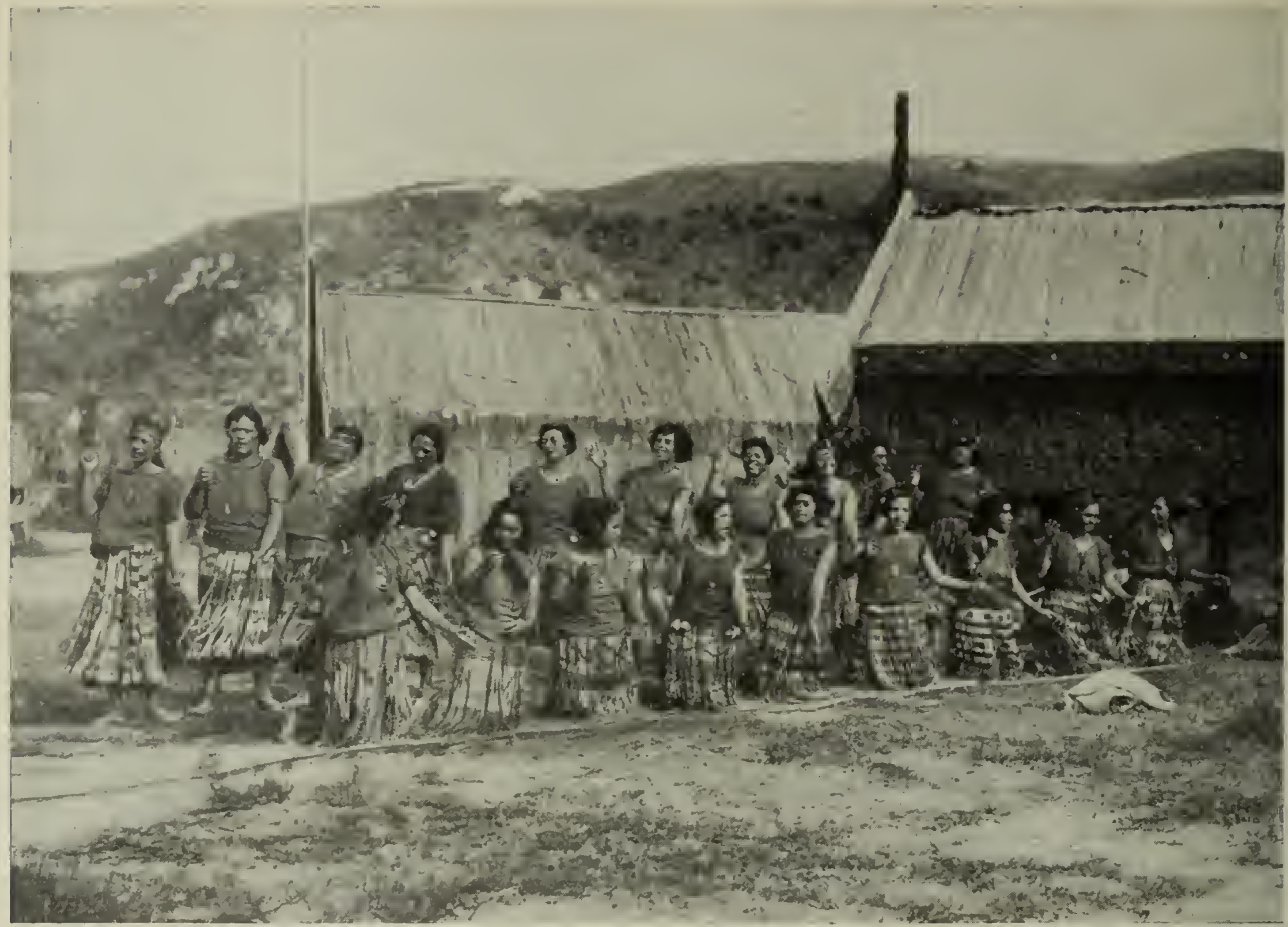
NEGRO DANCERS' PLUMES THAT A RED INDIAN MIGHT COVET

Not a few of the more important African chiefs, notably in Nigeria, maintain troupes of professional dancers, male and female. These men performing a slow and stately action dance are professional dancers of a tribe living in the hinterland of Nigeria, and a noteworthy feature of the performance is the resemblance of the dancers' head-dresses to those worn by some of the North American Indians. The resemblance, of course, is entirely fortuitous, the two peoples never having been in contact.

Government in 1883. Of a somewhat similar character in intention are the fire dances which are performed by the Navajos and other fire reverencing tribes, such as the Dakotas. These dances are performed at night; but the use by the Navajos of a disk which symbolises the sun and serves as the central point of the dance may be taken as a sufficient indication of its solar character.

Frequently the dances of primitive peoples as now practised are purely social and have more or less lost their ritual character; but they still show the marks of their origin. Many of the corroborees of the Australian tribes are of this kind. One dance, for example, which is performed on the occasion of a visit from a neighbouring friendly tribe, retains features which properly belong to a war dance. Although the visitors are accompanied by women and children—a fact which indicates their friendly purpose—they wear in their hair the flaked sticks which are a sign of an avenging party intending to kill. When they are invited to approach their hosts, they come at a run with spears upraised. A preliminary welcome is given by the old women, who go through grotesque antics, while three of the local groups on a hill near by dance with spear, shield and boomerang, as if to show that they are prepared for hostilities. After the visiting men have danced round with prancing steps—a war dance effect—their leading man collects the sticks worn in the hair and burns them as a final assurance that their visit is friendly.

The dance movement here has obviously a signification of preparedness. This may account for the survival of the similar dances elsewhere as a form of



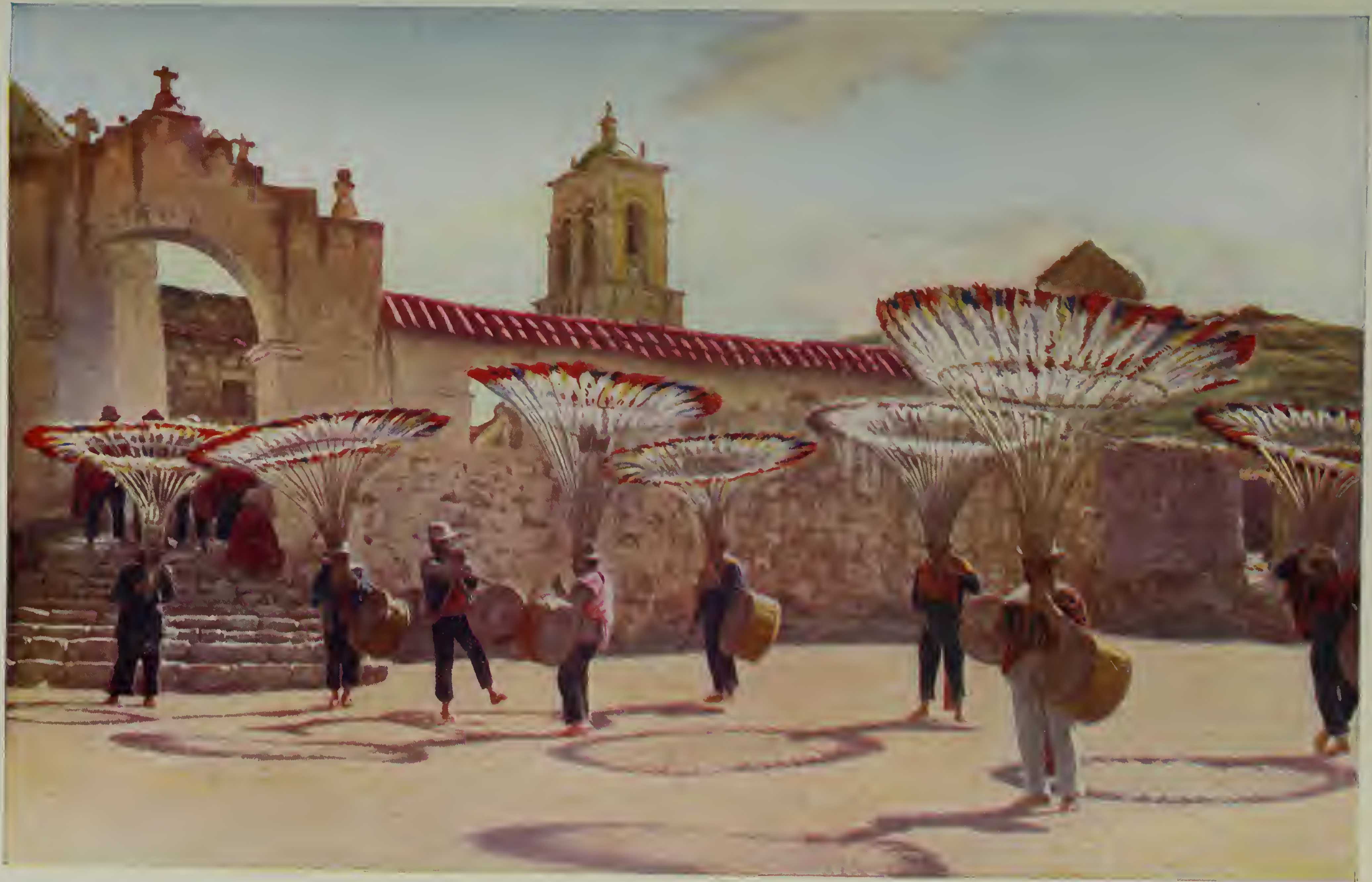
Ewing Galloway

EXHIBITION OF THE POI DANCE BY MAORI GIRLS AT ROTORUA

As a race the Maoris have always been very fond of dancing, and a number of action dances of unknown antiquity survive among them today. An especially popular one is the poi dance, shown here. It is rather a matter of posturing and movement of the arms than of dancing with the feet. The performers stand or kneel in rows, twirling balls made of raupo leaves and beating them on their heads and breasts and shoulders in time to chanting and clapping of hands.

social entertainment. It is thus that the Scottish reel may have survived from the time when the clans and nations of the ancient Celtic world, who were always ready for open hostilities, met at the great national festivals, and dancing formed part of the games and contests which still survive in the Eisteddfods, the Highland Games, and the revived Talltown games of Ireland. The war dance, too, would tend to survive in that its normally violent movement gives greater scope for the exercise of the play instinct which enters largely into the impulse towards the dance, while its associations would arouse in the highest degree the feeling of social solidarity and common responsibility which group or tribal reunions are expected to promote. In the responsibility which is an outcome of war, and might be thought to be essentially the burden of the men, the women also share. They have to observe certain taboos very carefully while their men are away at war. Sometimes they must go further: they must dance, as in Madagascar, to ensure the success of their men. On the Gold Coast their dance takes the form of a sham fight in which green gourds, symbolising the enemy, are cut to pieces.

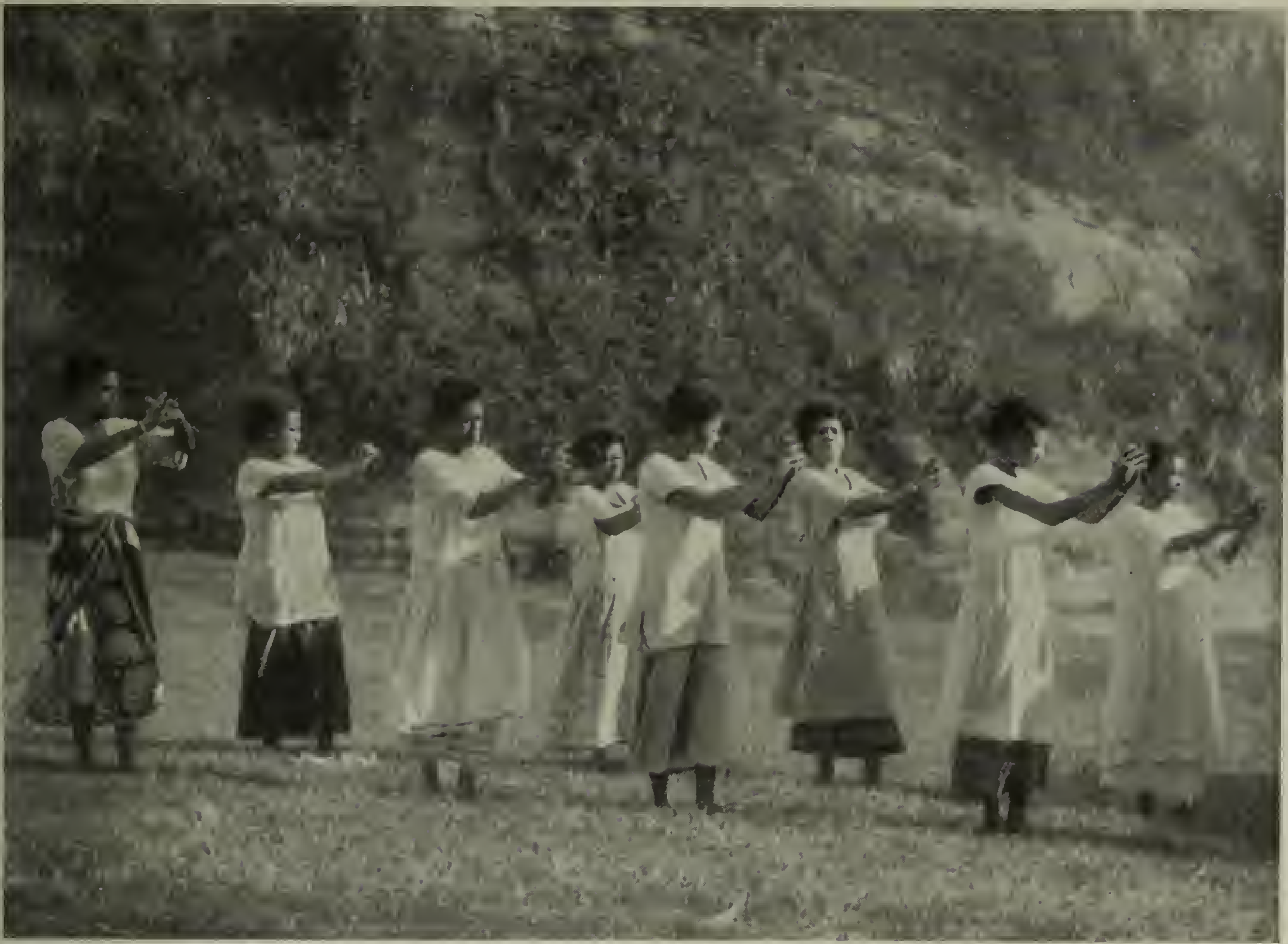
THE distinction between the solemn, almost sacred, dance and the social dance is well exemplified in the customs of the Bavenda, a remarkably interesting tribe of South Africa, in which the characteristic features of a strongly individual social organization are still to a great extent free from the modification usually caused by white administration. Among the Bavenda there are two tribal dances of special interest. Of these, that known as the 'tshikona' is almost sacred in character. It is performed at the command of chiefs and petty chiefs and is associated with every phase in the life of the people as a whole. The principal performers are always men, who have to undergo a long apprenticeship. The second dance is the mathanngwa,' which resembles the first in construction, but differs entirely from it in intent, as it is purely social and is danced for enjoyment. It is danced even by quite young boys. Each of these dances has a leader who trains the dancers and must be obeyed implicitly. It is usual for the chief in each village to have his troup of trained tshikona dancers. The tshikona dance is in a sense a national dance, and is associated vaguely with the ancestors. It is always performed to inaugurate initiation and



Ewing Galloway

FANTASTIC FEATHERED HEADGEAR THAT ANDINE INDIANS FLAUNT AT FESTIVALS

Before the Spanish conquest under Pizarro what is now Bolivia was a province of the Inca Empire; but even before that empire came into being at least four civilizations or cultures which can only be described as that of the Andine Peoples existed in the region. The ruins of Tiahuanaco near Lake Titicaca are its principal monument, but some ancient tradition coming down from remote periods very possibly lies behind the extraordinary costumes worn by the Indians of the lake region at their religious festivals. The main item of this dress is the headgear fashioned of feathers of ostriches and macaws dyed brilliant colours and fastened on long bamboos rising like a splendid circular crest from a peaked cap, the whole suggesting some symbolic bird form.



J. Hornell

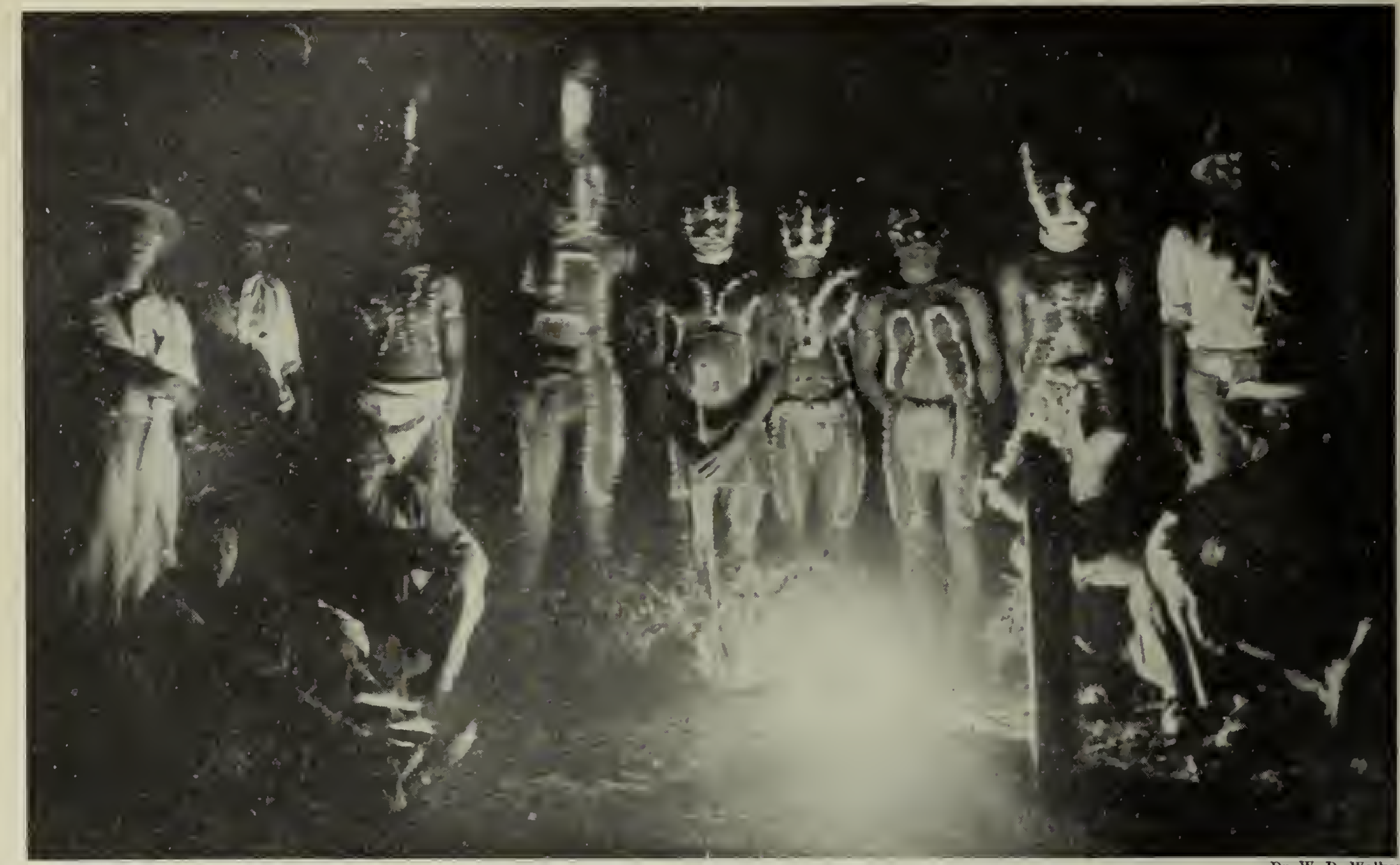
DANCE OF INVOCATION BY FIJIAN WOMEN AT MBAU

While ethnographically associated with the Melanesians the Fijians have undergone considerable admixture with the Polynesians, and evidence of this double contact is found in their culture. Like the Melanesians of New Guinea, they were until recently ferocious cannibals. They have a strong histrionic vein in their character, and their war dances, performed by men only, are still terrifying spectacles. This sense of drama is manifest in other of their traditional dances, as in this choric dance of women invoking the spirits of dead ancestors.

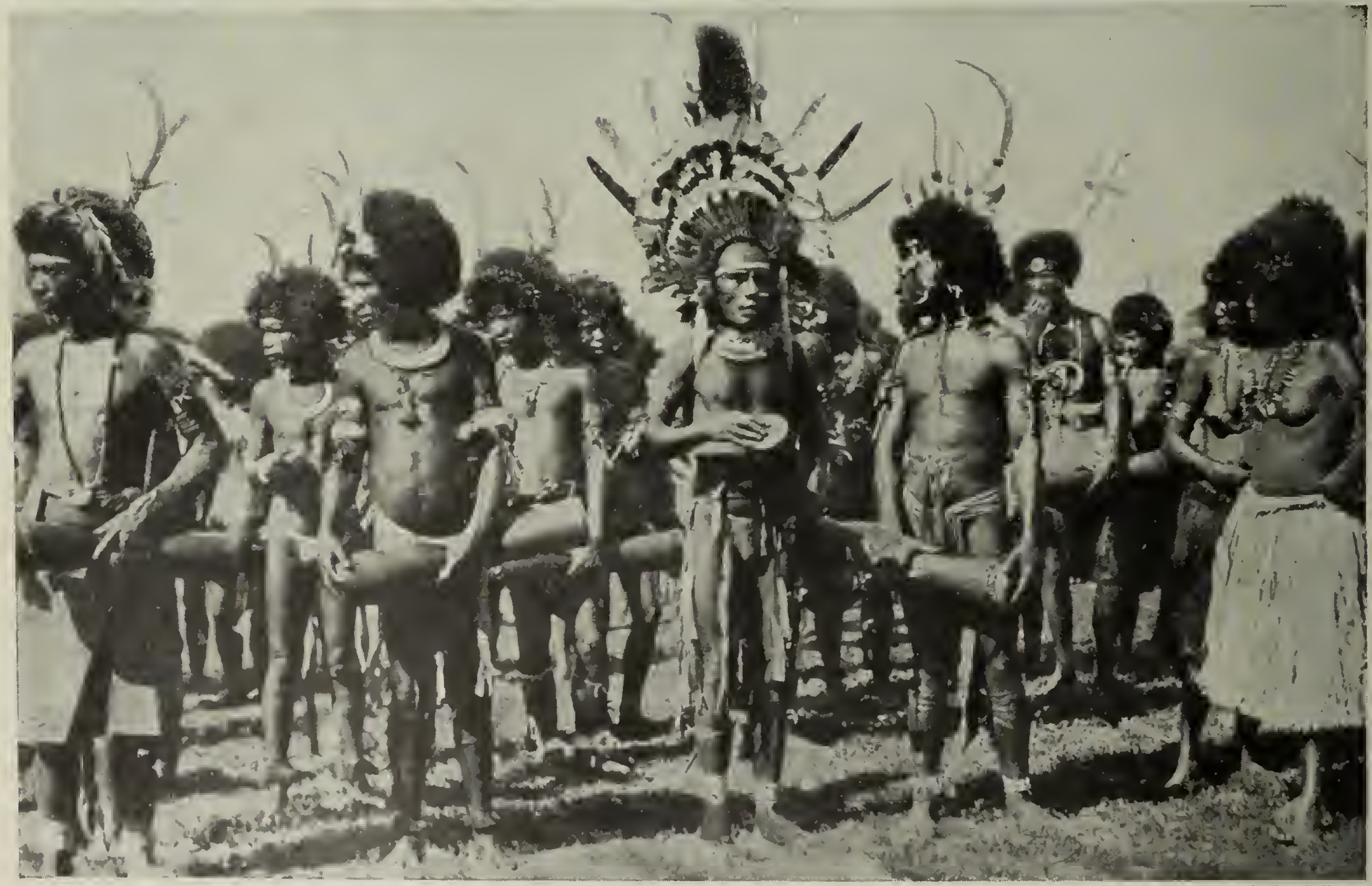
other ceremonies, to solicit the good will of the ancestors, on the death of a chief, on the accession of a new chief, and when rain is required. It is usual for it to be performed immediately on the arrival of a chief at the kraal of one of the subjects, as a sign of loyalty and respect, much as a national anthem.

DANCING and eroticism have a close and obvious connexion, although the erotic dance, as it is found today in the East, where it is purely a professional and exhibition dance, may appear to have little relation to tribal dancing. But the auto-intoxication and aphrodisiac effect of all dancing, as well as the opportunity for the display of the essential characters of the sexes, tend to give an erotic character to most, if not all, dances. The war dance in particular has this character, and it is not uncommon to find it recorded that a war dance is followed by a pairing of the sexes, except when immediately before an expedition all sexual intercourse is forbidden. The war dance calls for an exceptional display of the manly qualities which attract the opposite sex, just as certain of the agricultural and seasonal dances in Borneo, south-eastern Asia, and New Guinea, for example, afford the women an opportunity to show to advantage their tattooed limbs which proclaim their eligibility for marriage, or, in New Guinea, to exhibit their skill in the sensuous swaying of their voluminous skirts Among the Nuer, at the time of the year when the tribes live in fishing camps, the young man who wishes to attract the lady of his desire will get a friend to drive a bull around the camp time after time, while he follows, brandishing his spear and dancing. As the chief distraction of the Nuer men is war and cattle raiding, which comes to much the same thing, the intention of this pantomimic form of courtship is obvious.

In dances such as these, however, the eroticism is in the nature of a by-product ; but dances which are more purely erotic in character are not uncommon. Thus, among some of the tribes of the Amazon, in South America, men and girls dance in opposing bands, with an obviously erotic intention. It was, however, in Polynesia in particular that the erotic dance perhaps attained its highest development as a form of social entertainment. Early and even modern travellers and missionaries record the 'obscenities' and 'immoralities' of these dances.



Dr. W. D. Walker



Ewing Galloway

SAVAGE HEARTS FIND SOLACE IN SYMBOLISM OF THE DANCE

Australian aborigines hold corroborees, generally at night, for general recreation and for various ritual ceremonies, including invocation of the powers that control the food supply. It was for this purpose that the painted natives (top) assembled around a fire at Oodnadatta, South Australia. Many Papuan dances are characterised by savage ferocity and by the garish adornment of the performers, especially in respect of their head-dresses. In this example (bottom) each dancer beats his own drum and the chief is distinguished by a towering head-dress of feathers.

Keystone

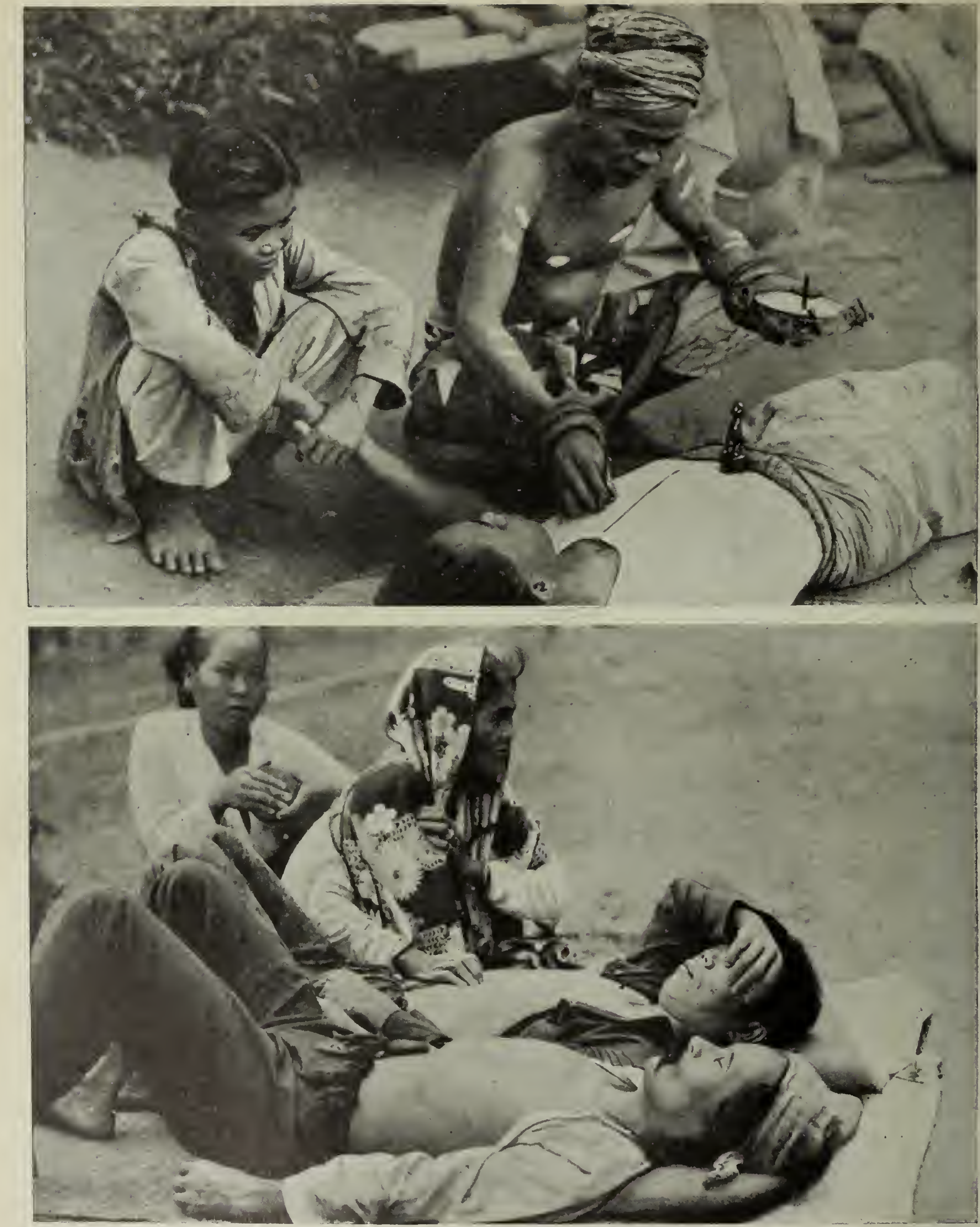
LIGHT HEARTS SPEED THE CLUMSY FEET OF THE ESKIMO

Dancing enters but little into the amusements of the Eskimo, owing mainly to the unsuitability of their Arctic environment and their cumbersome clothing for any such exercise. Where, however, conditions are less unfavourable, as on the Alaskan coast, the light-heartedness of the Eskimo prompts them to attempt the amusement, and in some of the townships a group of them may be seen stepping clumsily but merrily in rhythm with chanting, snapping of fingers and drumming on tambourines.

It is permissible to surmise that if the dance was a form of entertainment, it may also have had a more serious intent. In Hawaii, as well as in other islands, these dances were performed by the daughters of the chiefs, and after they had danced they were available for selection in marriage by the eligible young men of rank. It may therefore not be straining the bounds of probability to suggest that these dances were in origin fertility dances in which the marital union of the members of the chieftains' families which they were intended to promote would, it was thought, also affect favourably the fertility of the crops.

Some of the dances of the Australian tribes are directly stimulative of sexual licence, the men breaking off from the dance to carry off the women into the bush. It has been stated that the intention of this dance was to introduce new blood into the tribe, perhaps a form of temporary marriage by capture, while it is said in Victoria that sexual licence in the dance which disregarded all rules of marital rights and forbidden degrees of sexual union was deliberately promoted to avert the evils of inbreeding. Probably, however, this attributes a degree of sophistication to the elders of an Australian tribe which they do not deserve ; and we may have here no more than another example of the familiar principle that on ceremonial occasions a taboo may be broken to promote that same beneficial result, which in normal times would fail if the taboo were not observed.

In the dances which have been the subject of reference here the interests of the individual are not ignored ; but they receive consideration only in so far as the individual is merged in his social group. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to conclude that his existence as a unit is not recognized in the emotional expression of his group. That is far from being the fact. At birth, a dance may have assisted his mother in her delivery, as among the Kayans of Borneo ; the dance throughout the primitive world marks the solemnity of the initiation of both boy and girl and affords them some, at least, of the discipline of their training. The dance is an important part of the ritual of the secret society and of the promotion of each member from one grade to another. Dancing plays its part in the marriage ceremonial, sometimes it is even the only formal ceremony ; and at death relatives and friends dance either to help the dead man on his way to the next world or to propitiate or drive away his ghost, according as their beliefs dictate. It is literally true to say that the dance accompanies the member of a primitive tribe from the cradle to the grave.



H. F. Tilleman

DYAK TRANSFERENCE OF SUFFERING TO INANIMATE SUBSTITUTES

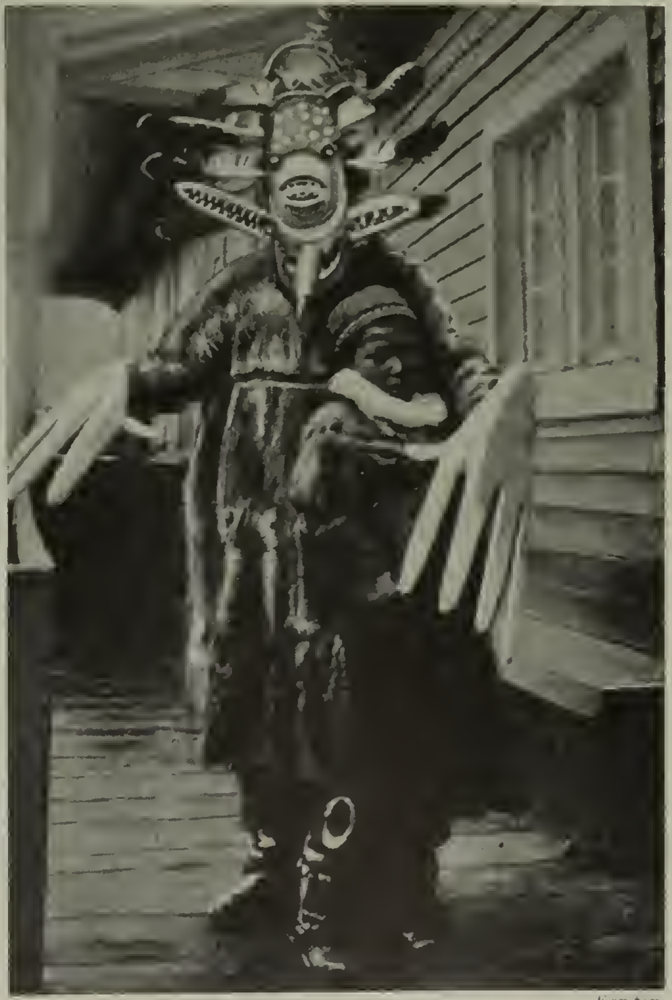
Among the Dyaks of Borneo the art of physic is practised by both male and female magicians, known as 'bilians.' Their methods of treatment are often practical, including the use of herbs of proved efficacy, massage, and so on, but they rely largely on non-physical methods. Thus the male bilian (top) has placed a wooden doll upon his patient's abdomen. It is a 'ganti-diri,' or substitute, and the bilian is working magic to drive the man's sickness into the doll—a process which may take a few days.

MEDICINE MEN AND THEIR MAGIC

Few terms are so generally misunderstood as 'medicine' and 'medicine man.' Actually the medicine man plays a useful as well as a prominent part in the life of primitive peoples. Further, his services are usually invoked only to supplement the practical leechcraft approved by experience and in use among his tribe. Reference should be made to the chapter on Driving out the Devils of Disease.

If the civilized victim of a festal season calls in a well-groomed gentleman with a good bedside manner to prescribe the necessary pill, we speak of the doctor and his science. If, however, the sufferer is a savage who, having partaken too freely of a rather tough kangaroo, commissions a personage with wild eyes and a bone through his nose to scare the devil from out of his stomach, we refer less respectfully to the medicine man and his magic. Yet for the anthropologist these are but different stages of one and the same evolutionary process. At the same time, it is only fair to note that a radical change has occurred not only in the method employed in each case, but in the theory behind the method. The doctor assumes that he is working with a set of natural causes; whereas the medicine man on the whole relies on what we should be inclined to describe as supernatural causes, though he might not have an exactly equivalent term in his own vocabulary.

Thus it is interesting to consider the history of our phrase 'medicine man.' It goes back to the early part of the nineteenth century, when Americans coined the word 'medicine' to express anything and everything that had to do with the religion of their Indians; to whom they ascribed medicine dances, medicine feasts medicine songs, and so on, while animals, stones, arrows, badges, lodges were equally entitled to the prefix 'medicine' if they entered in any way into the native scheme of sacred rites. Catlin, the intrepid explorer-artist, who in the 'forties ventured far out into the Western prairies in search of his models, puts the matter in a nutshell thus: 'The word medicine means mystery and nothing else.'



Keystone

THERAPY BY FRIGHT

Exorcism of the evil spirits that cause illness is the main principle of Eskimo therapeutics, and if tooth and claw can frighten devils away this Alaskan Eskimo medicine man should be a successful practitioner. The huge hands and fearsome fanged jaws are made of walrus ivory.

There exist, indeed, in many of the Indian languages expressions more or less answering to this notion of mystery; though the precise meaning would mostly seem to be that of 'mysterious power.' The vaguer term 'power' is better suited to render the sense here than 'spirit' would be, because to the primitive mind it remains undecided how far life and personality attach to the occult agency; more especially since it is supposed capable of being passed on from one person or thing to another person or thing.

Now in one important respect our word 'medicine' fails to do justice to the original conception, because the latter likewise extends to what we should call poison. In other words, whatever is supernaturally potent can cure or can kill according as it is used with good or with evil intent. Either, then, we must speak of good medicine and bad medicine when white and black magic, religion and sorcery are severally involved, or we must reserve 'medicine' and 'medicine man' for those occasions in which a beneficent purpose can be taken for granted in the thing done and in the doer of it.

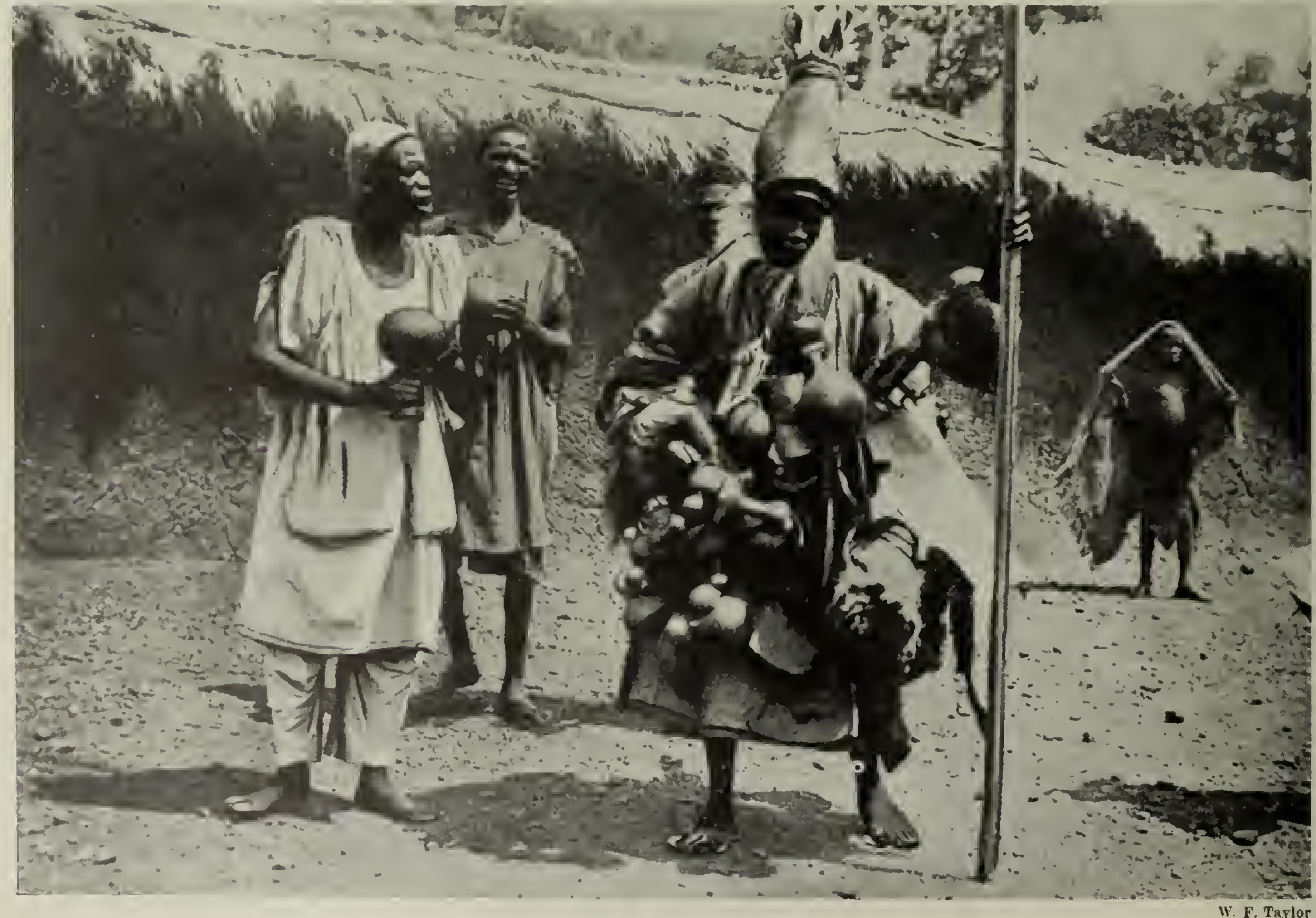
Preferring, then, this second course, let us give the subject of witchcraft the go-by. The witch, after all, is a rather unreal person. Savages, no doubt, stand perpetually in great fear of him, and put down all the ills of the flesh to his diabolic machinations. From time to time, moreover, some unfortunate wretch is accused and duly convicted of the abominable sin of bedeviling his neighbours, and dies some dreadful death in order that the tribal nerves may be quieted. But for obvious reasons a real witch, did he exist, could not afford to come out into the open. Still less might any association of witches hold their sabbath with impunity for long, however secret they tried to keep them. The chances are, then, that

Barnaby's, Ltd

with savages, just as with ourselves in the days of the notorious witch-trials that disgraced Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the victims of popular panic immensely outnumber those authentic criminals who in some hole-and-corner way practise the black art for reasons of spite or greed.

On the other hand, the so-called witch-doctor is no witch at all, but something a good deal nearer to a priest. True, he may be little better than a hedge-priest ; for there are grades of respectability in primitive religion, and those who serve the greater gods of the tribe are superior in social status, and doubtless in moral outlook as well, to the keepers of local shrines and petty talismans—in a word, to miracle-mongers of the baser sort. Generally speaking, however, whatever the society concerned approves of, or, at any rate, tolerates, as religious is more or less good in their eyes and depends for its validity on genuine faith in which all share alike, both the priest and the people.

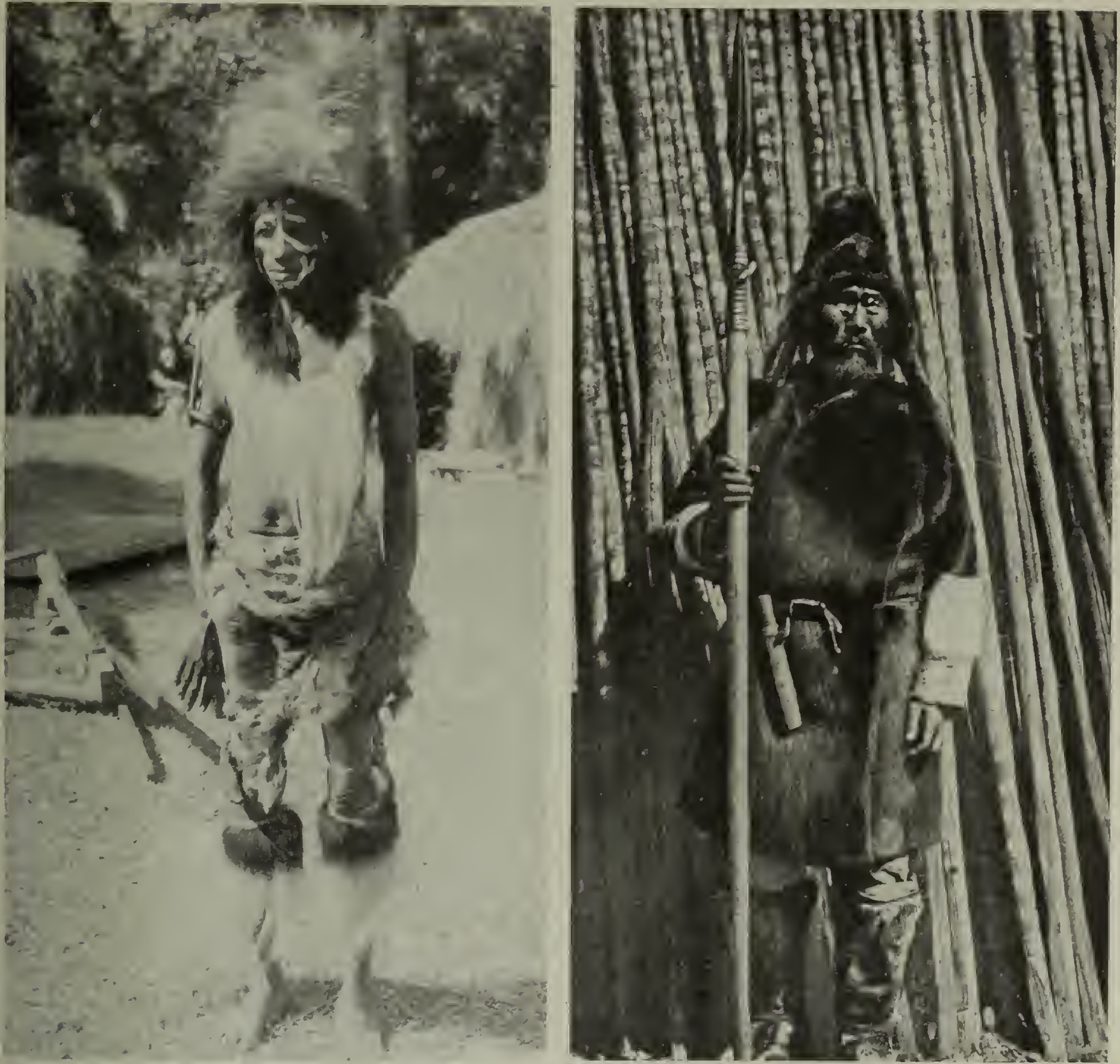
From the standpoint of the civilized onlooker, critical and unsympathetic, who cannot participate in this believing attitude, they may seem one and all the dupes of what he ranks as mere superstition. But that this priest-like wonder-worker is a conscious



W. F. Taylor

DEALERS IN MAGIC AND SPELLS OUT ON THEIR LAWFUL OCCASIONS

One reason why Europeans are so contemptuous of the African medicine man is their inability to see any possible utility in any of the strange oddments with which the medicine man encumbers himself when abroad on his business. Yet that they have value as paraphernalia in treatment by suggestion is undeniable. Above is the presentment of a Nigerian medicine man who vends charms for all diseases in the market place of Sokoto, advertising the real efficacy of his ' medicine ' by himself carrying about a live scorpion on his nose.



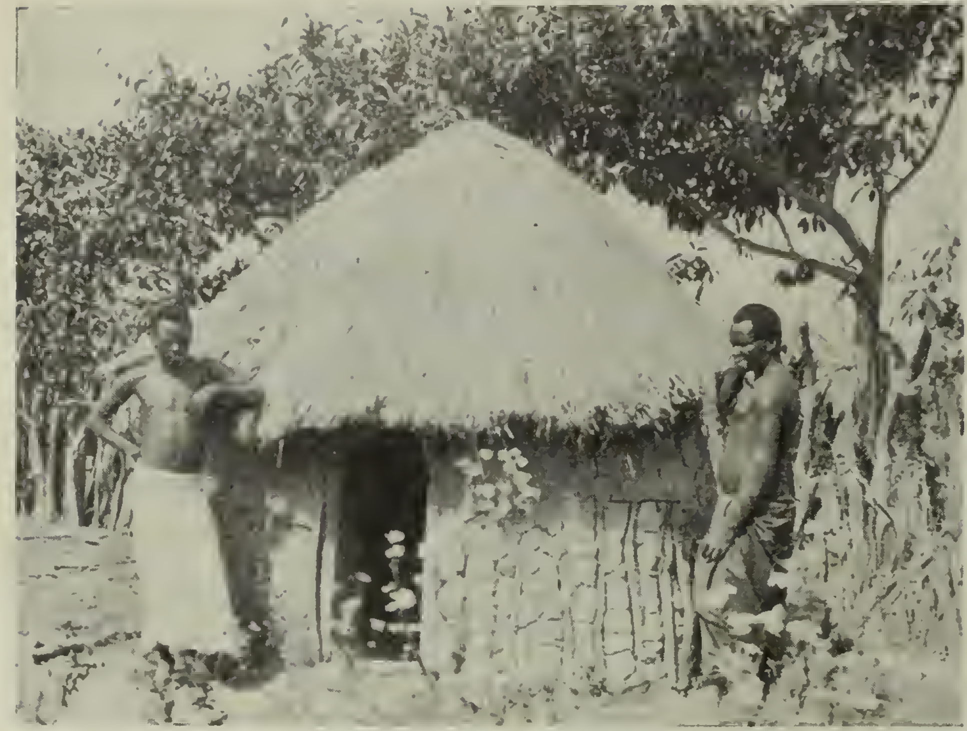
Metro Goldwyn Mayer & Press Cliche

CONTRASTS IN 'MEDICAL' COSTUME OF AFRICA AND ASIA

A definite and important part of the professional apparatus of the African native doctor is his costume. As in the example from Central Africa (left) he must be so painted and garbed that he is enabled to exert the requisite effect on the disease or possession-causing evil spirits. The shamanist of Sakhalien (right), while almost equally concerned with mystic ritual, does not need to terrify by appearance. His healing processes partake much more of the nature of an hypnotic casting out of devils.

fraud—though this is exactly what the vulgar are apt to think about those who profess any other form of religion than their own—is a psychological absurdity. The faith-healer who does not have implicit faith in his own power of healing will never produce the like conviction in his patient. No dishonest man ever made ' big medicine,' for the laws of mind forbid it ; even the successful quack believes in his own quackery.

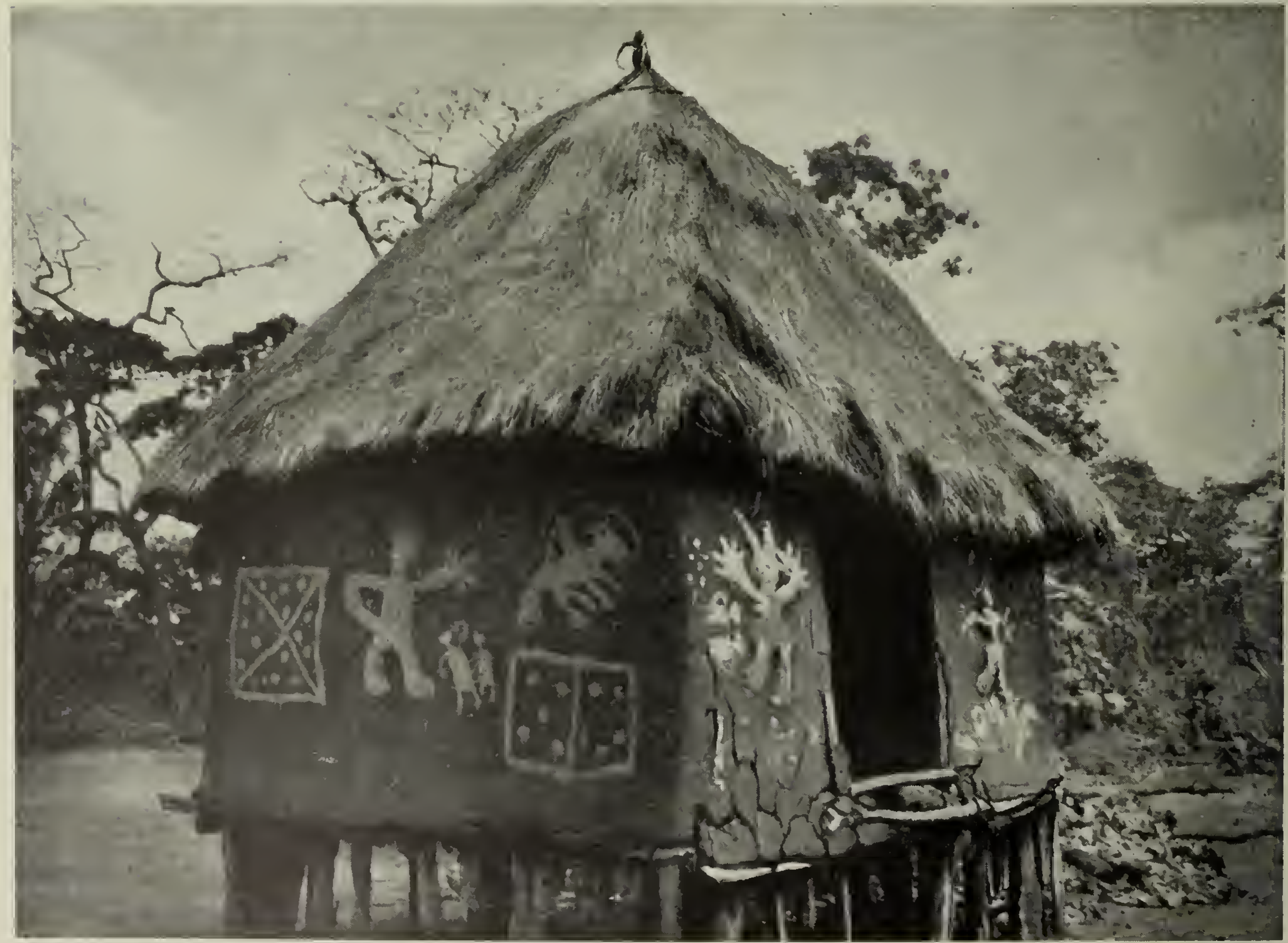
Perhaps the best way in which we can learn to appreciate his state of mind is to watch the medicine man in the making rather than as already trained for and engaged in his profession. It is to be noted at once that it is not every man's job, but one that proves attractive only to individuals of a special and comparatively rare disposition. Thus we are expressly told about one Australian tribe numbering about 1,500 souls that it could show no more than one or two medicine men to each of its four divisions. Of these few it is hardly too much to say that each has answered to a ' call,' finding in himself a capacity for supernormal experience and thereupon of his own initiative following his peculiar bent. One of them, for instance, spoke of his boyhood to Howitt thus : ' I used to see things that my mother could not see, when out with her I would say, " What is out there like men walking ? " She used to say, " Child, there



American Field Museum

is nothing.” These were the ghosts which I began to see.’

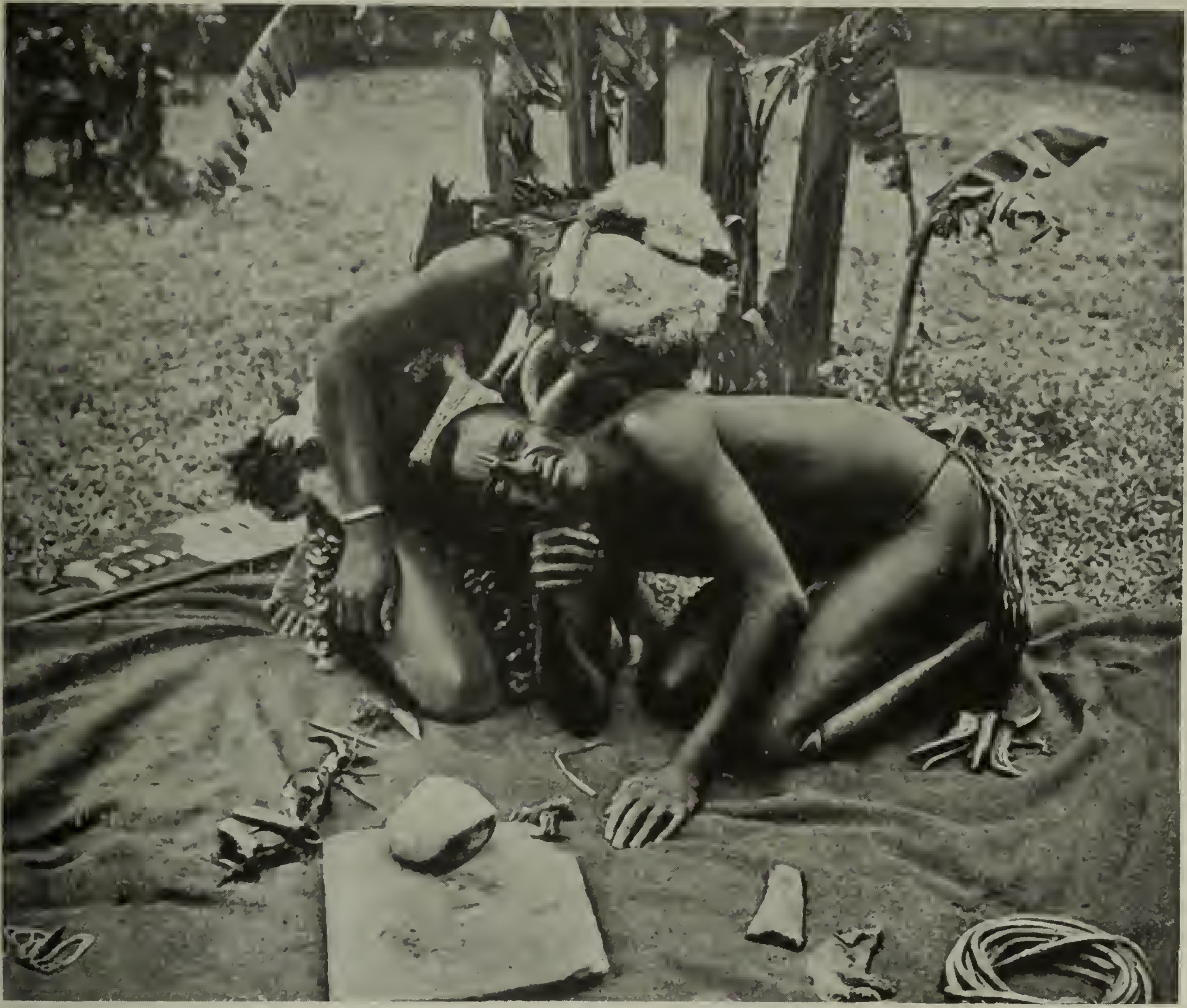
Now the ordinary initiation through which every youth must pass would involve fasting and other austerities likely to develop latent talent of this type. But the candidate for orders must go on to face a further initiation. Our information is unfortunately meagre as to the precise nature of these even more searching tests, but all native testimony agrees in stating that the power thus acquired comes by a kind of ‘revelation’ — whether it proceeds from ghosts, or from other spirits similar to our fairies, or from the supreme god of the tribal mysteries. In any case the power is no mere matter of technical skill, but ranks as something superhumanly imparted—a divine gift.



W. F. Taylor

SECRET SHRINES OF MYSTERY AND MAGIC WHERE NO LAYMAN MAY ENTER

Every African village has a fetish house of some kind or other, usually built apart. It is here that the medicine man or witch doctor keeps his gear, and repairs when he wishes to consult the spirits, and no one but a qualified fetish man would dare to set foot within it. Of the two specimens shown here the lower one, with lozenges and human and animal figures painted in white on its mud walls, is Nigerian: the upper one is at Goimburdu in Angola (Portuguese West Africa).



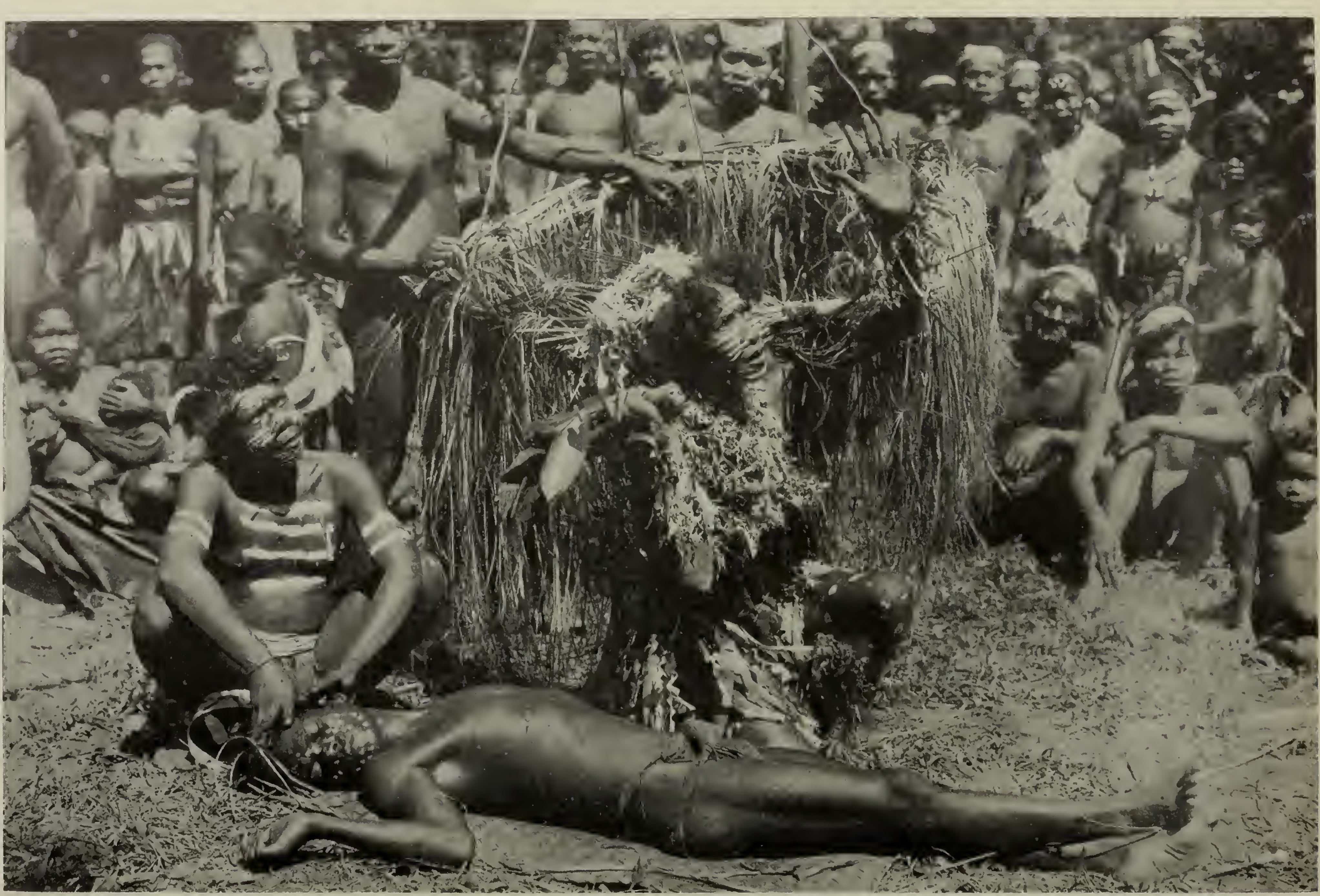
Barnaby's, Ltd.

SIMPLE AND ANCIENT 'CURE' COMBINING PRACTICE WITH FAITH

The patients of the native medicine man usually possess more shrewdness than the European credits them with, and it is a mistake to suppose that native medical 'magic' depends principally upon credulity. Much of its success arises from its combination of ancient but simple remedies or treatments of proved value with the mystic element necessary to secure the patient's confidence. Cupping is a form of blood-letting ever much vaunted among all races. This Central African 'doctor' is probably cupping his patient for earache.

Of course human agents help to supplement spirit action in the course of such proceedings, being, however, men who have already graduated as past masters. We hear of one of these, for instance, transmitting virtue to the novice by the laying on of hands, though he was careful at the same time to paint on the latter's back the sacred design representing the very spirit from which he himself had received his own power. Moreover, it is incumbent on such a candidate for the sacred office of a healer to undergo the ordeal of sleeping in front of a cave where the spirits are reputed to dwell; and the official explanation of the fact that he afterwards appears with a hole bored right through his tongue is that the spirits do this with an invisible spear. Now self-induced stigmata have been alleged to occur among holy men; but it is simpler to assume that the work of the spirits is in such a case carried out by human substitutes. And yet in fairness to the savage one must be chary of imputing conscious fraud, since to impersonate a spirit amounts to being one for the primitive actor, who throws himself into the part sanctioned by tradition with the utter self-abandon of an unquestioning faith.

As for the dazed youth who purchases admission into the transcendental world at such a price, he is bound for the rest of his life to associate the exercise of his mystic vocation with a certain strictness of behaviour. If he ceases to be holy, his gift of healing is withdrawn. There are well authenticated instances of doctors who, when the weakness of the flesh had caused them to break their taboos—as by eating fat, or, again, when one of them took to the strong drink of the white man—felt themselves become impotent, and had the decency to retire from practice forthwith. Now it may well be that alike in Australia and in the rest of the primitive world all members of the profession are not equally conscientious; and indeed it



Underwood & Underwood

SPECIALIST AT WORK UPON A CASE THAT BAFFLES ORDINARY TREATMENT

Lung troubles, skin diseases, malaria and yaws are common illnesses among the aborigines of Northern Queensland. The native pharmacopoeia is rudimentary, consisting mainly of leaves and roots, decoctions of which are made and applied. Many of these simple native preparations have been tested, and a proportion has been found to be effective, especially those employed in connexion with febrile complaints. It is customary for the natives first to apply these simple herbal remedies to their sick, and if these fail to enlist the aid of a specialist in the person of a medicine man competent to invoke the aid of spirit agency, as is being done here on behalf of a young man who has lapsed into complete unconsciousness.

is sometimes reported that the native doctors themselves are moved to use forcible means to suppress the quack. But one is bound to judge any class of men by its best and not by its worst specimens. Given a universal belief that disease is a miraculous visitation only to be met by equally miraculous counteraction, it is natural to regard oneself with complete conviction as the vehicle of a supernatural power or grace such as will work wonders so long as a certain ritual process is carefully followed. Healing, in short, is an inspiration, not a science, in the eyes of those simple folk who are at the mental stage known to psychologists as that of 'primitive credulity,' though 'faith' would perhaps be a less question-begging name for it.

Paul Hoefler

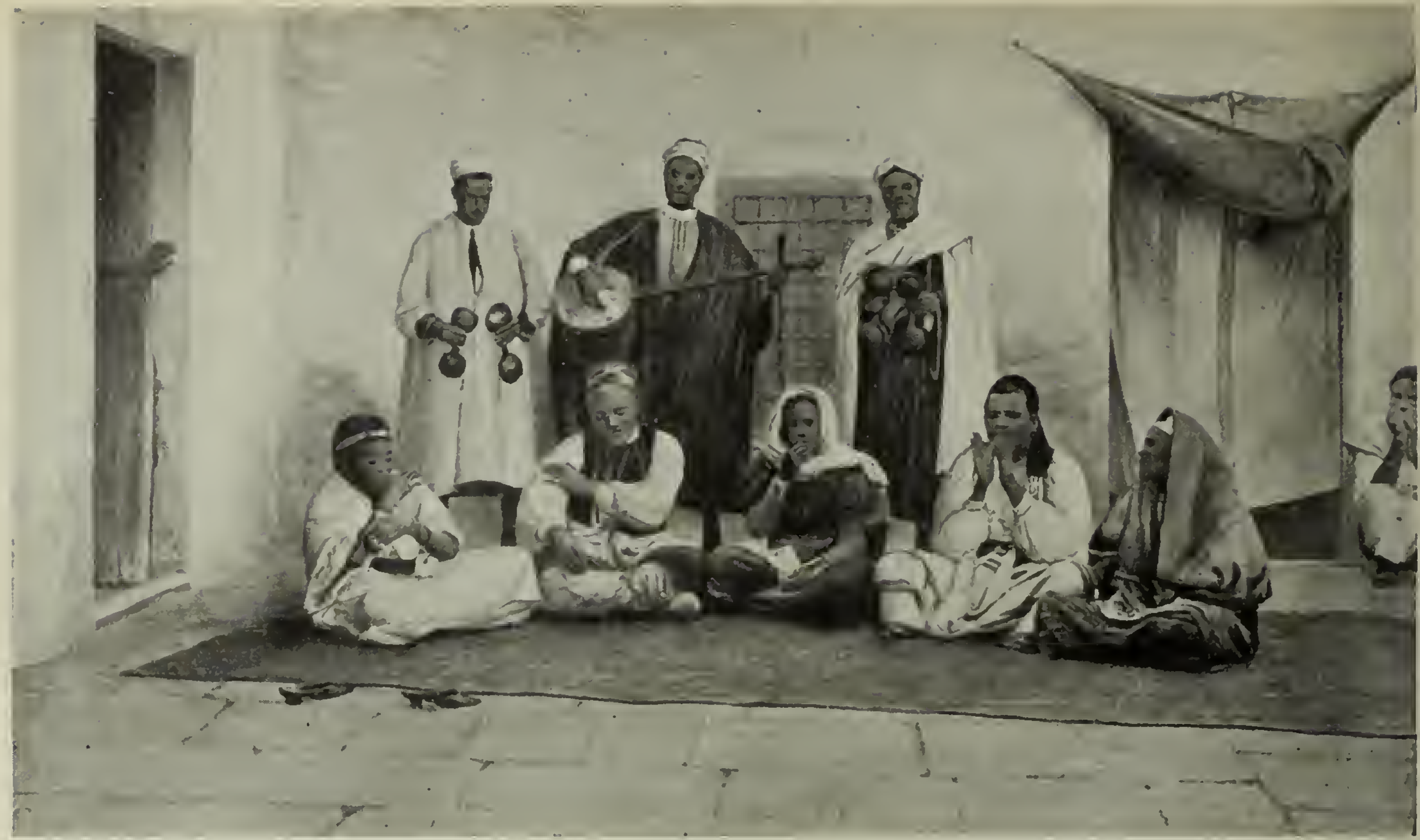
PYGMY MEDICINE MAN IN CHORAL GUISE

Although he may awe his fellows the medicine man is by no means set apart and cut off from the tribal life. Often, as in the case of this Ifi pygmy doctor from the Belgian Congo, he will act as dance and chorus leader or play other parts in the communal organization; the dance, indeed, often plays an important part in his professional methods.

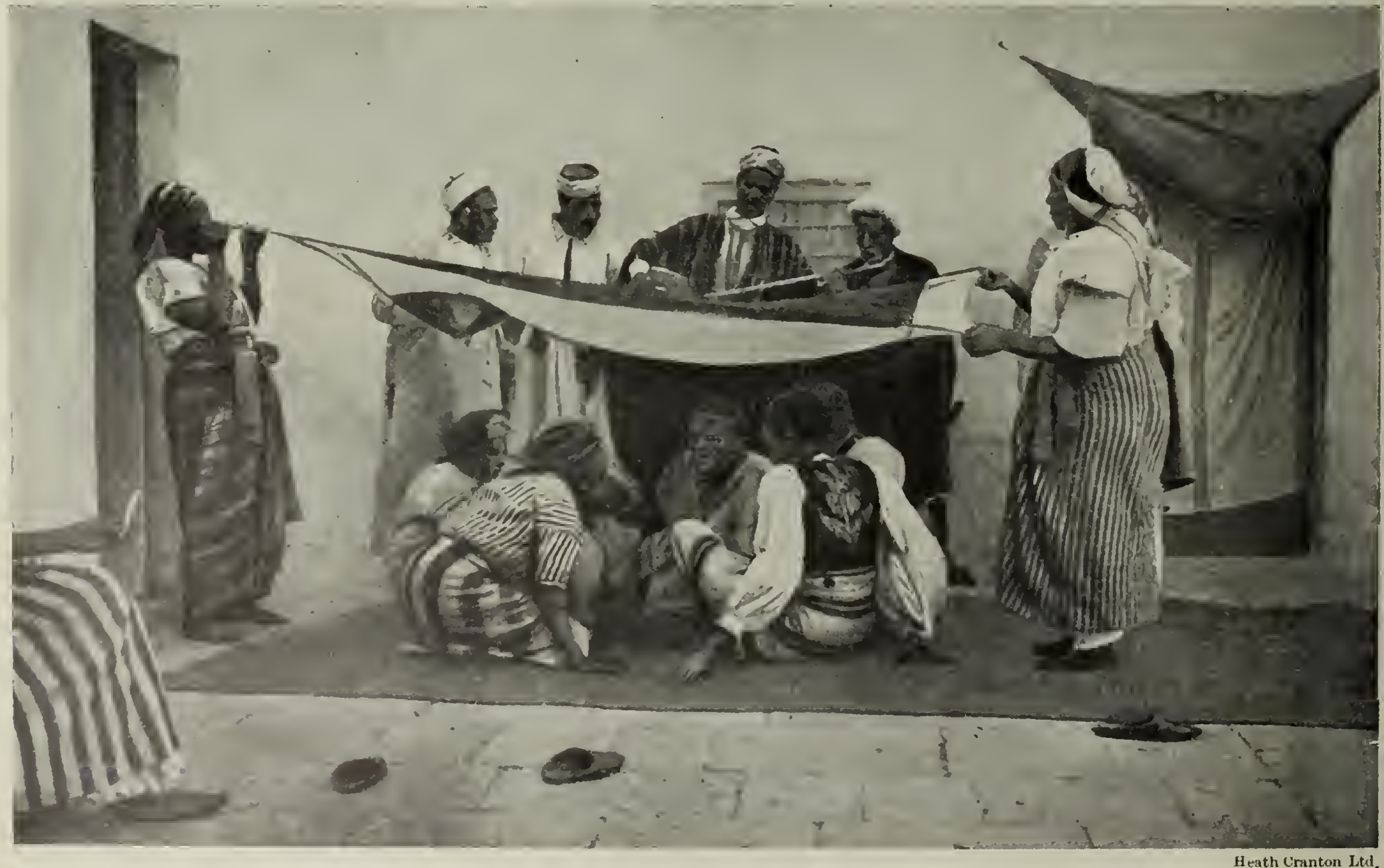
Turning now to the methods employed by the medicine man, we may take it that in general he is carrying out something analogous to a rite of exorcism. It follows that, even when his treatment resembles the modern doctor's attempts to combat disease in a physical way — as, for instance, if massage or a hot fomentation is used—the primitive practice is based on a non-physical theory, and amounts rather to the casting out of a devil by making it too uncomfortable for him to haunt the patient any longer. We must therefore be careful not to put a literal interpretation on acts which are intended to be purely symbolic. Thus the Australian leech will sometimes make play to extract the mystic evil from the sick man's body in the visible shape of a quartz crystal which some ill-disposed person is supposed to have shot into him by the force of his curses. Or, conversely, he will effect a cure by apparently producing a similar crystal out of his own body and causing it to disappear into the body of his patient.

Now, physically considered—and this is the way in which the ordinary European bystander regards it—this is mere make-believe. That is indeed exactly what it is; but to make the patient believe that the evil has gone out of him, or that a counteracting virtue has gone in, is the point of the whole performance. As a matter of fact, the savage mind has to struggle hard against a materialistic view. Thus, during the medicine man's initiation not only is his body thoroughly scarified with such crystals in order to fill him full of healing power, but he actually drinks a few small ones in water. No wonder that a native account, translated literally says: 'Always crystals in the inside of the doctor are, in the hand, bones, calves, head, nails.' It is worth noting, too, that, although the manipulation of real and palpable pieces of quartz is calculated to reach the patient's imagination by way of his senses, this is not invariably done; for the doctor may content himself with making passes that are supposed to project the crystals invisibly, or, as they say, 'like the wind'; though even the wind metaphor tends to be taken literally, so that the sick man is apt to hear a whistling as the life-giving emanation is wafted from the doctor's body into his. Just as in a case of exorcism by means of holy water it is not the water but the holiness that ought to be deemed efficacious, so at this lower level of confused thinking there is a considerable mental effort required to distinguish between outward sign and inward grace; so that, for instance, we find side by side in the vocabulary of a Queensland tribe two names for the medicine man, one being 'crystals-many,' and the other 'the man full of life.' To make an end of the subject of these magic stones—which, by the way, on account of the prismatic colours which they display are thought to come from the rainbow—there is good evidence that the doctors know how to use them so as to produce hypnotic effects—a fact almost sufficient in itself to invest them with a spiritual function and meaning.

One might proceed to explain on similar lines many another device of the medicine man which on the face of it looks like a piece of clumsy conjuring, and is therefore usually derided by the superior white man, who prides himself on seeing through the trick. One



In this photograph the seated figures (from left to right) are dancers possessed by the Bori that cause itch, smallpox, colds and pimples. Collectively these spirits are called 'Yayan Zanzanna,' or Little Spots, and at the dance they sit down and scratch themselves. In the group seen in the photograph below the central seated figure is Mai-Lema, one of the principal Bori, and the Bori surrounding him, taken in order, give gripes, bad fortune in gambling, children's ailments, skin irritation and lameness.



Heath Cranton Ltd.

CONCILIATION OF MALIGNANT SPIRITS AS PROPHYLAXIS AGAINST DISEASE

Among the Hausas the belief prevails that the world is full of spirits, entirely independent of human beings and often working harm to them. Nearly all of these are disease demons, and in the event of an epidemic they are summoned to a 'dance' and invited to enter into a dancer and are then placated by incantations and sacrifice. In 'The Ban of the Bori' Major A. J. N. Tremearne has published a full account of this cult, giving a list of the named Bori, with the words of the song addressed to each and the sacrifice.

Press Cliché

ASIATIC SPIRIT WORSHIPPER EXPELLING AGENTS OF DISEASE

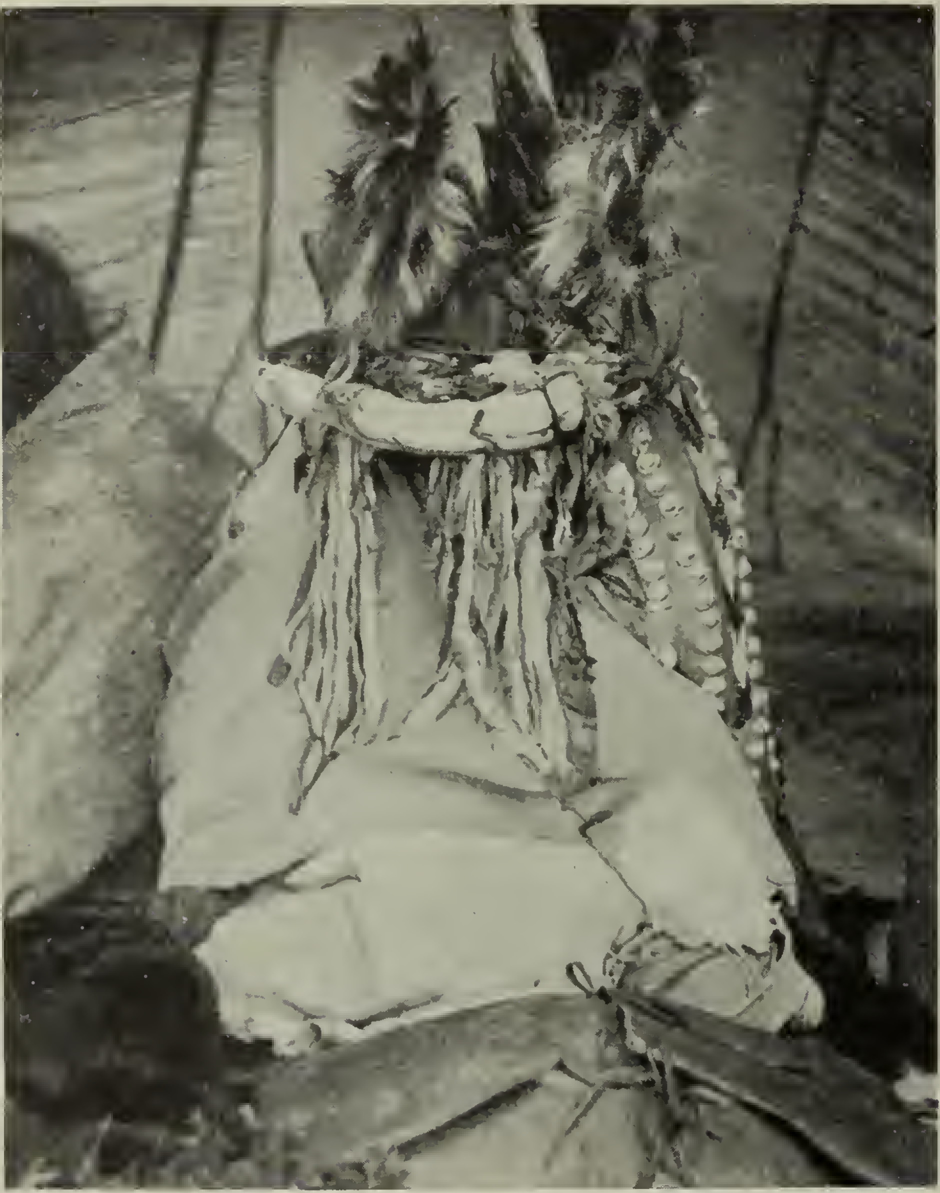
The Tungus word for medicine man is shaman, and from the shaman a form of spirit worship widespread in Asia takes its name. Their practices of exorcism by the aid of ancestral spirits are dealt with in the chapter on Driving Out the Devils of Disease. A female shaman of Eastern Turkistan is shown here so engaged beside a bed-ridden male patient. In what respect other than that of the spiritual power invoked the shaman's methods differ from those of the faith-healers among ourselves it would be difficult to define.

end of a string being tied to the patient, the medicine man puts the other end into his mouth, rubs his gums until they bleed, and thereupon spits out the trouble for all to see. Is the doctor necessarily a humbug, and his audience a set of deluded fools, because the ritual takes the form of a rather telling bit of drama ? If speaking took the place of acting, and the disease-demon were bidden to come forth, the symbolism might from our point of view seem more refined, but its essential character would not be altered. Indeed, the primitive doctor, though undoubtedly he relies on pantomime for his most striking effects, is also wont to deal with spiritual evils by word of mouth.

If we insist on dubbing his whole procedure ' magic,' we shall have to class these verbal formulae as ' spells.' Now admittedly these often resemble commands rather than petitions ; though it may be questioned whether this is not the proper tone to take with devils. Often, however, there is prayer, or something like it, by implication, as when the doctor chants endlessly, ' Show—belly—to the Moon,' with great stress on the last word, to call down beneficent influence from that mystic quarter. Explicit prayer, however, hardly occurs in Australia.

Among more advanced peoples, however, it is quite common to address polite requests to the disease-spirit to go away. One may even seek to propitiate the small-pox by calling him ' Grandfather,' though it might be rash to construe this as a token of genuine affection. Nay, such a fell being may be given the status of a god or goddess, when perhaps sheer terror, which is surely the natural attitude, is transformed into a kind of reverence towards one whose chastisements may be but the just penalty of human sin. In any case, however it may rank, whether as influence, power, spirit, demon or god, the object of the doctor's activities is nothing belonging to this world, nothing that can be classed as animal, vegetable, or mineral, but is of that other world which is beyond natural law and human reckoning ; so that a certain arbitrariness may be expected of it, whether a policy of bluffing or of humouring be followed. Meanwhile, experience has taught the savage that a most effective way of facing unknown risks is to hope strongly ; and the key to the medicine man's operations is that they are attempts to induce this condition of mind in his patients.

Magic, then, does not seem quite the word to cover dealings with the mystic side of life when their



MYSTERY MEDICINE WOMAN AMONG THE RED INDIANS

Close examination will discover a human figure concealed within this medley of fur and feathers and skins. It is that of an aged medicine woman living in Glacier National Park. At the age of 85 she spent five days without food or water and with her face covered while preparing the women of the tribe for their part in the Medicine Lodge ceremony

intention is so well-meaning. It is sometimes said that anything is magic which implies ' My will be done,' rather than ' Thy will be done,' the sentiment underlying true religion. Now perhaps the magic of hate does imply the former of these attitudes, since the very act of hating tends to isolate a man from the rest of his kind. But it is pretty certain that the doctor who has been initiated by the spirits does not think of himself as controlling those spirits. On the contrary, it is just the other way about. He is not controller, but controlled. They possess him, and work their will through him as a mere medium. Even if his voice issues commands, these are their commands, not his. All those phenomena which intrigue our modern spiritualists are equally familiar to primitive folk, and in the department of practice, if not of theory they may even have more to teach than to learn.

Thus one very paradoxical way of getting the better of a disease-demon is to submit to his control. Major Tremearne described very vividly the bori dances of certain Hausa folk now settled in Tripoli, in which the dancer obtains power over the small-pox, or whatever the plague may be, by letting the dread spirit enter into him, the result being that it becomes harmless, since, on the principle of ' the hair of the dog that bit you,' it cannot harm itself.

According to Major Tremearne nearly all the bori are disease-demons, but the exact functions of many of them are not defined. Speaking generally, it may be said that the more important the bori the more definite is the disease which he inflicts, but in many instances the spirit's power is indicated by the number of illnesses which come from him, and, at any rate, the young bori can be responsible only for rashes of some kind or other and for sore eyes. Ignorance of the special powers of a particular bori is often due to the absence of a proper mount, or dancer, for in time the bori would tend to be forgotten. No Mai-Bori, that is initiate into the mysteries of the bori cult, except one who had learned the proper actions would dare, or be allowed, to invite a bori to ride him, for any mistake in the ritual would bring the bori into contempt, and the dancer and the whole audience would be liable to his displeasure The idea is that the bori are summoned in order that they may torment those people who are prepared for them and thus be more likely to leave the rest of the community in peace.

One might almost treat the practice as a dim anticipation of curing by inoculation, were it not that in the primitive view the transaction is not on the physical plane at all. It is altogether in another direction that we must look for our explanatory clue, namely among those religious experiences bordering on ecstasy in which resignation to a superior will begets an access of borrowed strength.

Be the ultimate reason what it may, the savage, too, has discovered that out of weakness can come forth strength, out of submission of will renewed will-power. In his own way he has explored secrets of the soul which we with our greater interest in the control of our material resources may be inclined to neglect. Enough, at all events, has been said to show why the anthropologist cannot soundly and uncritically rate the medicine man as an impostor, and his so-called magic as a transparent fraud. Relatively to the prevailing state of society and of knowledge he is a worthy who does his best by his clients : nor is his best by any means wholly bad

MILITARY AND NAVAL CUSTOMS

By their very nature such services as the Army and Navy have in the course of their history gathered around them innumerable customs, some of the most interesting of which are treated here. Other bodies that have become deeply coloured by old traditions are dealt with in the chapters on The Lawyers: Their Costumes and Customs, and Ancient Customs of English Schools

From time immemorial until these latter days when, it would seem, the entire population of a country arms for war, the warrior of the tribe was regarded as a being apart.

His daily existence, his every act and duty, came to be enveloped, impregnated and coloured by a ritual of traditional custom and observance. And that ritual, however it came to differ in detail amongst the tribes and nations of the world, had and still has one fundamental origin and object—that of improving and maintaining the efficiency and morale of the warrior towards self-sacrifice for the tribe. If a custom, however trivial, does not conduce in some way or other to that end then it is a bad custom and is likely soon to disappear.

In glancing at a few existing naval and military customs we may, for convenience, make three broad divisions under that main head. First, customs directed towards the ethical or spiritual, e.g. the salute, the honouring of emblems, ceremonial. Second. customs making specially for efficiency, discipline, pride of unit, e.g. drill and guard observances, nomenclature, ship or regimental tradition. Third, miscellaneous customs, figures of speech and so forth, which may find their primeval origin in the warrior of the tribe narrating and re-performing his exploits. Such divisions must necessarily overlap.

The salute, in its origin, is a token of greeting between men engaged in a common service of self-sacrifice and also a gesture of mutual respect, trust and confidence. It is properly initiated by the junior, but with no loss of dignity upon either side. The use of the open hand is well-nigh universal. It indicates that nothing is concealed therein. The gesture ranges from the free movement of the arm raised full above the head (e.g. the Fascist salute, derived from classical Rome) through the familar movements of the British, French or German sailor or soldier to the down-dropped arm with fingers lowered of the Abyssinian.

Within living memory it was customary in all navies and armies of the Powers for officers and men to remove the head-dress in salute. Officers, in a march-past, would remove the hat with a gallant flourish. It was Queen Victoria who, in 1890, instituted the salute in the Royal Navy, because she did not like to see men in uniform standing uncovered. Men of the Brigade of Guards, when in fatigue dress, still salute by removing the cap. Naval ratings always do so at inspections or when appearing as defaulters or even for investigation before a superior officer. The salute always given to the quarter-deck may have had its origin in reverence to the Crucifix once hung there, but more probably it is because there lay the seat of authority, with the King's Colour displayed close by, and any officers present would always return the salute by uncovering the head. In the Italian navy the boat's crew remove their hats when the captain boards or leaves the boat

The officer's salute with the sword, in three movements, obtains, with little variation, in all modern armies. From the 'carry' the movements are (a) the 'recover,' which is, in effect, the Crusader knight kissing the Cross hilt; (b) sword lowered, with point down, to indicate trust in lowering guard; (c) the 'recover' again. The additional movement in a march-past is a survival of the old-time flourish with the pike or halberd.

With the men, the movement of 'present arms' with the rifle indicates that the weapon is harmless or held so that it cannot be used. The Arab grasps his spear with the point on the ground and trails it. The Royal Tank Corps, in a march-past, carry their machine-guns pointing skywards and aim them to the

Sport & General Press

THE WEARING OF THE LEEK

As an example of privileged additions to uniform, the Welsh regiments wear a leek in their hats on S. David's Day. This may perhaps commemorate the saint's advice to the British to distinguish themselves in this way from their Saxon enemies in a battle

Photopress

TWO WAYS OF GIVING THE SALUTE IN THE BRITISH NAVY

In the Navy and the Army, as in everyday life, a salute is a gesture of respect and greeting. Ships are dressed with flags and discharge guns by way of salute. The firing of guns indicates trust, in that by this action the vessel is for the time being rendered harmless. In the days of sailing ships topsails were struck or lowered in saluting, speed being thus reduced. Ships are here seen dressed and firing a royal salute with the small guns on the occasion of the king's birthday.

ground at the salute. Similarly, a ship fired a salute in greeting of a distinguished visitor or upon entering a foreign port to indicate the unloading of the guns and so temporary disarmament. In days of sail she would also strike or lower topsails to show disadvantage in the matter of speed.

Though not salutes, a reference to some other customary naval signals may here be interposed. The flying of the ' Blue Peter ' (French partir=to depart) when a ship is about to sail is a very old custom. So, too, is the hoisting of the ' Paying-off Pendant ' at the end of a commission. The length of the pendant should be that of the ship, with a further length for every month over the proper date of that close. It is said that the custom originated with a ship's company hitching all their old cleaning-rags together and hoisting them to show that they were no longer needed.

The hoisting of a broom at the masthead, customary on the east coast of England and in most countries bordering the North Sea, indicates that the ship has changed or is changing ownership. In Russia, on the White Sea, it is the signal of a holiday. By the way, Van Tromp did not hoist a broom at his masthead, nor did Blake hoist a whip. The story is a myth.

Ensigns and flags, by official regulations, are not flown at night nor when they cannot be clearly seen. Hence they are hauled down at sunset, sometimes to the firing of a gun. This latter was originally a token of defiance to an enemy. When an enemy ship is captured her ensign is hoisted below that of the victor. In the French navy the custom has been to hoist the captured ensign in reverse.

As a sign of mourning for the dead a ship makes herself appear as slovenly as possible (compare the ancient customs of rending the clothes, putting ashes on the head). Hence the half-masting of flags. Rope ends are left trailing, yards are scandalised, lower booms are drooped.

Apropos of burials at sea it is the custom, when sewing up the corpse in a hammock, to put the last stitch through the nose of the corpse. Possibly this originated in aiming to avoid burial during a cataleptic fit. The rating who does the stitching is, by custom, paid a guinea from public funds. For example, ratings on board H.M.S. Castor after the Battle of Jutland received twenty-three guineas for this duty.

The ceremonial salute to the dead at a naval or military funeral is full of traditional custom and symbolism. The national flag is laid over the bier to show that the warrior died in the service of the State, and that the State assumes responsibility for all orders given to the deceased. Officers and men stand with arms reversed to suggest, as Stephen Graham has expressed it, that 'Death puts the rifle to shame.' Three volleys are fired in the name of the Trinity, or sometimes in obedience to the old superstition of scaring devils ; for 'at such moments the doors of men's hearts stand ajar.' The poignant trumpet-call of 'Last Post' is the Nunc Dimittis of the departed warrior, while the ethereal closing notes suggest immortality and resurrection.

Keystone

IN TOKEN OF SORROW FOR A GREAT CALAMITY

The drums are muffled at military funerals, just as muffled peals are sometimes rung on bells at the death of an important personage. The muffling of the drums produces a peculiarly impressive effect. These Marines are marching with muffled drums draped in black, in the funeral procession of the victims of the R101 disaster.

Sport & General Press

THE NAVY PAYS THE LAST HONOURS TO A DEPARTED WARRIOR

The last honours which it is the custom to pay to the dead at a naval or military funeral are very moving and are similar in the more important details. The coffin is covered with the national flag ; officers and men stand with arms reversed. The notes of the Last Post are heard, and the crack of three volleys, fired in the name of the Trinity. Men of the Navy are here seen sounding the Last Post, while the firing party fires the volleys, at the funeral of an admiral of the fleet.

FLYING THE PAYING-OFF PENDANT——
The paying-off pendant is a narrow strip, as long as the ship, with an extra length for every month overdue. It has a gilded bladder at the end. H.M.S. Kent is here seen flying it. The bluejacket (left) has just hauled one down.

So we may pass to the honouring of the regimental colour. Originally a rallying point in battle, even so late as Waterloo, the regimental colour 'flies not only for the living but for all who have died in the regiment for the king, not only as an augury of battles to be won but a token of every field of the past.' It is, then, a sacred emblem of united service and sacrifice, and as such is ever honoured with fitting ceremonial. In England that ceremonial reaches its apotheosis in the annual 'Trooping of the Colour' by the Brigade of Guards upon the king's birthday, and with the following procedure, enhanced by all the superb discipline and élan of those world-famous troops.

Usually the colours are handled only by a commissioned officer. This ceremony, however, begins with a sergeant and two sentries in charge. Similarly, each 'guard' is formed in line without officers. The sergeants commanding 'guards' then assemble with the officers at the saluting base, ostensibly to draw lots for 'guard' and to receive orders. The drums beat the 'Assembly.' Sergeants 'recover arms' and slow march to take over their commands.

The preliminary honour is then paid by slow and quick marches, a duty performed by the right 'guard,' since the right is ever the post of honour.

Photopress

PIPING THE ADMIRAL ON BOARD
The boatswain's pipe is a whistle used both in saluting and in transmitting orders. When the admiral comes alongside he is piped on board by the boatswains (seen on right), and immediately his foot touches the deck he salutes the quarter-deck.

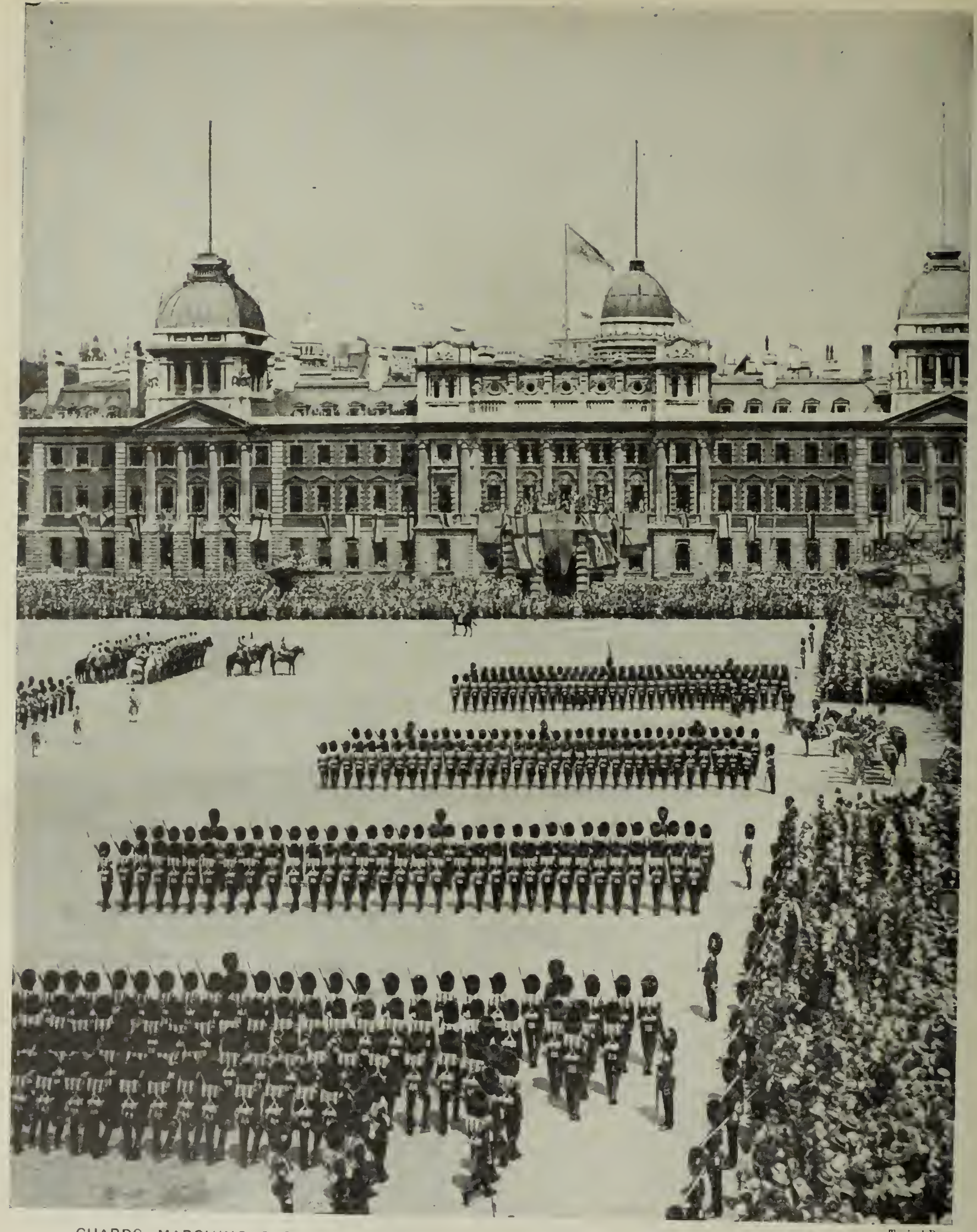
Photopress

—THE CLOSE OF THE COMMISSION
It is when a ship comes to the end of her commission that the paying-off pendant is hoisted. The custom is said to have arisen in a ship's crew hitching all the boat's cleaning rags together and hoisting them as a signal that the voyage was over.

The 'Drummers' Call' is sounded, and the captain of the escort hands over his command to his lieutenant. 'The British Grenadiers' is played for the escort to march across the front of the parade to the colour. The sergeant-major, representing the men, takes the colour from the sergeant and hands it to the officer. The colour is received by the escort with full honours. All ranks present arms and the band plays the salute. This is the national anthem for the king's colour and the regimental slow march for the regimental colour. The sergeant-major salutes with his sword—the only occasion when he does so. The escort stands at the 'present' with the flank sergeants facing outwards, arms at 'port,' to repel any intruder The escort and colour march back to the right of the line to the regimental slow march. Thence they file through the ranks of the battalion so that every man may look upon his regimental colour. The ceremony concludes with a march past in both slow and quick time.

The march in slow time, with the toe pointed, or with such special characteristics as belong, say, to the Prussian parade step, indicates another throw-back to primeval origins, to ceremonial ritual around the camp fire before or after battle. Thus a variant of the march may be seen today at its best

'BROACHING THE ADMIRAL'
The term used in the Navy for giving out the rum ration is broaching the Admiral.' In olden days the rum was drunk neat. It was in 1740 that Admiral Vernon issued his famous memorandum prohibiting the serving out of raw spirits.



Topical Press

GUARDS MARCHING PAST THE KING AT THE CEREMONIAL TROOPING OF THE COLOUR

Colours are the standards of the British infantry, each battalion having two, the King's colour and the regimental colour. The regimental colour of the first and second battalions of a regiment bears the badges, devices, distinctions and mottoes conferred by royal authority for services in war. At the elaborate ceremony of the trooping of the colour by the Brigade of Guards at the Horse Guards Parade on the King's birthday, the escort with the colour files between all ranks, thus giving every man an opportunity of looking at it.

Keystone

THE COLOUR WITH ITS ESCORT AT THE TROOPING OF THE COLOUR

In these latter days the Army has been robbed of much of its picturesqueness, but on state occasions magnificent spectacles are staged, of which one of the finest is the trooping of the colour, as presented on the king's birthday. To add to the splendours the massed bands of the Grenadier, Coldstream, Scots, Irish and Welsh Guards play while the King's Guard performs its evolutions. The king, sitting his charger, salutes the colour as it is borne past him.

amongst the Kaffirs. 'I remember,' Rudyard Kipling once said, in describing the ceremony, 'that every Kaffir's foot shot out as straight as the fore-foot of a trotting horse. You could almost hear the hip and knee and ankle-joint click as the toe was pointed.'

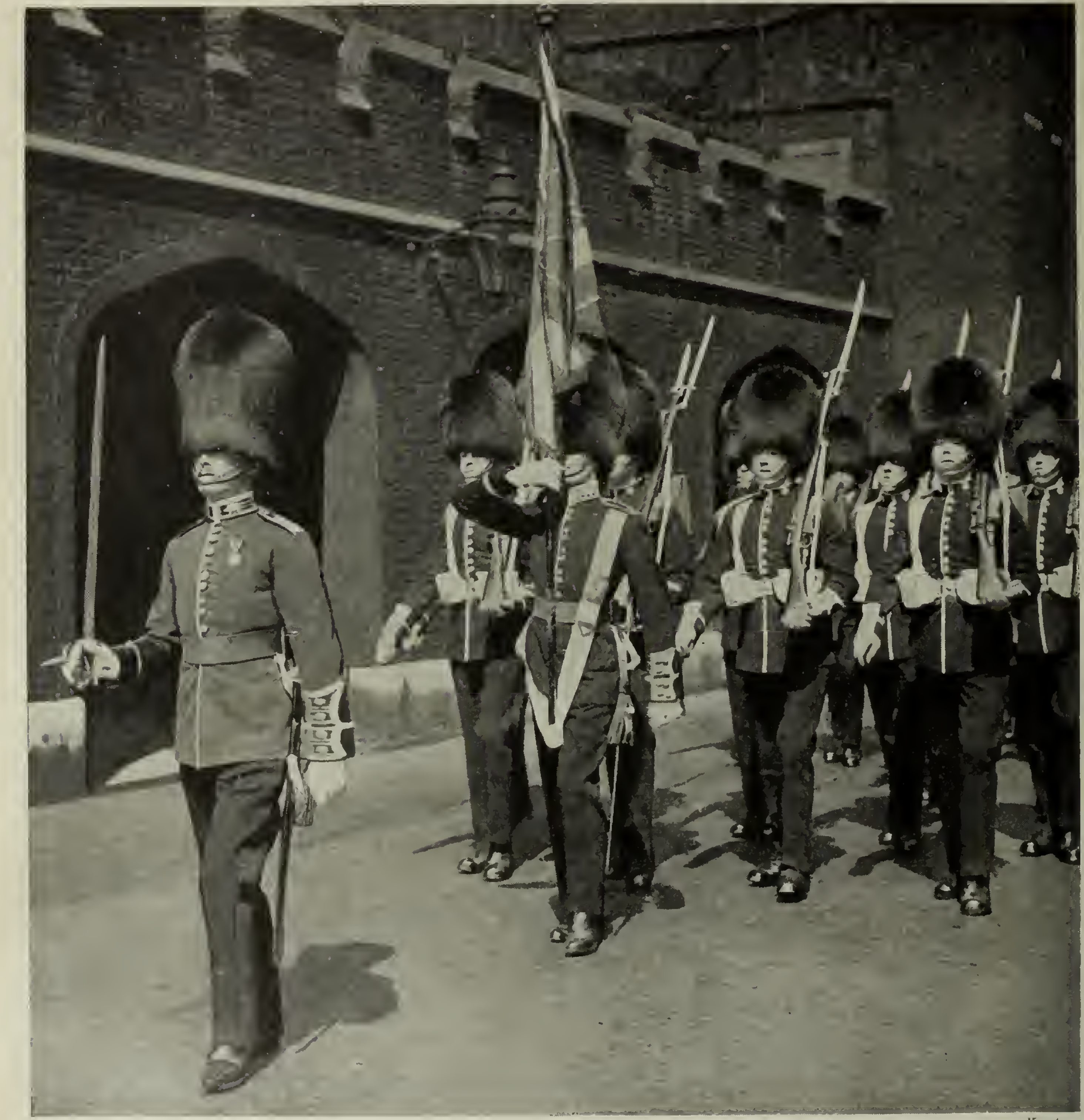
MUSIC or rhythmical sound has ever been universal in military custom. Its use is twofold. First, it is an inspiration—'the martial music that draws men on to die'—and, second, it has practical utility. The former quality needs no emphasis. For the latter, bugle and trumpet calls were of special use, when timepieces were unknown, to tell men what to do and when to do it. The British Army owes its bugle calls to Joseph Haydn, who composed them all at the request of King George III, himself a keen musician. The drum rolls come from the South German Landsknechts, a famous regiment of the sixteenth century renowned throughout Europe for their drums. A current example is the drum prelude with which every British military band starts its battalion upon the march—a roll upon the first two beats of the bar, a single note upon the third and silence upon the fourth.

The naval boatswain's pipe, or whistle, is as old as the galleys of ancient Rome. It is used both in salute and to pass orders. 'Piping the Side' is observed for the captain reported coming alongside, and as an honour for all royal persons, all foreign naval officers, all flag and commanding officers of H.M. squadrons or ships, and the officer of the guard when flying a pennant or representing his captain. Similarly, the corpse of any naval officer or man destined for burial ashore is 'piped over the side.' This custom obtained at the funerals of Queen Victoria and of King Edward VII.

Passing to our second broad division of customs, the duties of guards and sentries are, for the most part, based upon traditional practice. Thus, guards 'turn out' at Reveille and Retreat because troops always stood to arms at dawn and at dusk for a possible enemy attack. They 'turn out' upon the approach of an armed party, not necessarily in a salute of greeting, but to repel any similar attack. 'Tattoo' (Old Dutch—'Tap Toe') was the hour for closing all the taps and taverns in the town, the drummers marching round with an escort. 'First Post' was sounded for that escort to fall in; 'Last Post' indicated the finish of the rounds.

'VISITING Rounds,' when an officer and escort parade the guard at night and visit the sentries, dates, in England, as a special duty from about 1720, and has a curious origin. The guard on duty one night at Kensington Palace admitted a rabble of their friends and burgled the palace. From that date the visit of inspection was initiated. The Metropolitan Police Force was formed only in 1829, and the County Constabulary in 1855. Hence soldiers were formerly relied upon for police duties.

The Lord Mayor of London is, by appointment, the Admiral of the Port of London. But, without special permission, detachments of the Royal Navy may not march through the City with bayonets fixed



Keystone

CHANGING THE GUARD AT ST. JAMES'S PALACE

From earliest times the guard has been a vital element of the defence, and the men who have been entrusted with the guarding of the camp or of important personages have always been very carefully selected. The guarding of the royal palaces is a duty principally performed by the Brigade of Guards, though the honour has been granted to other regiments. Every morning, at 10.30, the guard is changed The captain marches with his sword at the ready and the men with bayonets fixed, and the colour is carried unfurled

nor with colours displayed. The Royal Marine Forces may do so by an ancient privilege recognized so far back as 1746. For on that date an alderman sought to stop a detachment of Marines beating for recruits in Cheapside Upon learning the name of the regiment he at once confirmed the privilege. The only other regiments enjoying the privilege are the Grenadier Guards, the Honourable Artillery Company, the East Kents and the 6th Battalion Royal Fusiliers.

Any custom in a particular ship or regiment that partakes of some special distinction in dress or nickname or other such traditional factor is of the greatest possible value towards efficiency, pride of individuality and emulation. With ships, and for obvious reasons, little more is possible than the perpetuation of a name from one generation to the next. But we may presume, for example, that no ship's company of a modern H.M.S. Revenge would steam into action without some thought of the inspiriting example of Sir Richard Grenville.

Sport & General Press

DEPOSITING THE OLD COLOURS

Nowadays colours are not carried on active service, being left behind at the depot or elsewhere. These colour-bearers of the Royal Sussex Regiment, which has much active service to its credit, are about to deposit their ancient colours in Chichester cathedral.

With regiments, on the other hand, we have continuity. 'The soul of a regiment never dies.' And there is always the regimental colour, emblazoned with battle honours, to reawaken inspiration and pride. 'Pontius Pilate's Bodyguard,' for example, is surely the queerest nickname in the British Army. But to the Royal Scots, the oldest corps in the Service, it is a source of intense pride as pointing to their long, uninterrupted history. It dates from 1637, when the regiment was in the service of France as 'Le Regiment de Douglas,' and there was some discussion with the Picardy Regiment which of the two was the older. Picardy claimed to have been on duty on the night after Christ's Crucifixion. To this the Scots promptly made answer, 'Had we been on duty that night we should not have slept at our post.'

The scene between Fluellen and Pistol in Shakespeare's King Henry V gives us a comic variant of an old custom of the Royal Welch Fusiliers. Here, in the officers' mess upon S. David's night everyone present, officers and guests, who has never eaten a leek has then to do so, standing upon a chair with one foot upon the table, while the drummer sounds a roll. This regiment has for nickname 'The Nanny Goats,' from its 200-years-old tradition of a bravely caparisoned goat led at the head of the regiment (see page 213).

Many regiments of the British Army hold ancient privileges of some distinctive uniform or addition thereto. The Northumberland Fusiliers, for example, wear a rose in the cap upon S. George's Day. Also, they have the privilege of wearing a white plume, granted in token of regimental gallantry at St. Lucia in 1788, when the men took the white feathers from the hats of their dead French enemies. The Suffolk Regiment wears the rose on August 1, in commemoration of the Battle of Minden. The sergeants of the Somerset Light Infantry are the only sergeants in the British Army to wear the sash-knot upon the right side, as do the officers. The privilege was granted for gallantry at the Battle of Culloden. Incidentally, the scarlet sashes thus worn in the Army and also in the Royal Marines are the surviving relics of the scarlet-lined cloaks once used for carrying wounded off the field of battle.

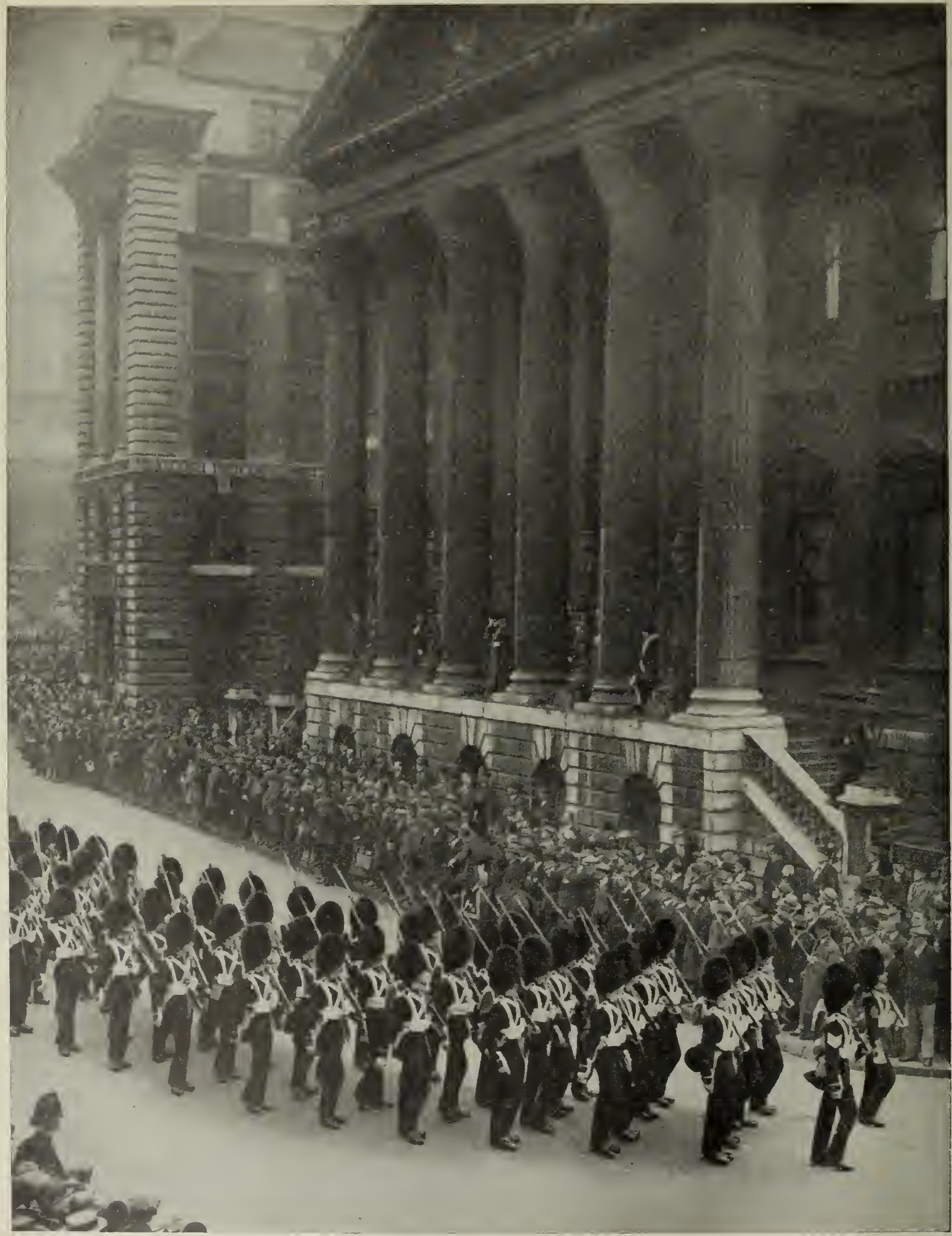
Epaulettes, originally knots of ribbon, were introduced into the Royal Navy from the Army, for the very practical reason that foreign sentries could not otherwise recognize British naval officers as such. The young Horatio Nelson, it will be recalled, had some scathing comments to make upon the new 'coxcomb' fashion when on leave in St. Omer in 1784.

Aiguillettes, the badge of the personal staff, had long been in wear in the Army before introduced into the Navy in 1879. The origin of the ornament is sometimes attributed to the horse-pegs on cords once worn around the waist by horse-holders of the

Sport & General Press

PRESENTING A NEW COLOUR

When new colours are presented the old ones are trooped, cased and taken to the rear. The new colours are then uncased, consecrated, and presented to the senior subalterns. The Earl of Cavan is here seen presenting a new colour to the 5th Northamptonshire Regiment.



Sport & General Press

GRENADIER GUARDS EXERCISE AN ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE PRIVILEGE

Five units of the British Army, long and closely associated with London, are privileged to march through the City with bayonets fixed—the Grenadier Guards, Honourable Artillery Company, Buffs (East Kents), Royal Fusiliers (City of London Regiment) and Marines. Of these the Grenadiers were Charles II's bodyguard: the H.A.C. dates from 1537, when Henry VIII gave a body of London's citizens a charter to encourage the science of artillery; and the Buffs originated in the City of London train bands, from which the Marines were largely recruited.

Sport & General Press

HIGH STEPPING AS THE GUARDS WHEEL

In the ceremonial balance step, or goose step, the body is balanced on one leg, while the other is advanced without a jerk, the knee straight, the toe pointed out, and the shoulders square to the front. The advanced leg is then planted firmly on the ground, while the other is advanced in like manner. This march is in slow time.

staff. Another practical suggestion is that they were really pencils upon cords. As such they are actually now in use in the Japanese army.

The black kerchief worn by ratings of the Royal Navy was not introduced in mourning for Lord Nelson. It had been in use long before. It was worn around the head to keep the sweat from the eyes when serving the guns, or as a kneepad for the handspike number Ashore, the seamen would launch out into brilliant colours a favourite shade for the kerchief being ' blood and broken eggs.' Similarly, the three rows of white braid upon the naval collar do not suggest Nelson's three major victories. The original dress regulation specified two rows of braid only. The third got in by mistake of the clothing department.

The baggy trousers of the sailorman may possibly be a survival of the petticoat worn even in Captain Marryat's day, but more probably they were designed so that they could easily be rolled up when swabbing decks. But why ' pumps ' should still be worn by the riggers in the Royal Yacht history does not tell. The sailor's knife still has no point to it, but is ended like a screwdriver. For at one time the knife came in very handy for stabbing purposes.

The three buttons on a midshipman's cuff really were originally sewn there to prevent the young man from using his sleeve as a handkerchief. And, lastly, the dark blue and white of naval uniform all the world over originated in a woman's dress. King George II was so fascinated by the Duchess of Bedford and her blue and white gown, when riding one morning in Hyde Park, that he promptly commanded the colours for his fleet.

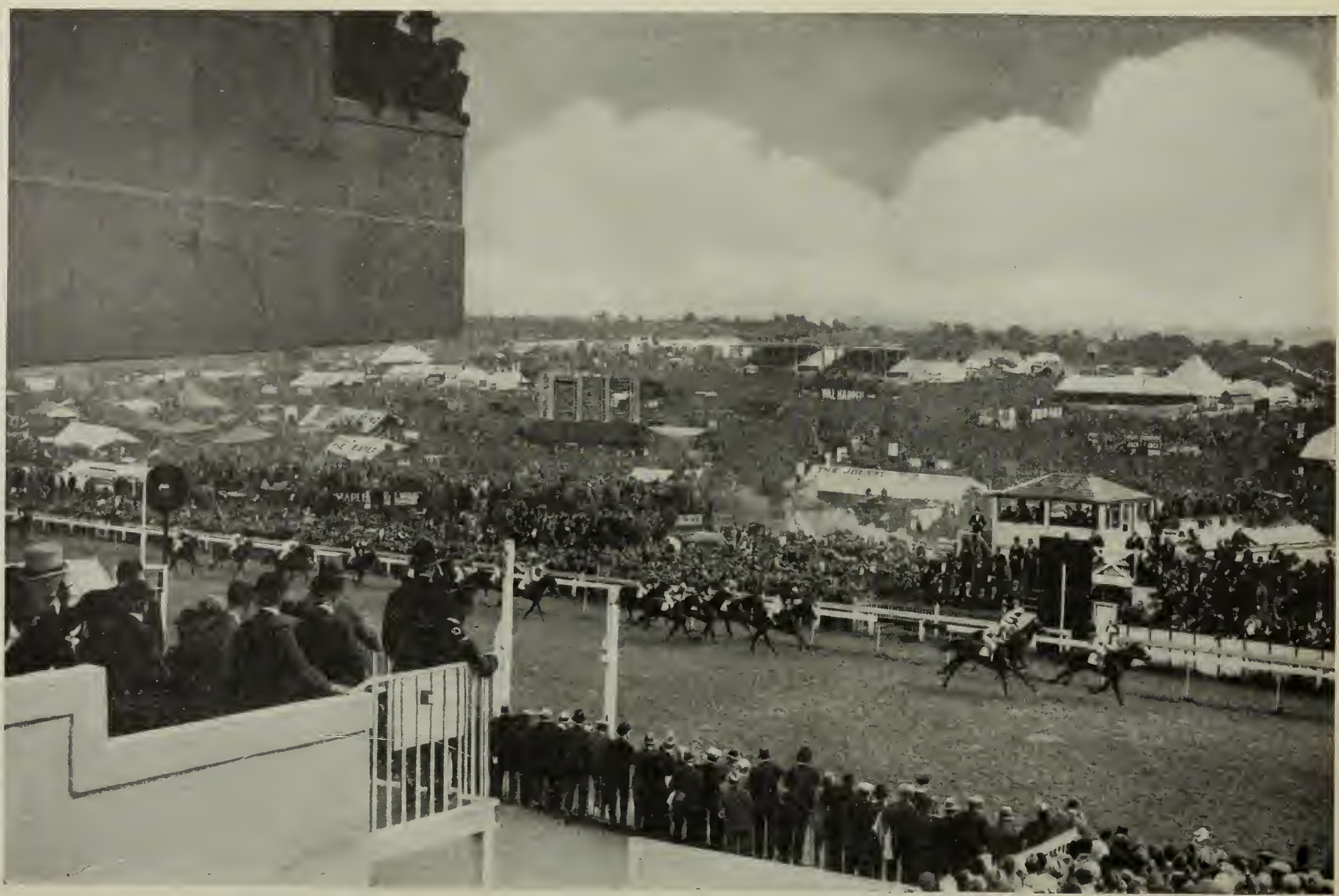
And so we take a handful of examples from the very extensive miscellany under our third heading.

WHY, for instance and at random, should the expression ' A sea cook ' be one of universal contempt ? Because at one time cooks used invariably to be recruited from the cripples of the Service, preference being given to ' such cripples and maimed persons who were pensioners to the Chest of Chatham.' Also, your sea cook was very unpopular because the victuals served out were too horrible for description. ' Junk,' for example, derived from a species of bulrush used for making rope, will suggest the character of the meat. And why is the present-day ration issue of corned beef called ' Fanny Adams ' ? The name derives from a gruesome murder about the middle of last century, when the murderer cut up the body of his victim and tried to conceal it in tins. How did rum come to be the special Navy issue that it is ? First, because rum took up less storage room than beer, and, second, from the British capture of Jamaica.

Many customs of naval and military messes are of great interest and of practical utility in their origins. Thus it is a grave offence to draw one's sword in mess, or to handle the sword of another without permission granted. For the first, danger of sudden combat is obviated For the second, the sword is, from time immemorial, a holy weapon and a very sacred personal possession, handed down from father to son. Again, a woman's name may not be mentioned in mess. For the task of the warrior is war. He must, for his efficiency, have nothing to do with women for a length of time before action—a custom most religiously observed amongst native races.

In the Royal Navy the king's health is drunk seated, but only when the national anthem is not played. The custom dates from the permission given by a certain king (it is forgotten which one, King Charles II or William IV) who bumped his head upon the deck beams when rising to reply to a toast. Decanters are stoppered prior to the toast and left unstoppered afterwards.

Other toasts customary, honoured with becoming ritual in the Royal Navy, are: Monday night, ' Our ships at sea ' ; Tuesday, ' Our Men ' ; Wednesday, ' Ourselves ' (as no one is likely to concern themselves with our welfare) ; Thursday, ' A bloody war or a sickly season ' ; Friday, ' A willing foe and sea room ' ; Saturday, ' Sweethearts and wives ' ; Sunday, ' Absent friends '



Central Press

A FAMOUS GAMBLING EVENT: THE FINISH OF THE DERBY PROVIDES A THRILL FOR BACKERS

In the British Isles betting is associated with many forms of sport, and particularly with horse racing. Betting on the Derby and other important races begins a considerable time beforehand, and it is usual to call over the card, or fix the betting prices, at one of the chief racing clubs on the night before the race. The betting on the Derby is enormous; many people who never bet at any other time will have a gamble on this race, whether by ordinary bet or in sweepstakes. The Derby was inaugurated in 1780 by the twelfth Earl of Derby, and has been held at the Epsom summer meeting annually, with the exception of the Great War years. Cameronian, the Derby winner in 1931, is here seen passing the post.

GAMBLING GAMES, CIVILIZED AND SAVAGE

THE gambling spirit is inherent in mankind, and we find gamblers in every age and at every stage of culture. Apart from games that are popular chiefly as vehicles for gambling, the games played by savages, adults and children, are treated in the chapters on Savage Sport and Play, and Childhood Games of Savages. There is a separate chapter on National Sports of Europe

STUDENTS of human behaviour, no matter what their ethical view-points happen to be, cannot ignore the fact that in all parts of the world we find undeniable evidence of the fascination exercised by the lure of chance afforded by certain popular games. History bears a similar testimony. Gambling, indeed, appears to be as old as civilization, making, as it does, an appeal to that innate spirit of adventure in the quest of gain which prompted man in early times, whether as a predatory warrior, or a hunter of big and dangerous game, when food was scarce, to face hazards with a reckless disregard for consequences.

The gambler has always been with us. He is found in all classes of society and in all stages of culture and civilization ; and a notable fact revealed by investigation is that games of chance, wherever met with, are remarkably similar, not only in our own time, but throughout the ages of which we have knowledge. In the Pacific islands, for instance, the Melanesians and Polynesians have an amusement known as ' spinning the coconut.' Stakes are deposited by members of a group of gamblers seated in a circle. The nut is spun and the individual towards whom, when it comes to rest, the three dark marks or ' eyes ' point is regarded as the winner. This is essentially the principle of the game of roulette (French, ' little wheel '). Here an ivory ball is placed in a revolving disk which throws it off into the 37 or 38 numbered compartments surrounding it, one or, perhaps, two, being marked ' zero.' Those players who have placed coins or paper money upon a compartment which receives the resting ball win thirty-six times their stake, or less if they have covered other numbers. Zero involves loss to all the gamblers. Similar games are met with in Asia and Africa.

Stories based upon gambling adventures occasionally appear in modern newspapers. They are likewise found among folk-tales and in the literatures of various lands. A dramatic dice-throwing competition for imperial sway in India between two rival royal families is a central incident in the Hindu epic, the Mahabahrata. This was in existence as far back as 400 B.C. and it is still of living interest and influence, being a portion of the ' Old Testament ' of the Hindus and, as such, regularly read in the hearing of interested open-air audiences as well as in native schools and temples.

THIS epic tells that the royal rivals, the Pandavas and Kauravas, who each claimed the overlordship of a considerable area of India, met in a sumptuous reception hall to settle their dispute by throwing dice. Yudhishthira (pronounced ' joo-dish'thirā '), the elder brother, represented the Pandavas and Shakuni (' sha-koo'nee '), a tricky and unscrupulous professional

'Sydney Mail

GREYHOUND RACING WITH MONKEY JOCKEYS IN AUSTRALIA

The sport of greyhound racing with a mechanical hare has become a popular vehicle for betting. The hare is controlled electrically, and is started just before the dogs are released ; it is never caught. The first London track was opened at the White City in 1927. The hounds here seen, with monkey jockeys up, are at Mascot, Sydney, New South Wales.

E.N.A.

GAMBLERS AT A ROULETTE TABLE AT MONTE CARLO

One of the greatest gambling centres in Europe is Monte Carlo. The chief game played is roulette. The spinning of a ball or similar object, and staking on its position when it comes to rest, have from early times been the root principles of many games of chance played in various parts of the world.

dice-player, the Kauravas. A large number of aristocrats witnessed the gambling match, in which the Pandava leader pledged and lost in turn all the family money and jewels, cattle, chariots, war-elephants, slaves, houses and palaces, and then the entire kingdom. The reckless Pandava continued to play until he had staked and lost the personal liberty of his brothers, himself, and Queen Draupadi, and was absolutely ruined. The Pandavas had then to assume deerskin attire and go into exile in the forests and jungles for twelve years. At the expiry of that period they returned to wage a great war for the recovery of power.

A similarly dramatic story is told of a London dice-throwing competition during the plague period. When a young aristocrat had staked and lost all he possessed, he pledged his beautiful young wife by throwing down his house key. The winner proceeded to the house, but only to find that the lady had that night suddenly become a victim of the plague.

Dice throwing is not only widely prevalent in the East and West, but of great antiquity. It is, indeed, of such immense age in the land of Egypt that it figures in a calendar myth, which tells of a god and goddess who, prior to the birth of Osiris, played for the five days which were added to the lunar year to complete the 365 of the year. Dice have been discovered in ancient tombs at Luxor and elsewhere, their sides being marked either with round dots or small circles with dots in the middle, the material being usually bone or ivory. Games of chance

Daily Mail

BACCARAT ON THE RIVIERA: GAMBLING AT THE CASINO AT NICE

The gambling card game of baccarat is much played in France, but is illegal in Great Britain. There are various forms of the game, and many of the baccarat clubs in Paris have their own special set of rules. A great deal of baccarat is played at the casinos on the French Riviera. The new casino at Nice, the Palais de la Mediterranée, opened in 1929, has a fine baccarat room, at the main table of which the minimum stake is five hundred francs.

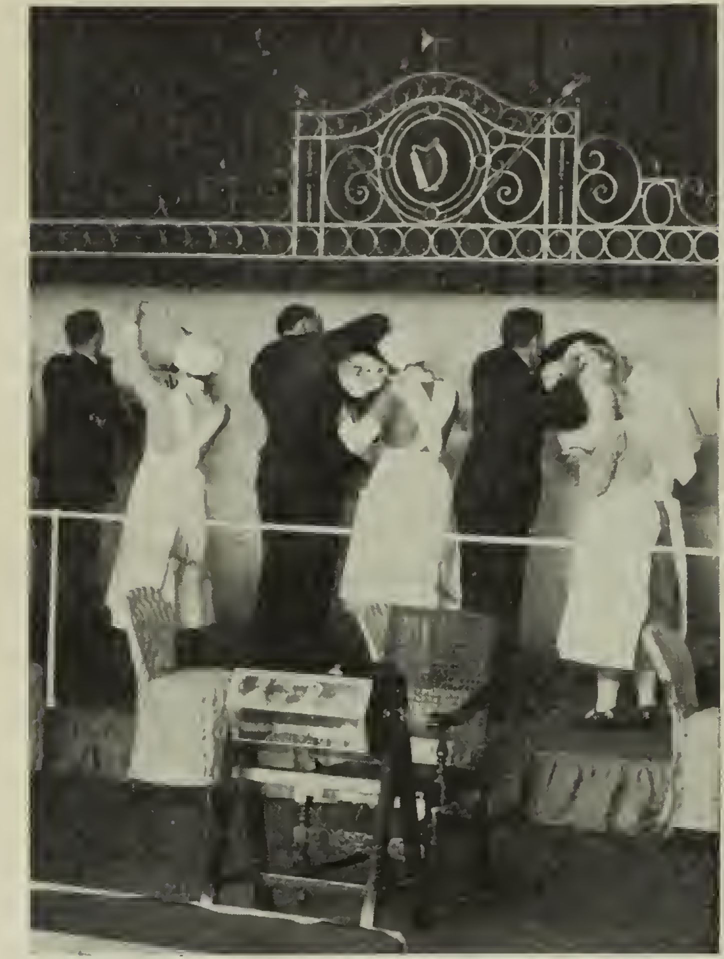
Keystone

SHUFFLING COUNTERFOILS IN THE WORLD'S GREATEST GAMBLE

A form of drawing lots that has recently come to the front is the sweepstake on horse races. The total receipts of the Irish hospitals sweepstake on the Grand National in 1931 have been put at nearly two million pounds. The day before the draw a shuffle of the counterfoil was carried out at the headquarters in Dublin, and in this three hundred girls, working in eight-hour shifts, took part. Standing beside long trough-shaped tables, they mixed the mass of papers under the eyes of police and patrolling supervisors.

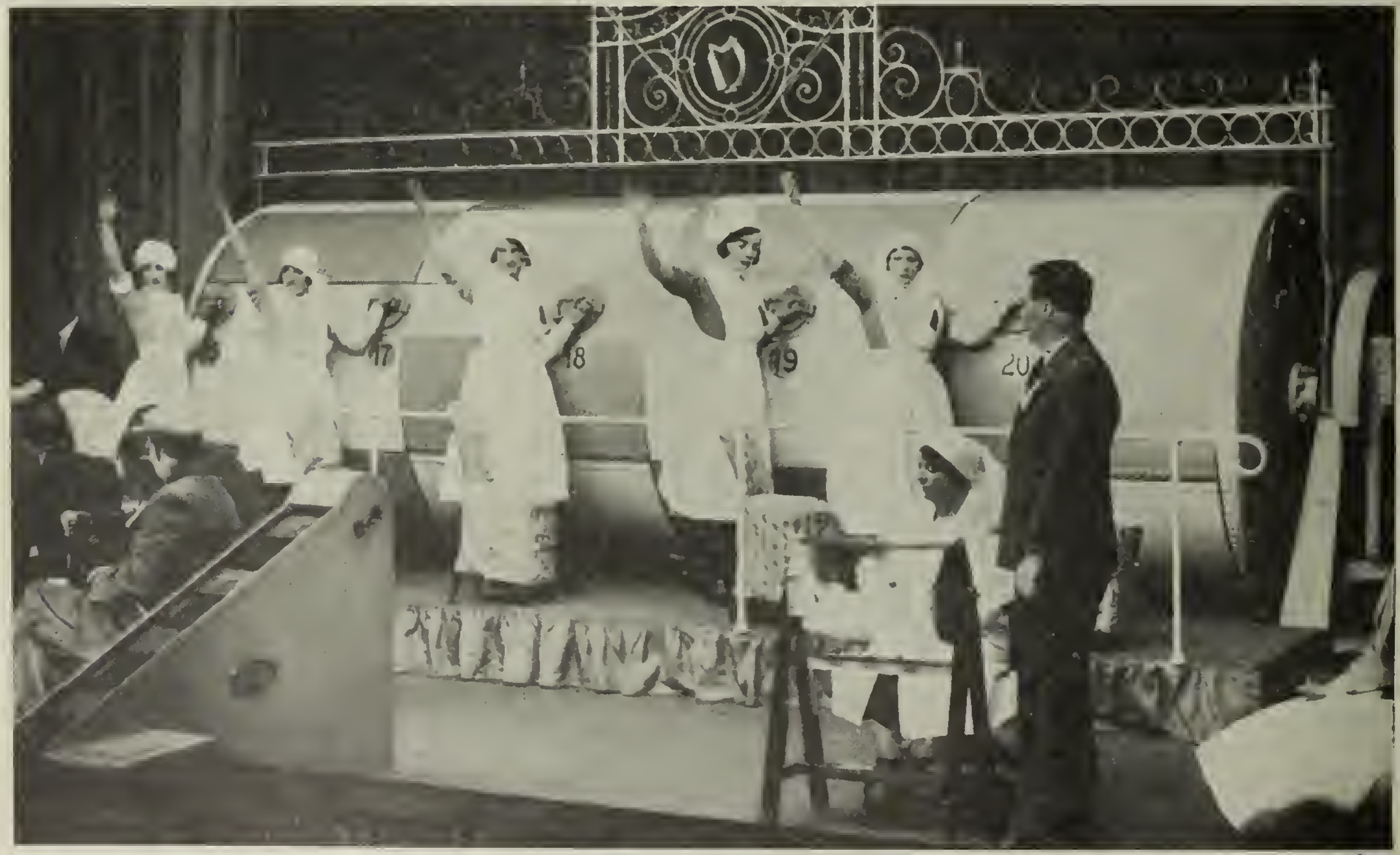
were known also to the ancient Greeks and Romans. Aristotle refers to a gambler as little better than a thief, and, although there were Roman laws against games of hazard, some of the Roman emperors were notorious gamblers. Among the early Christians gambling was regarded as a sin, yet in some of their tombs gambling implements have been discovered. 'If,' declared one of the early fathers, 'you say you are a Christian although a dice-player, you say you are what you are not.'

In the Jewish Talmud gambling is likewise condemned, and the evidence of a gambler is declared to be invalid. Yet the drawing of lots, as that of numbered tickets in a modern lottery, is referred to as a Hebrew custom in the Old Testament. A form of lot-drawing is perfectly legal in our own time. In British courts of law, for instance, those who are to sit on a jury are selected 'by chance' from amongst the individuals who have been summoned to attend. The various names are written on sheets of paper which are folded, placed in a goblet or other receptacle, and mixed together. Then a representative of the law draws out folded sheet after sheet, opens them in turn and reads out the names of those who must take part in the proceedings of the court as responsible members. This survival of ancient



gambling methods is not concerned with profit-making, but the individuals whose names are not drawn are certainly ' in luck ' as gainers if they chance to have urgent business engagements and prolonged attendance in court would involve them in financial loss.

Of late the establishment in the Irish Free State of public lotteries for the purpose of financing hospitals has created world-wide interest. The system is fundamentally that of drawing lots. Thousands of girls are employed in Dublin sorting and mixing the counterfoils of numbered tickets sold at ten shillings each, and these are placed by officials in a great drum with small doors. The draw is in public and under the control of Government servants of high standing. When the drum has been revolved, a door is opened and a counterfoil extracted by a bare-armed young woman. Another woman draws from a small receptacle a folded sheet bearing the name of a competing horse in a coming English race. The draw continues until all the horses are allocated by lot to the owners of tickets the counterfoils of which have been taken from the drum. A lesser prize drawing for sellers of tickets subsequently takes place. It is illegal to sell or purchase Irish lottery tickets in the United Kingdom, but considerable transactions take place. The loss to the United Kingdom, after it receives its share of prizes in three annual Irish sweepstakes, is estimated at between a million and two millions per year.



Central Press

FILLING THE DRUM AND PREPARING TO DRAW FOR THE IRISH HOSPITALS SWEEPSTAKE

In the draw for the Irish hospitals sweepstakes nurses from Irish hospitals play various parts. After the sacks of counterfoils have been conveyed from the sweepstake headquarters to the Mansion House they are emptied (top) by nurses into a great drum. Nurses also draw out the counterfoils. Before they do this, the nurses roll up the sleeves of their right arms and display to the people in the hall empty hands before they draw from the drum

Central Press

THE DRUM OF FATE: THE LAST STAGE IN A MONSTER SWEEPSTAKE

The arrangements for the draw of the Irish hospitals sweepstakes are as nearly perfect as human agency can make them. The drum that holds the counterfoils has twenty little doors arranged and numbered in sequences of five. Each door has a silk diaphragm with a contractile orifice, to prevent counterfoils from spilling out when opened. The drum is revolved for each set of five doors. A nurse is here seen handing from a smaller drum the name of a horse, which will be allotted to the counterfoil in the hands of the other official.

The Irish lottery revives interest in sweepstakes of the past. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century there were lotteries in Florence and Genoa. Then the French, in the reign of Francis I, introduced 'Blanques,' as lotteries were called after the Italian 'bianca carta' or 'white tickets.' A lottery was organized in London in 1569, the tickets costing ten shillings each, and the drawing took place at the west door of St. Paul's cathedral. During the reign of King James I a lottery was held to raise funds for the colony of Virginia, the first prize being 4,000 crowns.

A LOTTERY to increase London's water supply was held in 1680, and a decade and a half later the war chest of the Government was replenished by a famous lottery. Early in the eighteenth century the parliamentary lotteries were instituted, and the prizes included life annuities and a few which were 'perpetual.' During this century gambling was rampant, and the speculative propensities of Englishmen became proverbial on the Continent. Royalty and men and women of fashion frequented gaming houses and there were numerous tragic happenings, suicides of ruined gamblers of all classes being not uncommon. One notorious gambler was Beau Brummell, who died a ruined and crazy man at Caen. There were numerous gambling houses in the West End of London, and on every racecourse gambling booths, thimble-riggers' stalls, and so on. Various Acts of Parliament were passed to suppress abuses, but it was not until 1845 that gambling contracts were made void and no legal action could be taken to recover gambling debts. Lotteries had been suppressed by law in 1826 except in the case of Art Unions, the aim being to encourage art.

Betting on horse races is universal in the British Isles. The law allows the system of credit betting, but ready money betting transactions are illegal, and bookmakers who are detected have to pay heavy fines on conviction. Yet ready money bookmakers are numerous and often prosperous.

Moslems are prone to gamble, thus ignoring the Koran, which forbids, as its commentators insist, all games of hazard, including dice, cards, tables, drawing lots, etc. An interesting fact revealed in this connexion is that gambling had originally a close association with divination. Mahomet in the Koran makes reference to the drawing of lots by using a bundle of arrows to ascertain whether a man was guilty of a crime, to select individuals to engage in some hazardous duty, or to ascertain whether it was safe to undertake a long journey. The ancient Greeks similarly practised divination by arrows, as did likewise the Babylonians, as we gather from Ezekiel (xxi, 21, 22):

> For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he made his arrows bright he consulted with images, he looked in the

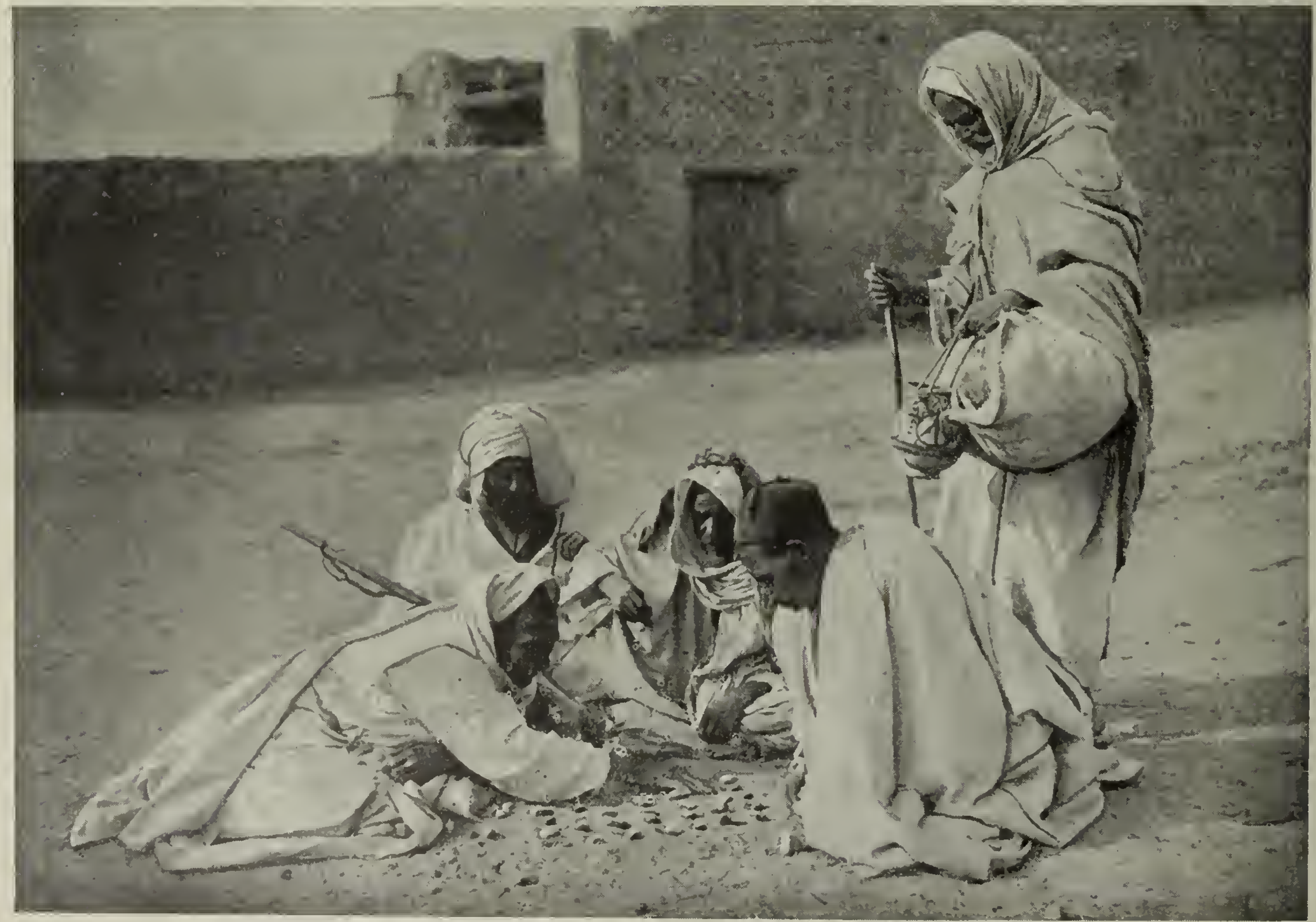
liver. At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem, to appoint captains, to open the mouth in the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint battering rams against the gates, to cast a mount, and to build a fort.

Arrows or twigs are still used by Eastern gamblers for drawing lots in bazaars or houses and in camps during desert journeys.

Modern Egyptians are as addicted as were their remote dice-throwing and lot-drawing ancestors to indulgence in the forbidden 'leab el-Kumár,' the 'game of hazard or gain,' although at a coffee-house the stake may be only a few cups of coffee. A common Egyptian game, partly of skill and partly of chance, played for money and popular among the fellahin, is known as 'seega.' Twenty-five holes are scooped out in the ground in the form of a square, and these are called 'eyes.' Two competitors have each twelve men called 'kelbs.' Most of the men are deposited at random, and the aim is to 'take' as many of those of an opponent as possible. Some foresight is required, but the element of chance is greater than in the dealing of our playing cards. There are invariably stakes, and the onlookers 'back' a player to win or lose. A 'seega' is sometimes cut on flat stones, and tourists who climb the pyramids near Cairo may see several 'seegas' on the highest stones. Some formed by guides of a past generation are used by modern guides, who can play freely without interruption and can abandon a game long before a representative of the law can reach their lofty haunt.

A similar game is still played by various negro peoples throughout Africa. The Berbers of the North African area find it exceedingly fascinating. When they rest during a desert journey they squat on the sand and, having formed the square of 'eyes,' use pieces of stone as 'men.' One can see the game played for stakes at Tunis and other centres. As a rule gamblers use stones of certain forms and colours to represent the money or goods at stake.

In Asia the most notorious gamblers are the Tibetans and Mongols. The former gamble with rosary beads, coins, pebbles or grain seeds, and they throw dice on gaming boards on which there are magical patterns and symbolic figures. Twigs are often used in drawing lots, as they were in ancient Greece and among the early Teutons and Celts.


E.N.A.

TRIBESMEN OF EGYPT TRY THEIR LUCK AT A GAME OF CHANCE

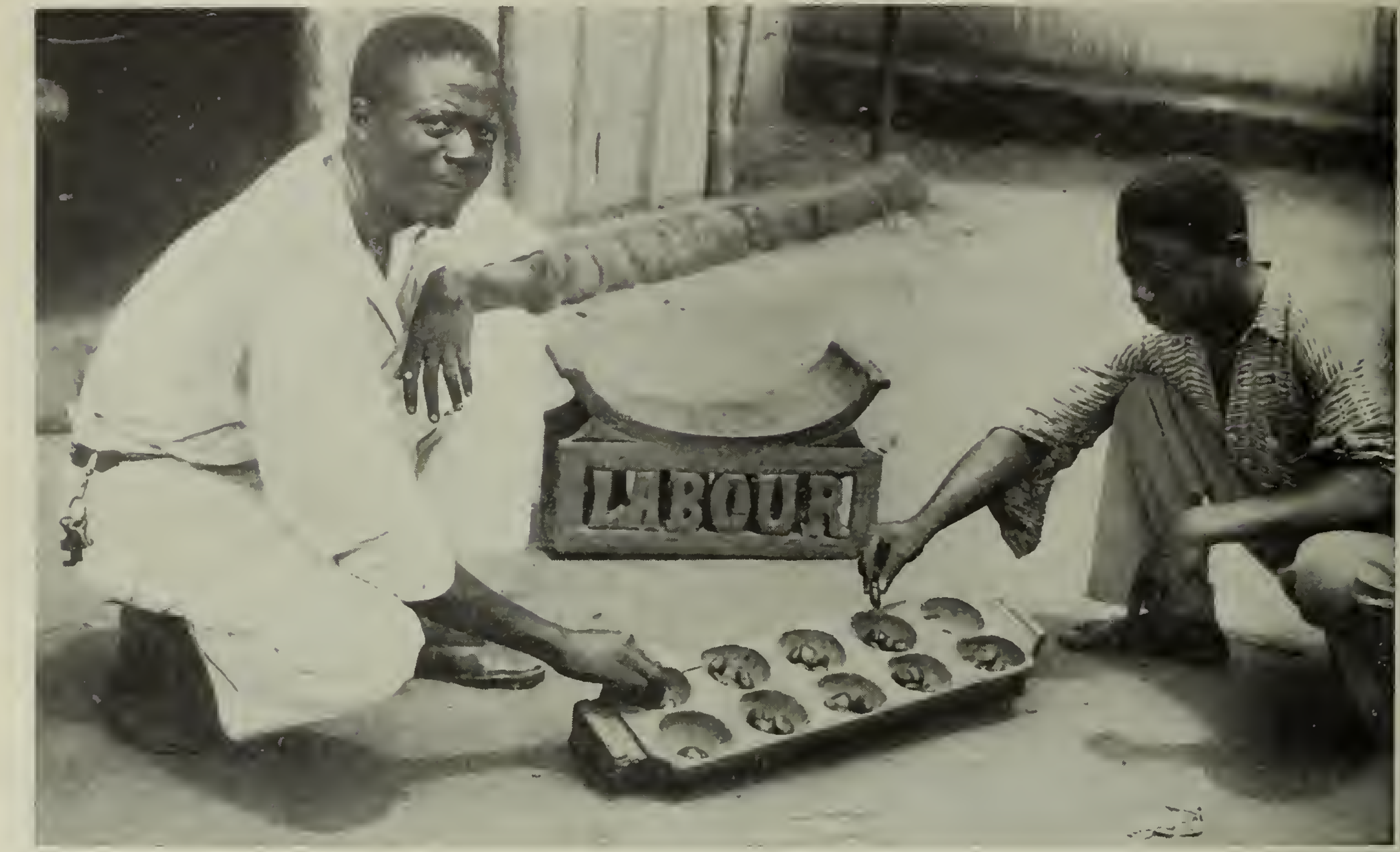
The Egyptians of today, like those of old, are very fond of games of chance. These tribesmen, resting in the court of a desert caravanserai in Tunis, are enjoying one of their favourite games, 'seega,' a kind of draughts, into which both skill and chance enter. 'Seega' is generally played for stakes, and any spectators there may be are fairly sure to have money on the result. A square with a series of holes is marked out on the ground, and the game consists in taking as many of the opponent's men as possible.

F. Watts

W. Bosshard

GAMBLING MIXED WITH DIVINATION AMONG THE MEN OF THE ORIENT

From early times the Asiatics have been gamblers. There is a stirring account in the Mahabharata of a dice-throwing contest, in which the Pandava leader gambles away all that he has and holds dear. In the villages of India it is common to see little groups of men sitting with mat outspread, enjoying a quiet game of the ever popular crown and anchor (top). The gamblers of Chinese Turkistan here seen (bottom) consult the seer before staking, to discover if the day of the month is favourable.



Photopress

GAMBLING GAMES OF AFRICA THAT RECALL GAMES OF EUROPE

Games of chance similar in principle to roulette, such as the spinning the coconut game of the Pacific Islanders, are also found in Africa and Asia. The negro peoples of Africa are much addicted to gambling They play various games of chance, including some which resemble draughts and solitaire. A favourite solitaire-like game played by children in Africa is described in page 282. The board upon which these negroes of Tangier are playing for small stakes has the cuplike depressions of the solitaire board

Hindus, Moslems and Buddhists alike gamble in India, perpetuating ancient methods of divination either by drawing lots or throwing marked articles of various kinds, or using the ordinary dice

The Chinese have long had complex methods of gambling, including lot-drawing in connexion with complicated designs such as are found in their ancient work the ' Yih King ' or Book of Chances.' They are credited with the invention of the game of cards. which were, and are still, not only used in playing for stakes, but in ' reading the future.' Divination by cards is likewise known in our own country—another interesting proof of the close association between ' fortune telling ' and gambling. In Japan, diviners and divining rods, knotted cords of different lengths, and magical diagrams, are still in use, although the law frowns upon the associated practices. Stakes are also played for with the ' hana-garuta ' (' flower cards '). This card game is officially banned except as an amusement but is greatly favoured by secret gamblers. There are forty-eight cards in groups of four, representing the months of the year. Each month is indicated by a flower, and each week-card of a month-group has a distinguishing symbol and a set value. Three persons play and there is a ' pool.' The system of counting is very complicated.

Card games were imported into Europe from the East in the eighteenth century, and are now of great variety. Whist, bridge, ' catch-the-ten,' nap, and other games have long been played for stakes by all classes, but card gambling has perhaps never reached a higher pitch than in the United States of America, where poker or bluff has long been in favour Rouge-et-noir (red and black) is a modern French card game of chance conducted by a ' banker,' who usually has a safe percentage of advantage. Another French card game is baccarat. The ' banker ' deals two cards to each player and two to himself, covering the stakes with equal amounts. Then the cards are examined and, according to their values, the players win, or else the banker rakes in all the money or a proportion.

Gamblers from all parts of the world visit Monte Carlo in the principality of Monaco between Nice and the Mediterranean. There a great gambling casino was established in 1860, the inhabitants, however, being debarred from the gaming tables. A rival casino has recently been established in Zoppot, the Baltic tourist resort in West Prussia, and there roulette and baccarat are played. As in Monte Carlo, there are tense dramatic scenes as large sums are won or lost. To many players there, as elsewhere, life itself seems a gamble.

Among the grotesque gambling games is the American ' Fly Loo,' in which men sit round a table, each with a lump of sugar in front of him. The player whose lump is visited by a fly wins all the stakes. In Australia this game is played by means of drops of honey or beer as well as with lumps of sugar.

CEREMONIES OF CONSECRATION AND DEDICATION

SOME dedication ceremonies, such as the blessing of the fields and the waters, are touched upon in the chapters on Beliefs and Superstitions of the Sea, and Surviving Customs of Springtide. In addition to the regular and old-established services of consecration and dedication, this chapter deals with several instances of the modern tendency to consecrate the most diverse projects and objects.

THE instinct of man to seek the shelter and sanction of some higher power for the actions of his life lies behind all those rites of consecration and dedication—many of them very beautiful and appealing—which still exist. Though the instinct is as ancient as man himself, many of the rites are quite new or are ancient forms adapted to modern requirements. Recently, under the Slum Clearance Scheme of the St. Pancras House Improvement Society, the first garden was laid out in Somers Town, and the opening ceremony included in its programme the giving of a religious blessing to the garden—so by a piece of symbolism linking up a noble public movement with Him Whose second commandment laid down the doctrine of the brotherhood of man. A very similar ceremony that took place in the spring of 1931—though here we may trace the influence of the old pagan vernal rites—was the service for the Blessing of the Crops on the allotments at Earlsfield.

In Ireland even such monstrously material things as steam rollers and traction engines are blessed by the priests, the underlying idea, of course, being that the owners of these machines may remember that the work they do should always be directed to the glory of God. In France at the beginning of the hunting season the fête of S. Hubert, the patron saint of sportsmen, is always marked by a religious ceremony. At the first meet of the season, in the Forest of Chantilly, the hounds are blessed by a priest to ensure their safety. In our own country these services of consecration and dedication have increased enormously in late years. Many local societies, such as the Mothers' Union, have banners which are dedicated by the bishop of the diocese and, except when employed for processional purposes, are kept in the parish church.

An illustration of the form adopted at these dedicatory services may not be amiss. The 'use' now employed almost universally at the dedication of standards belonging to branches of the British Legion is a very effective piece of ritual. When it takes place in the open air there is usually a military band. At the opening of the ceremony the standard bearers advance towards the bishop, who takes the colours from them and places them on the drums.

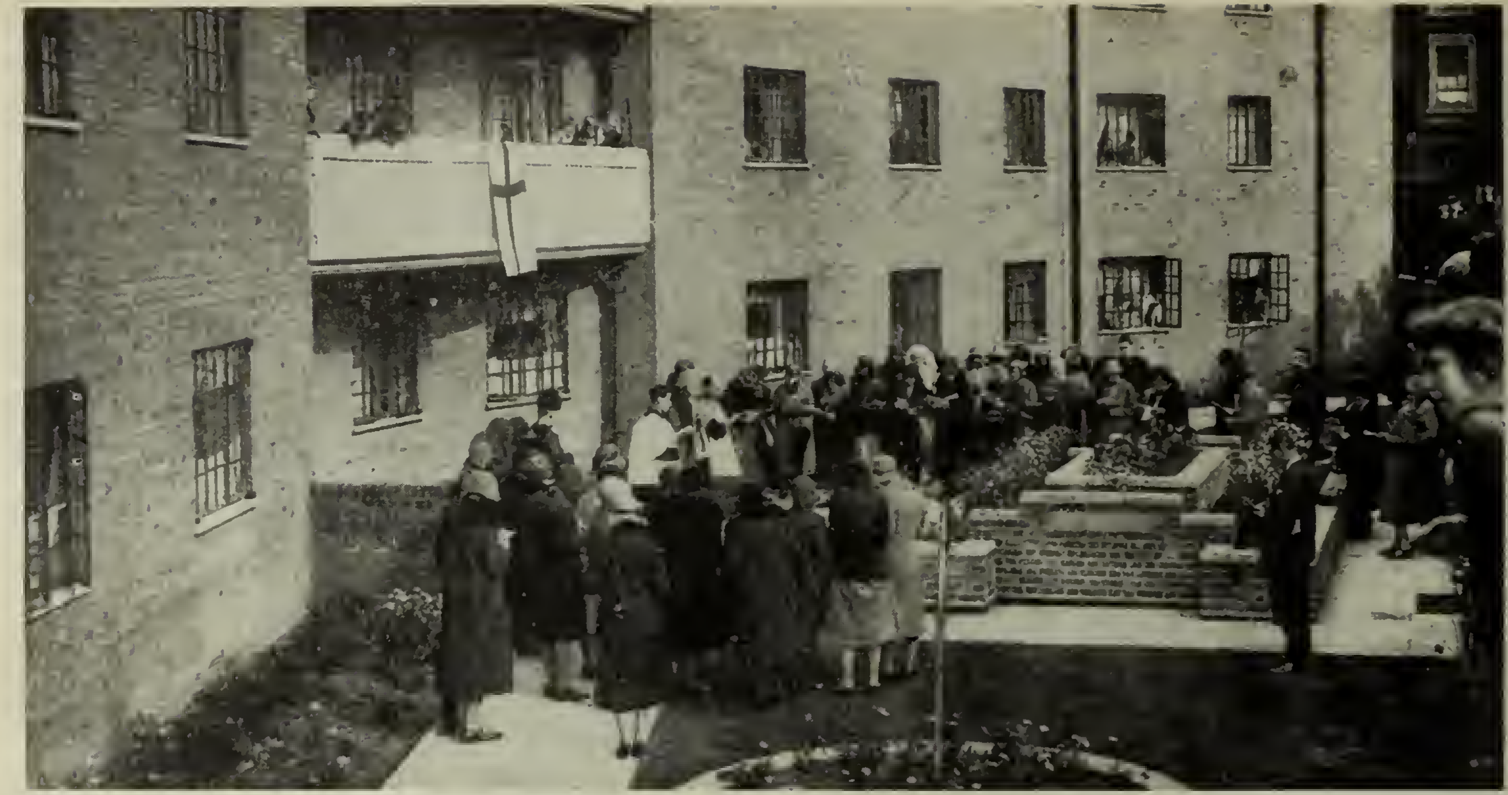
THEN the bishop lays his hands on the standards and, invoking the Three Persons of the Trinity, solemnly declares 'We do dedicate and set apart these Standards, that they may be a sign of our duty towards our King and Country in the sight of God and a symbol of the service the British Legion is called upon to render.' Then there usually follow two prayers, the latter of which includes the noble words addressed especially to the fellowship of the British Legion :

> 'Let Thy fatherly hand be over them, let Thy Holy Spirit ever be with them, and so guide their counsels that they may set forth Thy glory, and help forward all the great works to which they have given themselves, so that by their witness and their labours the spirit of love and comradeship among those who fought in the Great War may be advanced in this place, and loyalty and devotion to King and Country may be established here on a sure foundation, through Jesus Christ, Our Lord.

Keystone

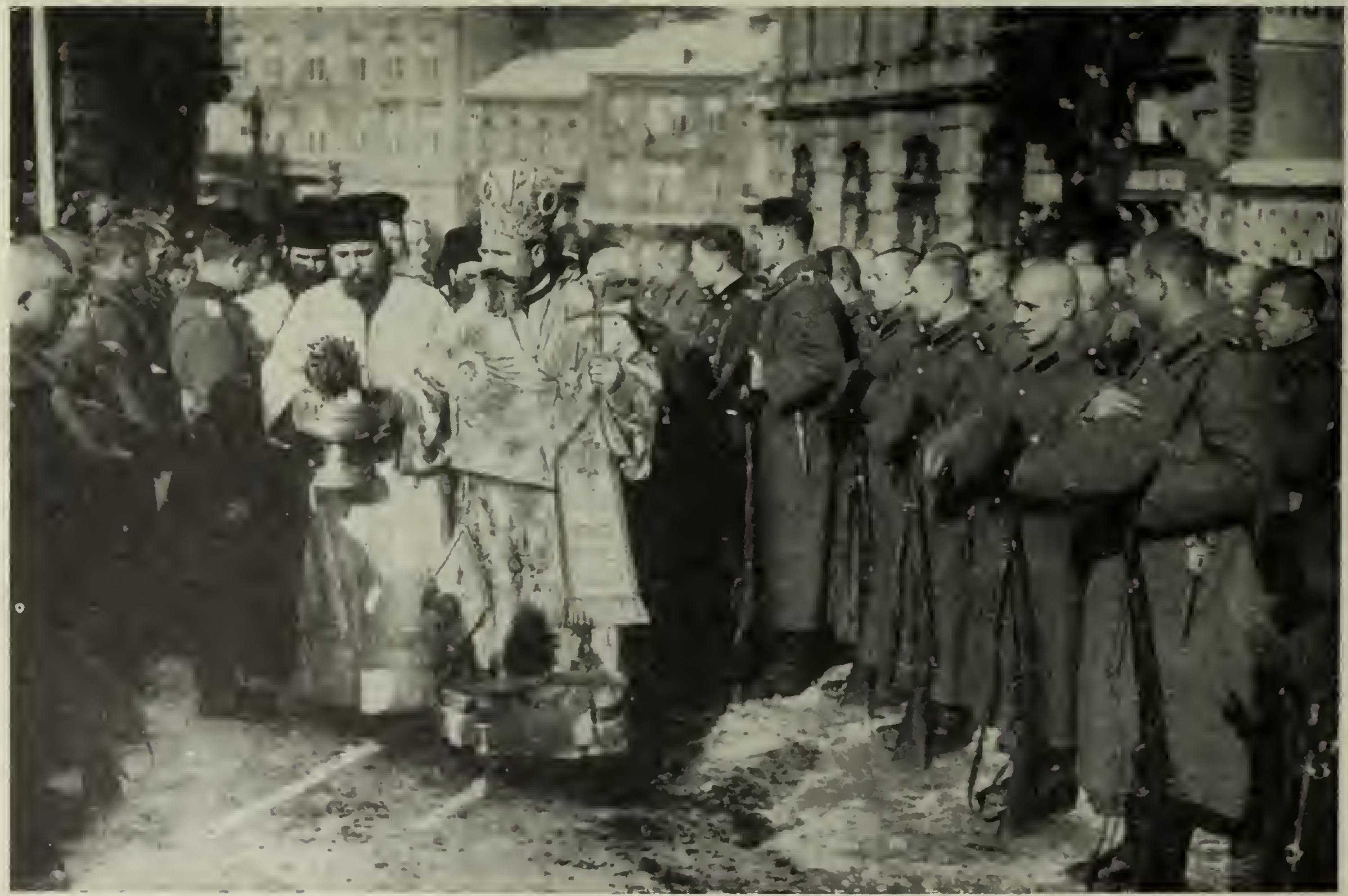
BLESSING MOTOR VEHICLES IN THE CITY OF LONDON

In England nowadays the range of objects that are blessed is a very wide one. Even the most material things are subjected to some form of consecration. The rector of S. Michael's Paternoster Royal, College Hill, London, is here seen outside his church going through the ceremony of blessing motor vehicles, sprinkling them with holy water and reciting prayers over them.



Topical Press

In England it is becoming increasingly common to hold services of consecration and dedication when a new project is launched or brought to completion. Thus, when the first garden laid out in Somers Town under the slum clearance scheme of the St. Pancras House Improvement Society was opened, Father Scott, the assistant organizer, blessed it, as here seen. In some instances the time-honoured rites hold good, but very frequently they have to be modified very considerably in order to fit them for their new application



Planet News

RITES OF BLESSING FOR A NEW GARDEN AND A ROYAL GUARD

From time immemorial the profession of arms has furnished many occasions for consecration and dedication. It is a common practice to consecrate regimental colours, and in some countries cannons are blessed. In Bulgaria the Royal Guard is blessed every year—a custom that goes back to very early times. The rite takes place in the presence of the king and queen, to the accompaniment of the beating of drums. The Archimandrite of Sofia is here seen sprinkling holy water on the Guard during the ceremony.

Central Press

THE ORIGINAL TOC H DEDICATED: MARCH OF A HAPPY BAND OF BROTHERS

An interesting dedication took place on Easter Sunday, 1931, when the original Toc H building at Poperinghe, in Belgium, which had been bought by Lord Wakefield, was formally opened. Talbot House was established in 1915 as a social centre for officers and men in memory of a fallen officer, G. W. L. Talbot, a son of the then Bishop of Winchester. After the War the Toc H association was formed, and a fellowship created of young men pledged to help one another. There are centres in London and Manchester, and more than seventy branches.

It is a curious reflection on the habits of mankind that there should be this great revival in the twentieth century of services of consecration and dedication, when we remember how at the time of the Reformation the tendency was to oppose all rites that were regarded as superstitious or semi-superstitious. When in the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII's reign the omission of the Oath of Obedience to the Bishop of Rome was first made in the English Ordinal nearly all the old books of ecclesiastical offices were ruthlessly and needlessly destroyed by the king's orders. It became necessary, therefore, in November 1549, for Parliament to devise some uniform fashion and manner for the making and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons. There was at once a great deal of trouble. A certain section, who looked to Luther and the Germanising party, were for abolishing most of the ancient use. Poynet wished to abandon the very name of 'bishop,' and Grindal called it 'the mummery of consecration.' Jewel scouted the idea of a clerical dress and Hooper bluntly refused to wear any. Out of these dissensions, however, the Ordinal—that is to say the ordering of deacons and priests and the consecration of bishops—as it appears to-day in the Book of Common Prayer emerged.

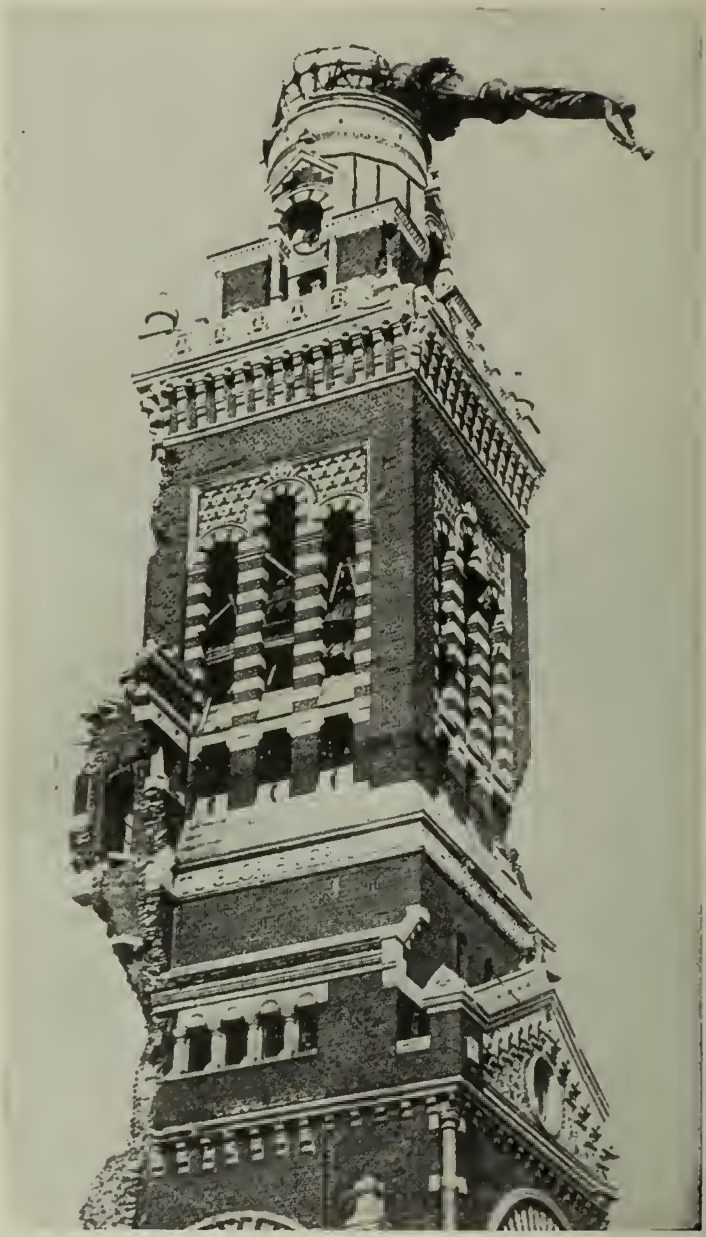
In the process many rites still employed in the Roman Catholic Church were set aside. The Unction of the Priest's Hands was one of them. This was a French rite first introduced in the sixth century, known in the Greek Church, but not practised at Rome until after the time of Pope Nicholas I in the ninth century. Deleted also was the Blessing of the Priest's Habit with a special blessing for his offering acceptable sacrifices—a ceremonial not of earlier date than the eighth century. In the Litany, which forms part of the 'Ordering,' one of the petitions originally ran 'from all sedition and privy conspiracy, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities.' It was not until 1661 that the present form was finally decided upon.

The peculiar position of the Church of England, remarkably illustrated by the recent refusal of Parliament to sanction the Revised Book of Common Prayer, although it had been approved by both houses of Convocation, makes it doubtful whether any of these modern services of consecration and dedication is really legal. 'The great Elizabethan compromise,' as somebody has called the Church of England, has indeed been fruitful in many strange anomalies. When the Church of Ireland was still established there crept into her Prayer Book 'The form of dedication and consecration of Churches and Chapels together with what may be used in the restoration of ruined churches and expiation of churches desecrated or profaned.' The Secretary of Convocation in England, having had his attention called to these additions to the liturgy, wrote inquiring how they came to be composed and annexed to the Common Prayer Book, and by what authority used. Faced with this query, Archbishop King wrote back the best answer he could, adding with disarming simplicity that 'the annexing to the Common Prayer appears to be the printer's work.' The form of prayer for January 30—the martyrdom of Charles I—which formed part of the book of Common Prayer until it was abolished by royal proclamation in 1859, also appears to have been an irregularity, since it forms no part of the book as sanctioned by the Act of Uniformity.

Keystone

HONOURS FOR THE NAVY'S BISHOP

The enthronisation in 1927 of the first Bishop of Portsmouth was attended by eight bishops. In the procession was carried a cross made of oak from Nelson's Victory and bearing representations of the figureheads of the Victory and three other men-o'-war

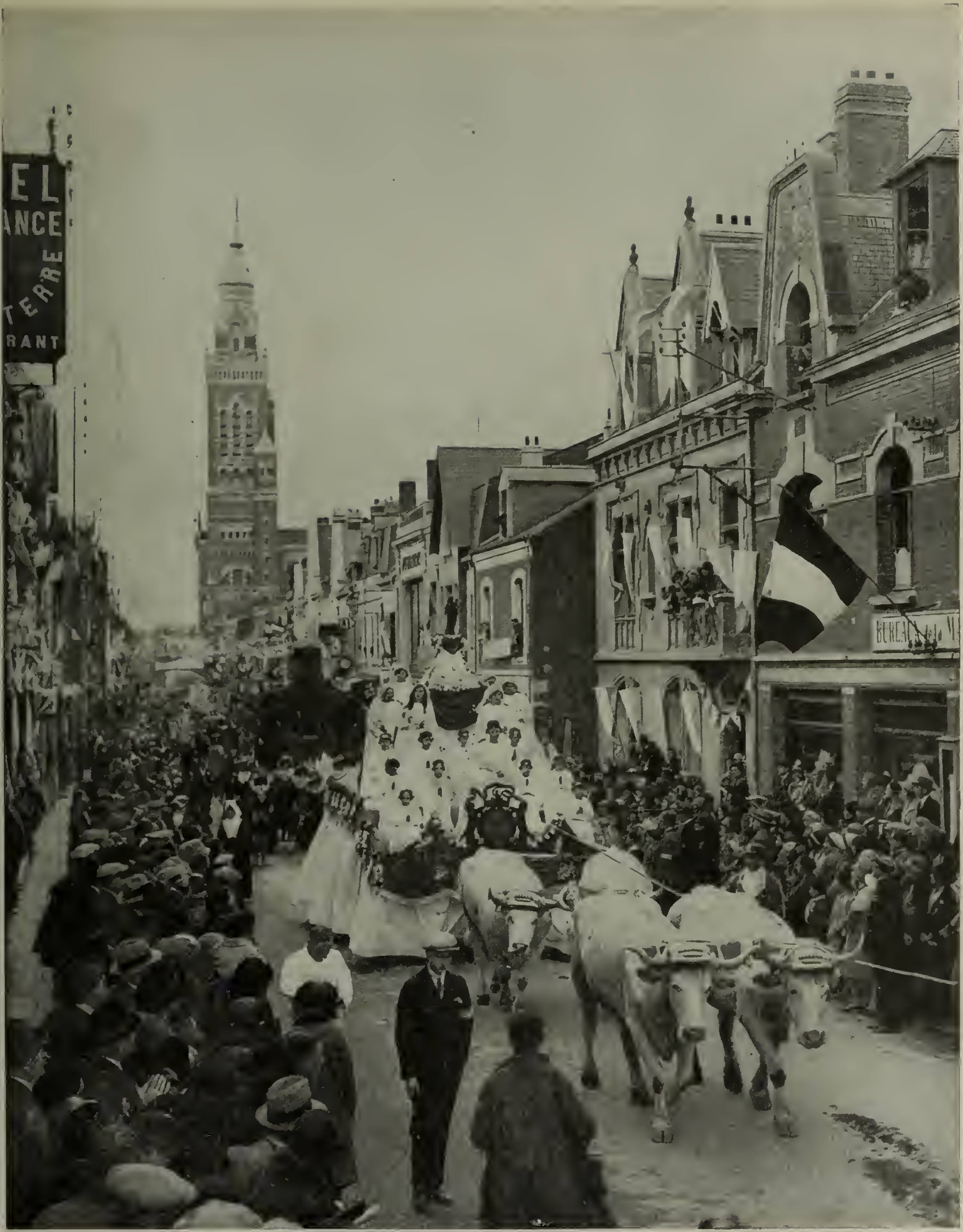


Photopress

HANGING VIRGIN OF ALBERT

During the early operations of the Great War the gilded figure of the Madonna and Child on the basilica of Notre Dame de Brebières at Albert, France, fell into a position fifteen degrees below the horizontal It remained thus until March, 1918, when it fell.

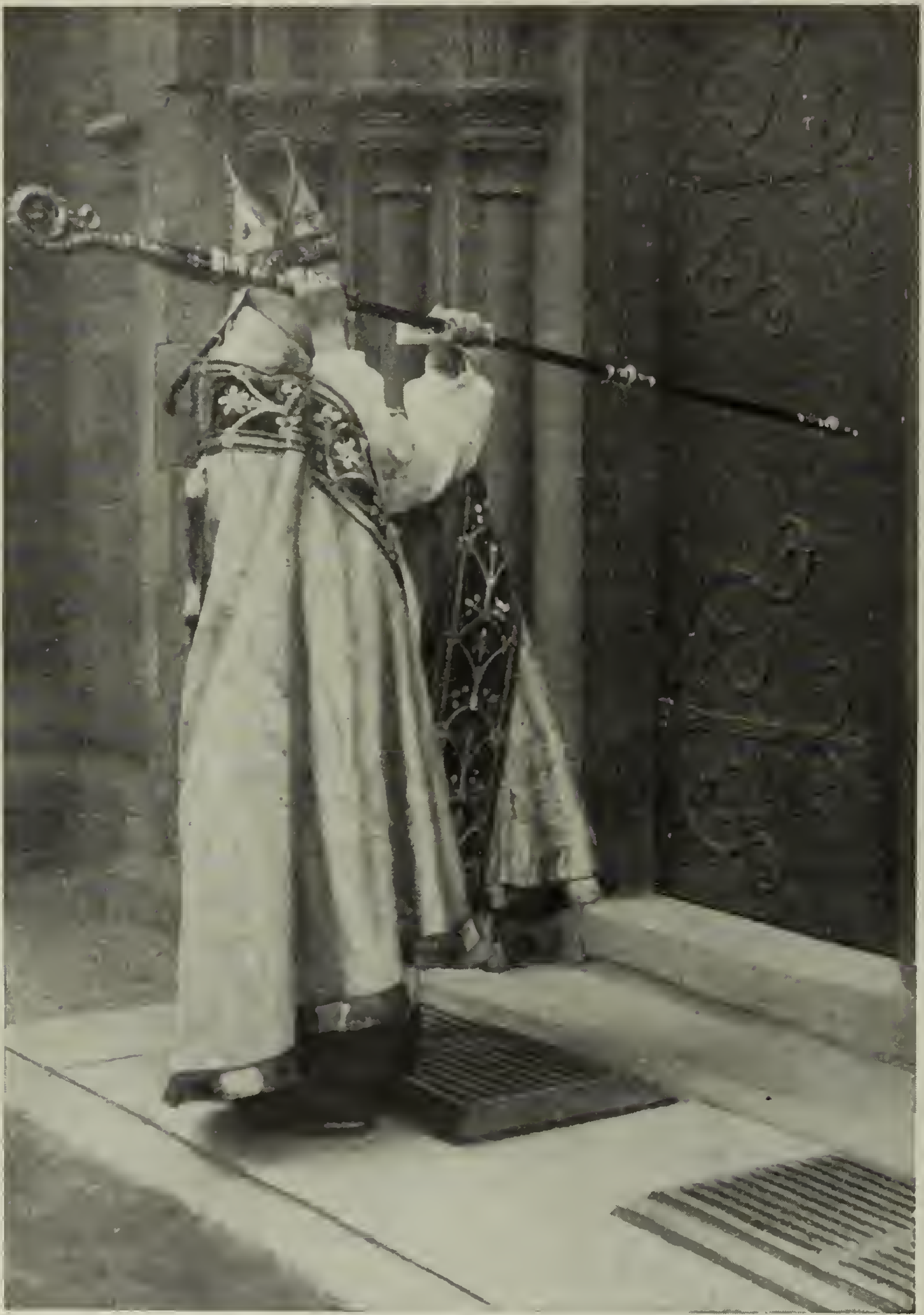
In the 'Office for expiation and illustration of a Church prophaned,' as given formerly in the Irish Prayer Book, it is laid down that 'if a church has been desecrated by murder or bloodshed, by uncleanness or any other sort of prophanation, the bishop attended by two priests at least and one deacon shall enter into the church which shall be first prepared by cleansings and washings.'



Photopress

CHURCH OF ALBERT CONSECRATED ANEW AFTER SUFFERING DAMAGE BY WAR

The damage done to churches in France during the Great War necessitated much rebuilding and, consequently, re-consecration. The church of Notre Dame de Brebières at Albert, famous for its hanging Virgin (see opposite page), is a case in point. It was virtually destroyed, and, after it had been rebuilt, was consecrated with due ceremony. In the photograph a procession is seen passing through the main street of the town after the church had been re-consecrated. The spire of the new building appears in the background.



Topical Press

NEW BISHOP SEEKS ADMITTANCE TO HIS CATHEDRAL

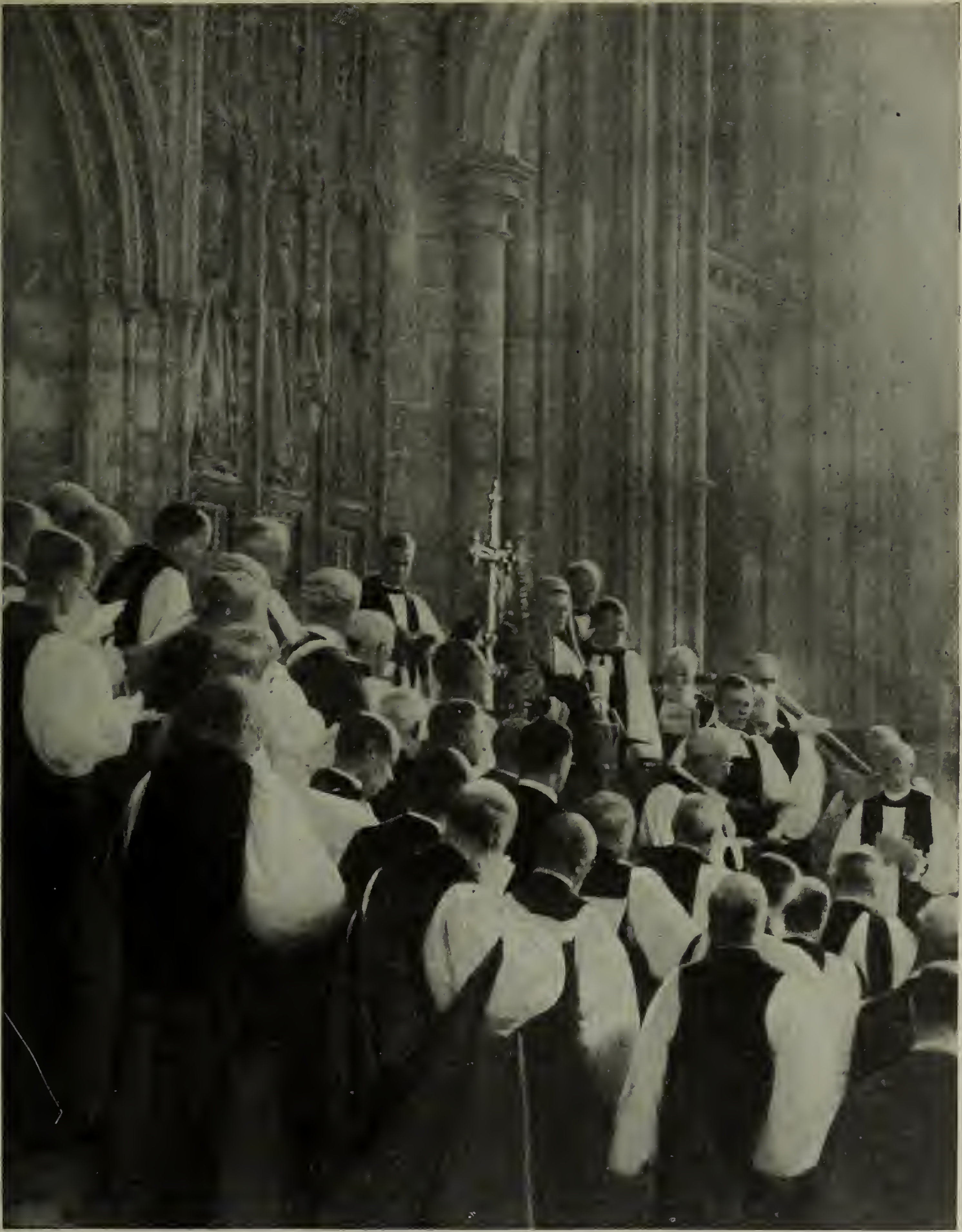
After a bishop has been consecrated he proceeds to his enthronement. To this rite there is a picturesque preliminary. When the bishop arrives at the cathedral he halts outside, and, grasping his pastoral staff firmly, knocks with it on the closed door for admission. The Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway is here seen demanding admittance at the cathedral doorway.

Another version of this piece of ritual was performed with more elaboration in the case of the churches in France damaged during the Great War. The cathedral at Soissons, originally dedicated in 1479, suffered severely from the German bombardment, the nave being almost cut in half. On the anniversary of its first dedication, the nave having been rebuilt and restored and the half-ruined tower, which still remains as a symbol of the barbarity of war, rendered secure, a ceremony of reconsecration and reconciliation was held. The same service was held at the Albert Cathedral, famous for the falling figure of the Virgin which was a familiar sight to many thousands of British soldiers during the War. The effigy has been replaced in position, after hanging horizontally almost by a miracle for several years, and the cathedral has been rebuilt.

The most beautiful service of consecration and dedication common to most Christian churches is that of confirmation, or the laying on of hands of those that are baptized—a rite which at one time used to follow immediately upon baptism. Until 1552, children were always confirmed by name, and it was open to the bishop, if a name 'carried a lascivious sound,' to change it. No less a legal authority than Lord Coke declared that the confirmation name held good in law. In Roman Catholic countries the child being confirmed usually receives, in addition to the name registered at birth, the name of some saint. This practice of changing or making the name a symbol of association with the Divine has also been carried further. It is the custom in some Roman Catholic countries—in Ireland in particular—to dedicate little girl children at the time of their baptism to the Virgin Mary. Not only do they bear the name of the Mother of Our Lord, but for seven years they are dressed in blue and white, which are held to be the symbolical colours of the Virgin.

In Spain between Easter and Whitsun what can only be described as 'mass confirmations' are annually held, as many as 25,000 children undergoing the ceremony at the same time. As the churches could not contain such a number the services are held frequently in the open air. At Oléron, a French island in the Bay of Biscay, the ceremonies include a procession of all the children round the square in front of the ancient cathedral prior to the service.

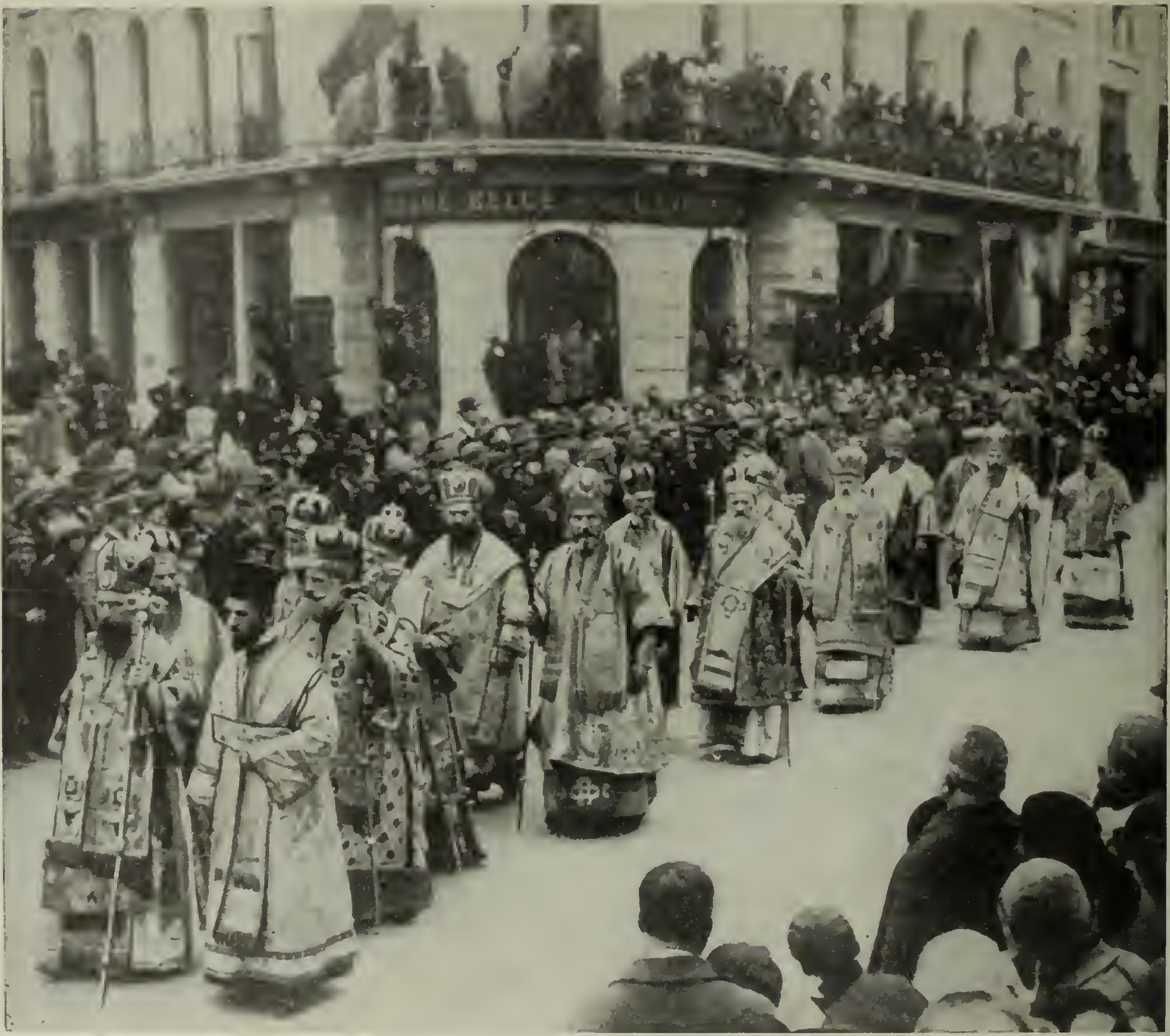
The consecration of a bishop or archbishop in Episcopal churches, and, in the case of the Roman hierarchy, of a cardinal or a pope, has always been surrounded with considerable pomp and ceremony.



'Daily Mail' copyright

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND ENTHRONED IN S. AUGUSTINE'S CHAIR

The enthronement of an Archbishop of Canterbury is a very impressive ceremony. The primate is greeted with a fanfare played on a trumpet by one of the clergy. Before pronouncing the words of induction the Dean of Canterbury seats the new archbishop in the marble chair in Becket's Crown, the very chair in which S. Augustine sat when he became the first Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Cosmo Lang is here seated in S. Augustine's chair, with the dean above him, surrounded by bishops and other church dignitaries.



Underwood

BISHOPS IN PROCESSION AT THE ENTHRONEMENT OF THE FIRST PATRIARCH OF RUMANIA

Impressive as are the rites and ceremonies observed for the consecration and enthronement of bishops and archbishops in the Anglican communion, the ceremonial on similar occasions in the Greek and Roman Churches is even more magnificent. When the first patriarch of Rumania was enthroned in Bukarest on November 1, 1925, one of the most striking features of the spectacle was provided by the bishops attending the ceremony, who walked two and two in procession through the streets—dignified bearded figures wearing gorgeous vestments.

Since the Anglo-Catholic revival in the Church of England many picturesque additions have been made in the number of ceremonies which would have been anathema to the prevailing evangelical opinion of the Victorian age Hardly fifty years ago an authority on church ceremonies noted as a curiosity that ' pastoral staves are now carried before several of our bishops '—a piece of ritual which is always observed nowadays. Following the practice carried out at the induction of a priest of a parish—when the vicar-elect knocks at the door of the church—the bishop, after his consecration, when he approaches his cathedral for the enthronement ceremony, knocks at the closed doors with his pastoral staff before proceeding to be seized formally of his episcopate. A like ceremony, it may be noticed is employed by the bishop when consecrating a church At the enthronement of the Archbishop of Canterbury a fanfare of welcome is blown on a trombone by one of the clergy present.

The ceremonies of investiture in countries under the domination of the Roman or Greek church are very elaborate and very beautiful. At the investiture of the Patriarch of Rumania at Bukarest the procession through the streets was rendered remarkable by the magnificence of the vestments worn by the attendant bishops. A curious feature of the ceremony in the Catholic rite of ordination in Mexico, where for some years now there has been a bitter dispute between church and state, is the fact that the candidates for ordination lie face downwards full length upon the floor—a gesture of humility which is practised by certain members of the Church of England during the office of the Holy Communion.

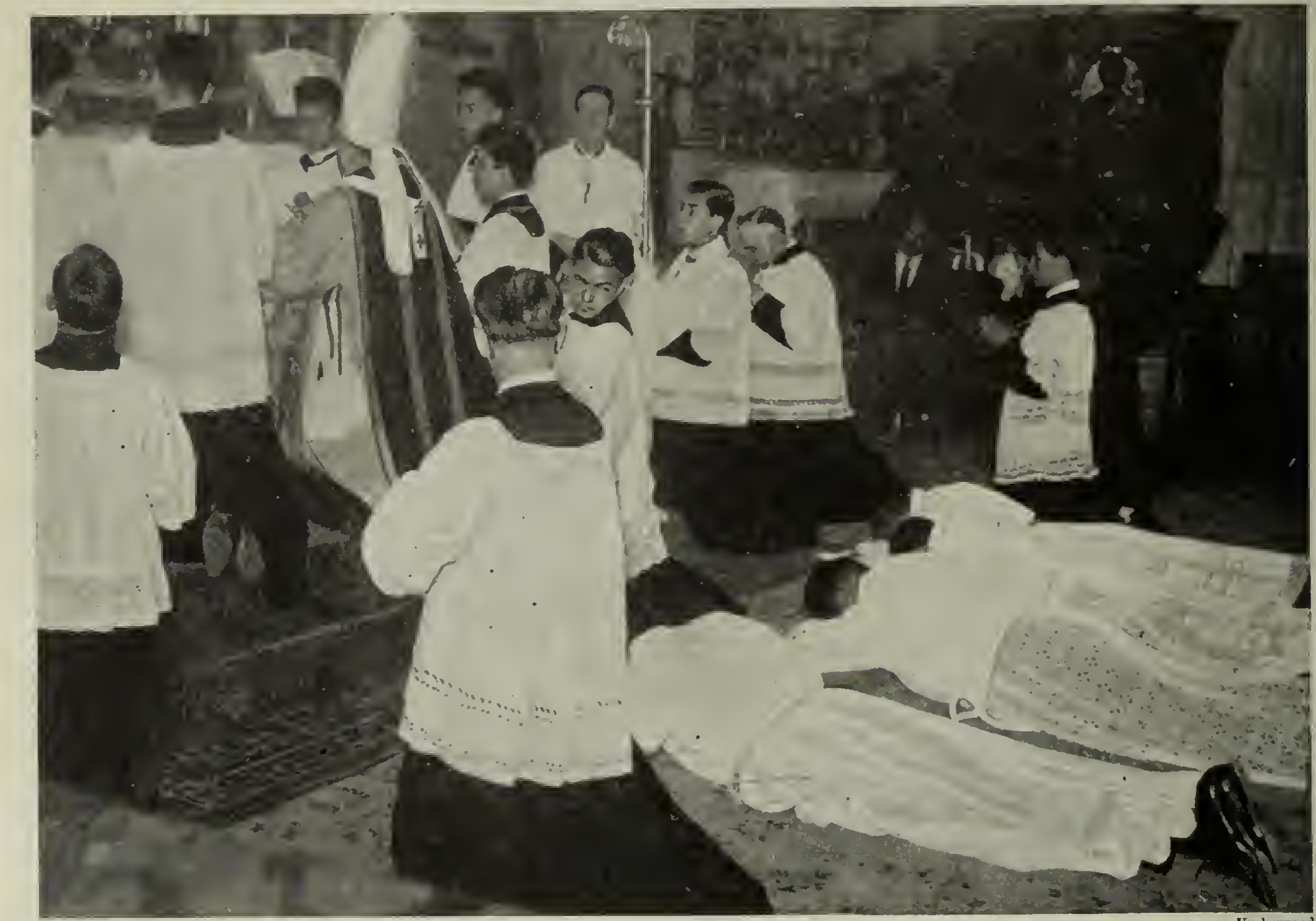
George Long

Confirmation is a very important stage in the religious life, and in the Roman Catholic Church is one of the seven sacraments. Sometimes the motor cars that are used for taking candidates to the church are marvellously decorated. The cars here seen, decked profusely with flowers, both back and front, figured at a confirmation at S. Stephen's cathedral, Vienna.

Keystone

OPEN-AIR PRELIMINARIES OF CONFIRMATION IN SPAIN AND AUSTRIA

Although the ceremony of first communion is entirely distinct from that of confirmation, it not infrequently happens that the two events take place on the same day. The photograph shows a group of first communicants at an early morning open-air mass near Madrid. Later in the day, the girls still wearing their white robes, they will kneel before the bishop, who will administer the sacrament of confirmation. In Catholic countries the numbers of candidates are sometimes so great that the churches cannot hold them.



Underwood

ACT OF HUMILITY PRESCRIBED FOR CANDIDATES FOR THE PRIESTHOOD IN MEXICO

In the Roman, Greek and Anglican communions the rite of ordination includes the laying on of hands by a duly consecrated bishop. The tonsure and minor orders are sometimes conferred by abbots, but the usual minister of orders is a bishop. In Mexico a curious custom is observed in carrying out the rite; the ordinands lie prone at full length during part of the ceremony. Archbishop Diaz, the head of the Mexican Church, is here seen ordaining alumni of the theological seminary in Mexico City.

There are many interesting ceremonies associated with the reception of a girl into the religious life of a nunnery Behind all these ceremonies is the root idea that the candidate is to become the spiritual spouse of Christ. There is a certain pathos to the ordinary observer about some of the rites. The notion of the marriage is carried so far that the novice wears a wedding dress, to be changed very quickly for the uniform of the convent.

Since time immemorial—since the days when the pagan god of war was invoked—the particular favour of the Almighty has been sought for soldiers and sailors fighting their country's battles. All the pageantry of war, indeed, has been linked up with religion—a religion in which in our days it may be perhaps a little difficult to find the Founder of Christianity. In France and Italy and Spain regimental colours are consecrated and even cannons blessed. In Bulgaria the blessing of the Royal Guard is an annual custom of very ancient origin. In the presence of the king and queen the Archimandrite of Sofia passes down the ranks, while the soldiers present arms and drums beat, sprinkling both officers and men with the Holy Water.

Another aspect of consecration or dedication relating to the profession of arms concerns itself with the aftermath of war—the unveiling of monuments for which, since the Great War, almost a formal liturgy has been evolved, or the invoking of the memories and the sacrifices of those that have died. The society known as 'Toc H' in particular has done much to keep alive by its religious rites and ceremonies the spirit of heroism and sacrifice that prevailed during the War.

In 1915 there was inaugurated at Poperinghe a club and rest centre for men returned from the trenches. Christened Talbot House after a fallen officer, the son of the then Bishop of Winchester, it came to be known in telegraphic terminology as Toc H. After the War the spirit which formed that club was directed to an organization of work and service for mankind. On Easter Sunday, 1931, the original building, bought by Lord Wakefield, was formally opened and dedicated to the movement. Among the rites of Toc H—now grown to a world-wide movement—is the symbolical lighting of a lamp, the flame of which, like the memory of the sacrifices of those who fell in the War is never allowed to die.

PASSION PLAYS OF THE EAST

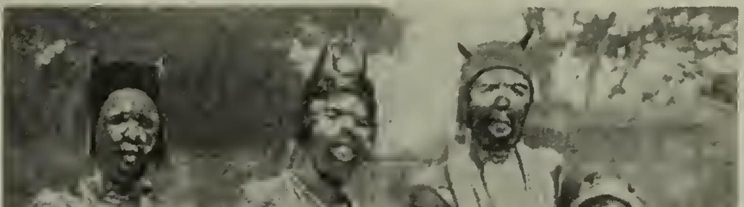
The Passion Plays of Asia differ considerably from those of Christian peoples, to which a separate chapter is devoted. Whereas the Passion Plays of the West have but one theme, the corresponding dramas of the East depict various heroes of religious story, all coping with seemingly overwhelming difficulties; in addition to their religious import the plays consist largely of glorification of war.

The greatest of all the Passion Plays in Asia is the religious drama of the Moharram, which is celebrated throughout the world of Islam from Western Africa to the fringes of the Far East. But neither its origin nor the various acts that go to make up the play can be comprehended without knowing something of that period of Islamic history which forms its background.

When the Prophet Mahomet died in A.D. 632 there were four claimants to his ministry, Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman and Ali. These were called his Companions, both in view of the fact that the first and the last named were his relatives, and because the others had distinguished themselves in many respects for the cause of early Islam. To the vicegerency of the Prophet, however, they were elected in the above-mentioned order; thus Abu Bekr was the first Khalif or leader of the faithful.

The days of the last two of the Khalifs, namely, Othman and Ali, were stormy in the annals of Islamic history, and due regard is to be paid to that period, because the origin of the Battle of Martyrs at Kerbela, in Mesopotamia, out of which has grown the Passion Play of the Moharram, is to be found there.

The cohesion of Islamic hierarchy was retained by Abu Bekr, and his successor Omar is chiefly credited with the expansion of Islamic influence, so that the inherent Arab spirit of inter-tribal war was kept in check. On the death of the second Khalif, Omar, in A.D. 643, however, when the third Companion, Othman, superseded Ali, the tribal jealousies began to show themselves. The supporters of Ali resented this election on two grounds: first, they thought that as Ali was the husband of the only daughter of the Prophet Mahomet, who was devoted to his two grandsons, Hasan and Hussein, Ali had the prior claim to the leadership of Islam; secondly, they disapproved the appointment of one Moawiya to the governorship of Syria.



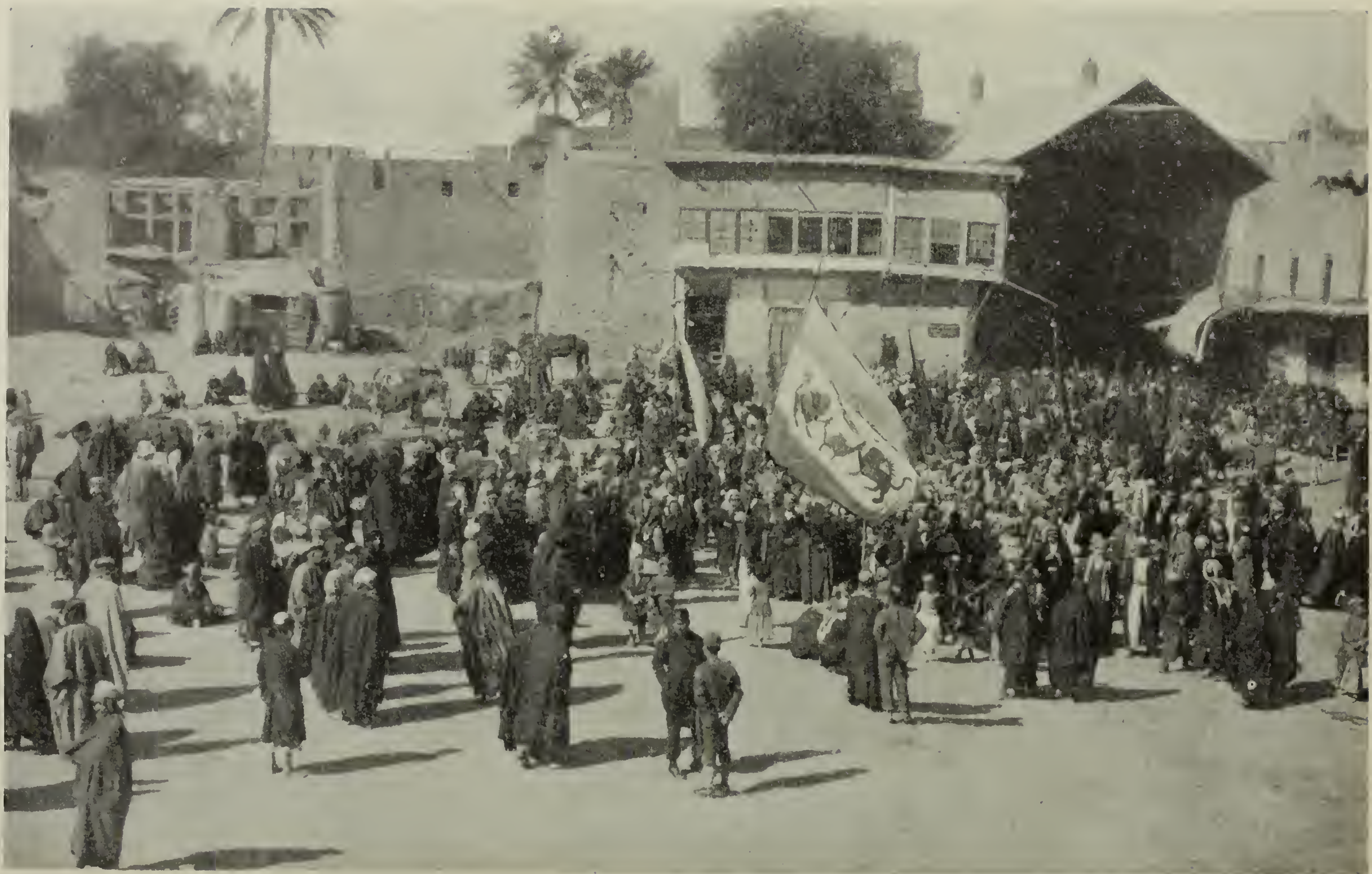
E.N.A.

HUMAN TIGERS AT MOSLEM FESTIVAL

Among the Mahomedans of India men and boys go about during Moharram made up as tigers. The men carry limes in their mouths. The tiger may represent the lion of legend that guarded the martyred Hussein's body, lion and tiger being interchangeable in India.

This disaffection continued to smoulder for over ten years, till A.D. 655, when Othman, the third Khalif, fell by the hand of an assassin, and Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, was proclaimed the Khalif. It was perhaps a tactical mistake on his part that soon after assuming the leadership of the faithful he issued orders for the recall of Moawiya from the governorship of Syria. But Moawiya had then gathered a great following, and, refusing to obey the order of the Khalif of Mecca, installed himself as Khalif in Damascus. After various moves and counter-moves on the part of each of these men, Ali, too, fell by the hand of an assassin in A.D. 660, and Moawiya was proclaimed as the Khalif in northern Arabia, whilst Mecca elected Hasan, the elder of the two sons of Ali. Both Hasan and Moawiya disappear from the scene by A.D. 679, leaving the contest of the Khalifate to Hussein, the younger brother of Hasan, and Yezid, the son of Moawiya. The former still held Mecca, and the latter, regarding himself as the rightful monarch, summoned Hussein to surrender.

The two armies faced each other on the banks of the Euphrates in Mesopotamia, where Hussein was slain and his followers met with the worst savagery of war that has ever been recorded in the history of man. It is the portraying of this tragedy



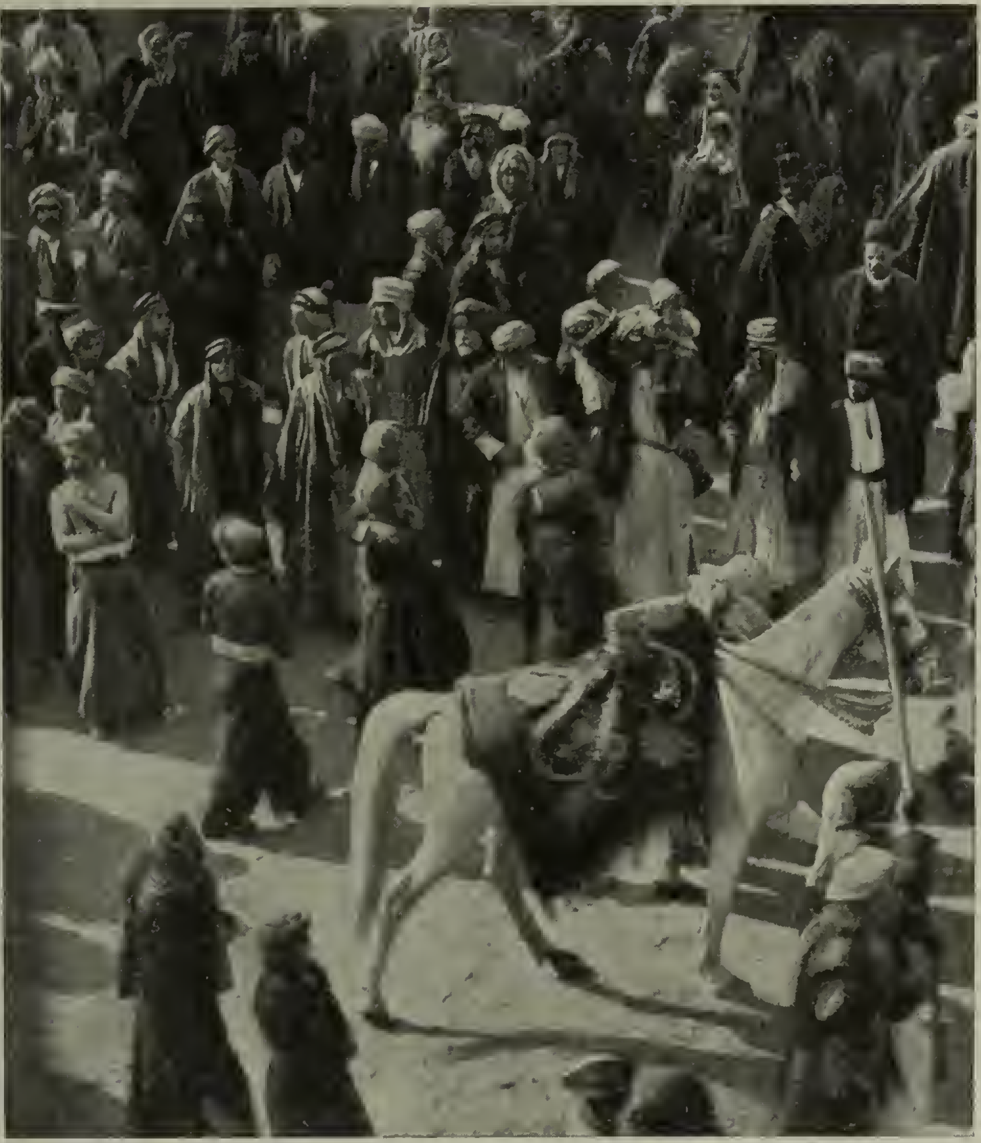
Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah

MOSLEM PASSION PLAY OF THE MOHARRAM: FORMING UP FOR THE PROCESSION IN IRAQ

The mourning for the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandsons, Hasan and Hussein, during the first ten days of the month of Moharram, comes to a climax on the tenth day, when the great Passion Play of Islam is performed, commemorating the death of Hussein on the battlefield of Kerbela. The tragedy is enacted not on a stage but in a procession, in the course of which outstanding incidents and circumstances of the martyrdom are symbolically portrayed. Camels represent the pack animals of Hussein's camp; a string of camel-riders the non-combatant members of the martyr's family; lemons impaled on lances, heads of the slain. Women wail and men beat their breasts violently, amid loud cries of 'Hasan, Hussein.' The Moharram Passion Play is found in its most elaborate form in Persia, and in regions where Persian influence is strong. The procession here seen is at Al Kadhimain, near Bagdad.

which the mourning at Moharram has kept alive in the minds of the Moslems of the world for over twelve centuries. The several aspects of the battle are acted with such intensity and passion that the appeal of the drama is almost religious, especially amongst the Shia sections of the Mahomedans. Although it is celebrated with more or less vigour throughout the Near and the Middle Eastern peoples, in Persia the mourning ceremony finds its highest expression. The reason of the Persian attachment to the Moharram Passion Play is sometimes explained by the fact that Hussein, the hero and martyr of the battle, was wedded to Shahr-banu, a daughter of Yezdigird, the last Persian king of the Sassanian dynasty.

The actual period of mourning begins with the first day of the month of Moharram of the Moslem lunar calendar; the climax of this tragedy, that is, the date on which Hussein was slain, being the tenth of that month, is the day of Ashrah, when the Passion Play is performed. During these ten days mourning is strictly observed, no marriages are celebrated, no new thing is bought, no foundation of a house is laid. Women will wear no coloured garments nor use cosmetics; laughter in the street, loud talking, and many usual social functions are not permitted.



Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah

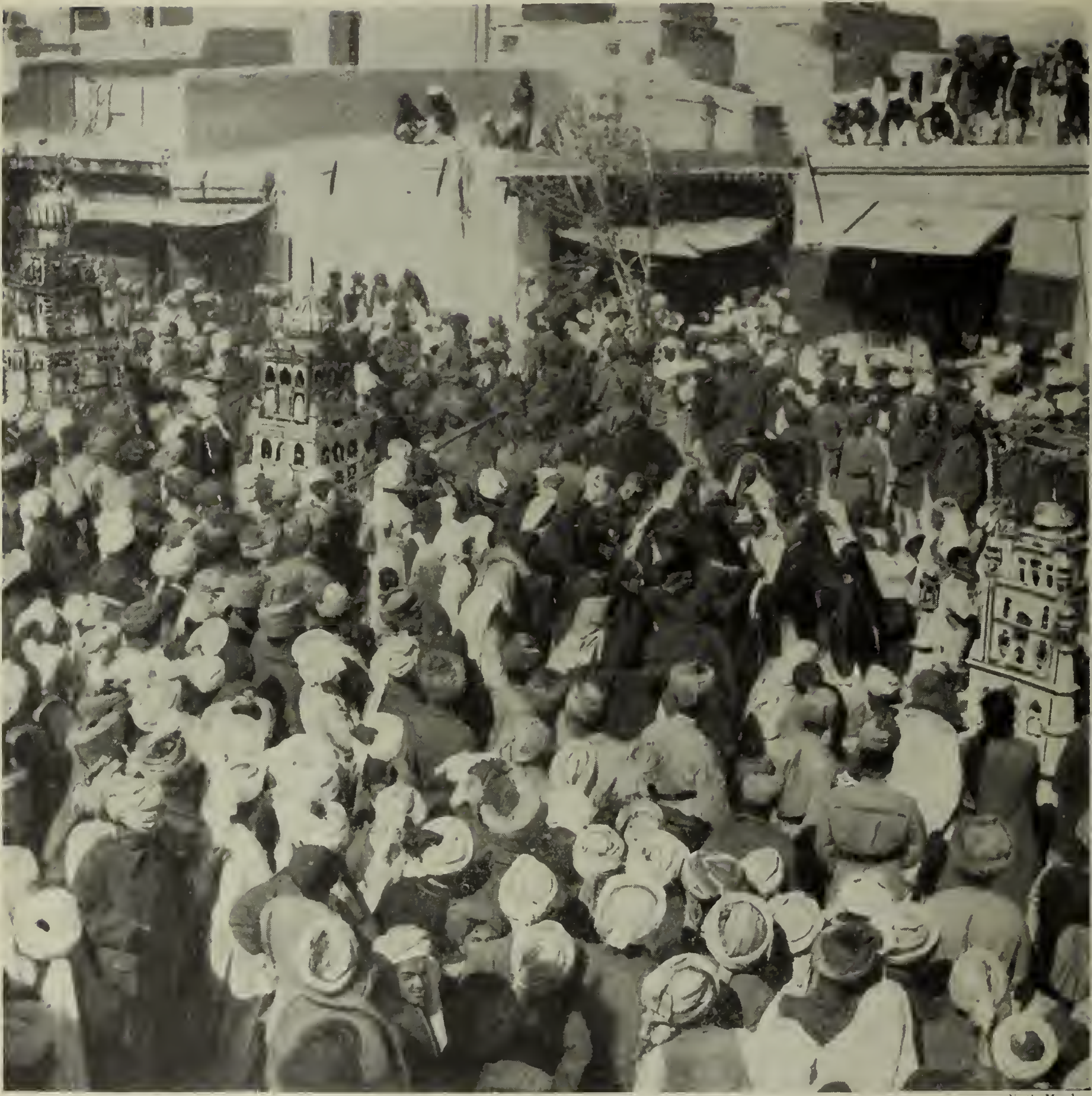
WAR HORSE OF THE MARTYR HUSSEIN

The horses that figure in the Moharram Passion Play represent the steeds on which Hussein and his followers were mounted when they were massacred. On one is placed the martyred hero's turban. The animals are richly caparisoned, their trappings studded with miniature arrows. Hussein's horse is here seen being taken to the public square at Moharram time.

Gradually, as the days near the tenth of the month, the degree of 'mournfulness' increases. Every night meetings are held in the mosques, in the halls of wealthy citizens, even in public caravanserais, where Rozah Khan, or a sect of priests who recite different versions of the Battle of Martyrs, sing melodiously but pathetically of the day on which the Prophet's grandson was killed at Kufa. To the Shiites, attendance at these gatherings ranks on a par with prayer meetings.

USUALLY at the close of the afternoon prayer, and often at night, hundreds are trekking to the well-lit mosque. Rich men clad in big fur coats, the poor wrapped in coarse homespun, they come slish-sloshing, walking, tumbling, wading through snow, up winding streets. Women move in droves, holding on to their babies or the voluminous cloaks around them. They come almost sobbing, and they are earnest listeners as they sit row upon row before the altar.

At last the Reciter of sad poems mounts the altar. 'It is a strange story,' he says amidst intense silence. 'Aye! it is a sad and lamentable compensation for valour and devotion that warriors of such blue blood as Hussein were slain!' The whole gathering bursts out in a chorus of loud weeping and wailing. 'Aye! Aye!' they shriek in their tears. 'It was cruel, that fate that befell the bone and blood of the Prophet himself,' and they cry on. 'It is time,' again says the Priest-Reciter, raising his voice above the general din, 'It is time to listen and to shed tears of blood about the tragedy of Hussein.' He sings, he recites, he is depicting the way in which the slayer of Hussein drew his sword; now he sits showing how the Martyr tried to extract the arrow from the throat of his infant son; now again the reciter throws his handkerchief over his turban, acts the part of Zobeida, the sister of the Martyr: and then unveiling himself signifies the agony of the



V. S. Manley

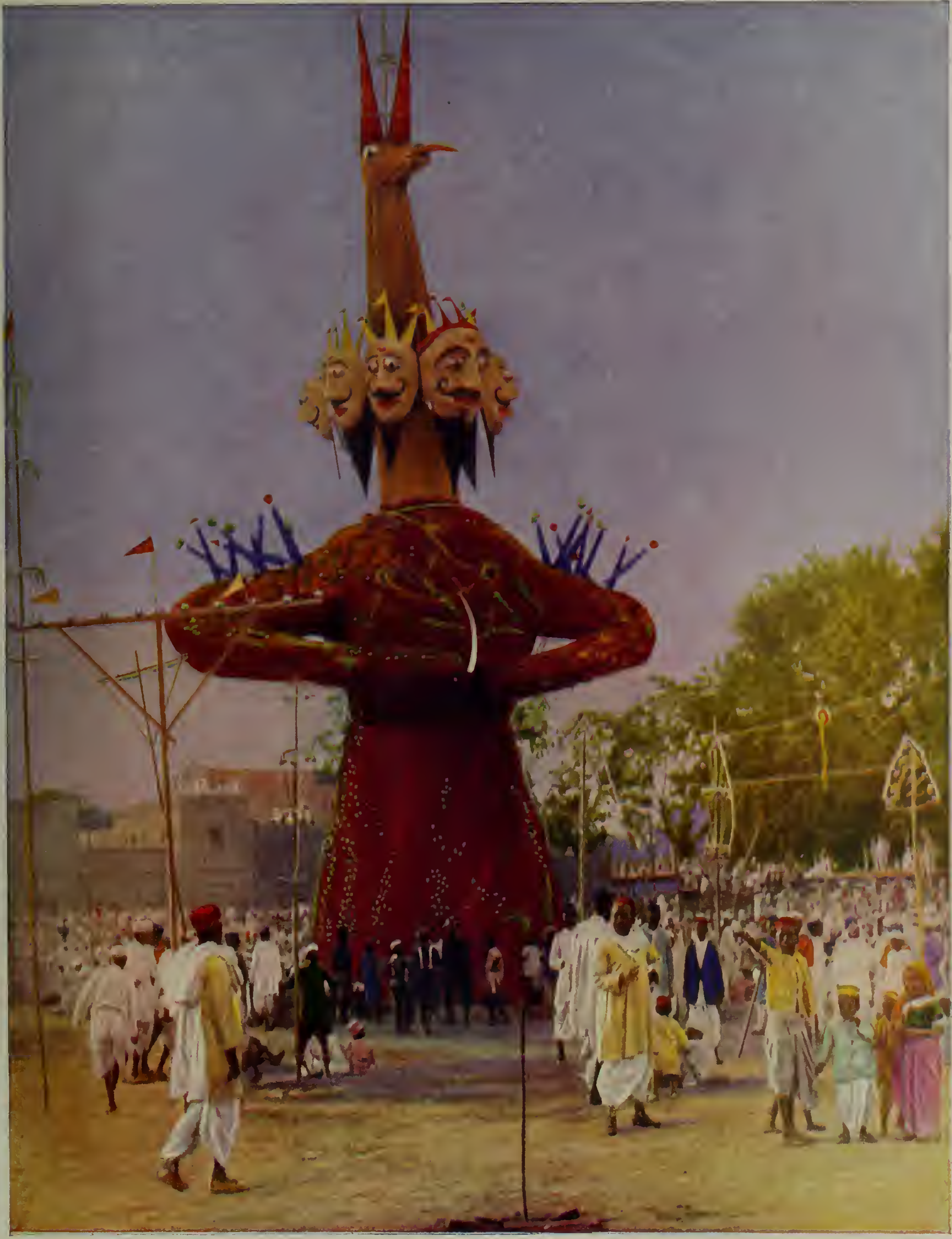
PAGEANTRY OF THE PROCESSION OF TOMBS OF THE MARTYRS AT THE MOHARRAM

A notable feature of the Moharram celebrations is the carrying in procession of model tombs of the martyrs. These tazias, or tabuts, as they are called, are made by craftsmen of the different trade guilds, and on the tenth and last day of mourning are conveyed to the chief square from the various districts, followed by hired wailing women and surrounded by excited crowds. The tazia procession here seen is at Quetta, in Baluchistan. A closer view of a tazia appears in the opposite page.

lady when she finds that the thirst of infants was being satisfied by the tears of women as the enemy will not give them water.

The imaginative power with which these scenes are depicted is astonishing. Not a single person in the whole gathering is in his normal state of mind. Some have fainted through beating upon their breasts, others have utterly exhausted themselves, there are red rings round their tear-dimmed eyes, and yet at every additional recitation they continue to wail loud and long, men's hoarse weeping and coughing blending with the shrill wailing of women. It is past the midnight hour when they all trek back home to snatch what little sleep they can, only to rise to another day of mourning. And thus these side-shows, so to speak, of the great Passion Play go on from day to day till the tenth of Moharram, when the play is enacted in its full pageantry.

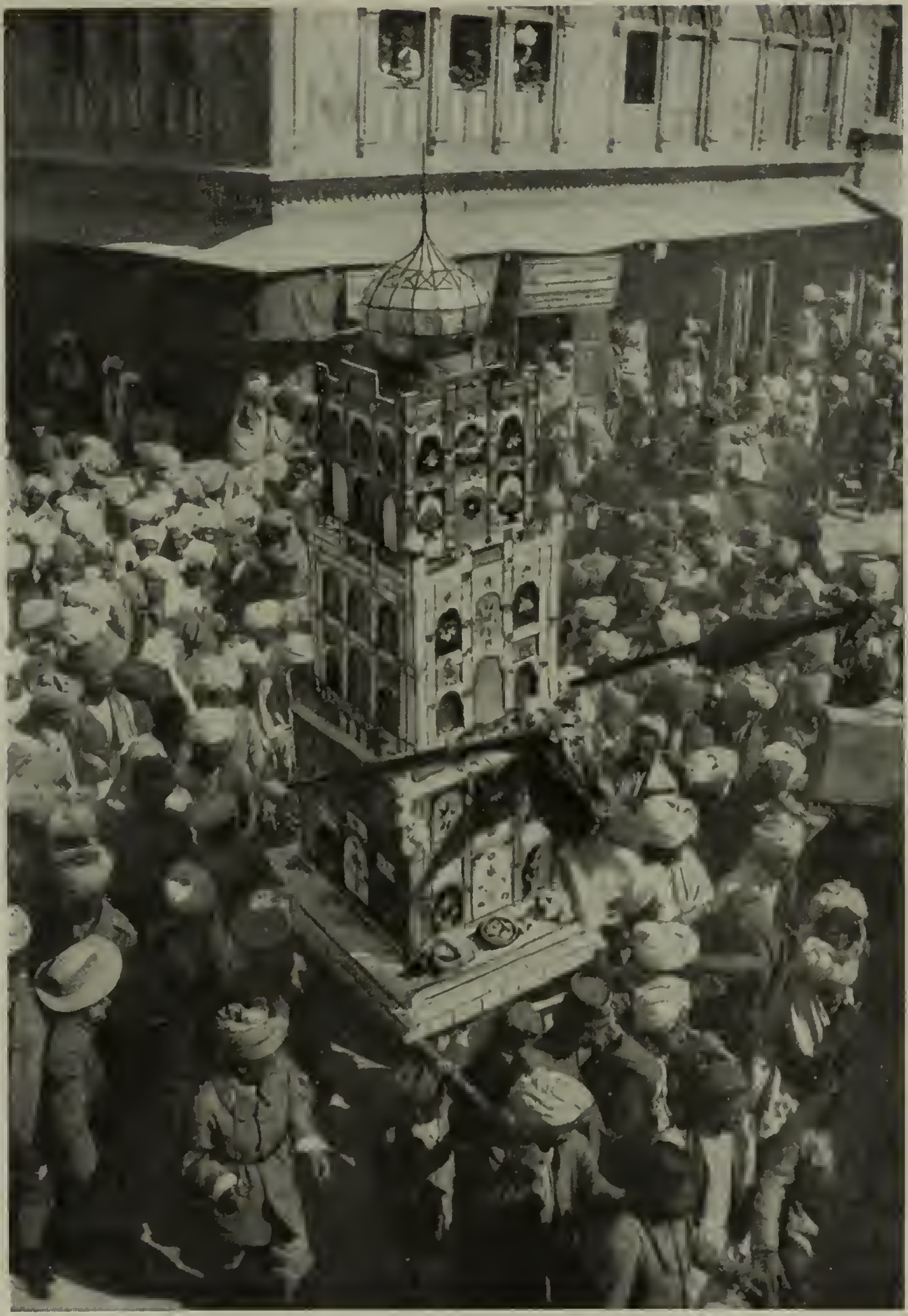
The tenth and last day of mourning dawns upon the Shiites and Sunnis alike in Asia with the gloom of the occasion, for the great procession takes place this day. Virtually every person, male and female, takes part in it. Every shop in the town is closed, thousands have already betaken themselves to sit at



E.N.A.

VILLAIN OF A HINDU PASSION PLAY SLAIN BY AN ARROW OF FIRE

The burning of gigantic effigies is the concluding feature of the Hindu Passion Play Ram Lilla. The figure here seen, at Cawnpore, represents Ravana, the demon king of Ceylon, whom Rama eventually slays. Others are erected of Ravana's brother and his son. This figure of Ravana was made of bamboo covered with paper of various colours and filled with fireworks, and was set alight by Rama, who shot a blazing arrow into its vitals. The ashes of Ravana are regarded as sovereign against every kind of disease.



V. S. Manley

RELIQUARY OF THE PROTAGONIST OF A PASSION PLAY

The tazias, or miniature mausoleums of Ali, Hasan and Hussein, are made of pasteboard, bamboo and tinsel. Inside them are placed lumps of mud to represent the mortal remains of the martyrs. They are venerated for the ten nights of the Moharram. After they have served their appointed purpose they are committed to a river, if possible, or else buried.

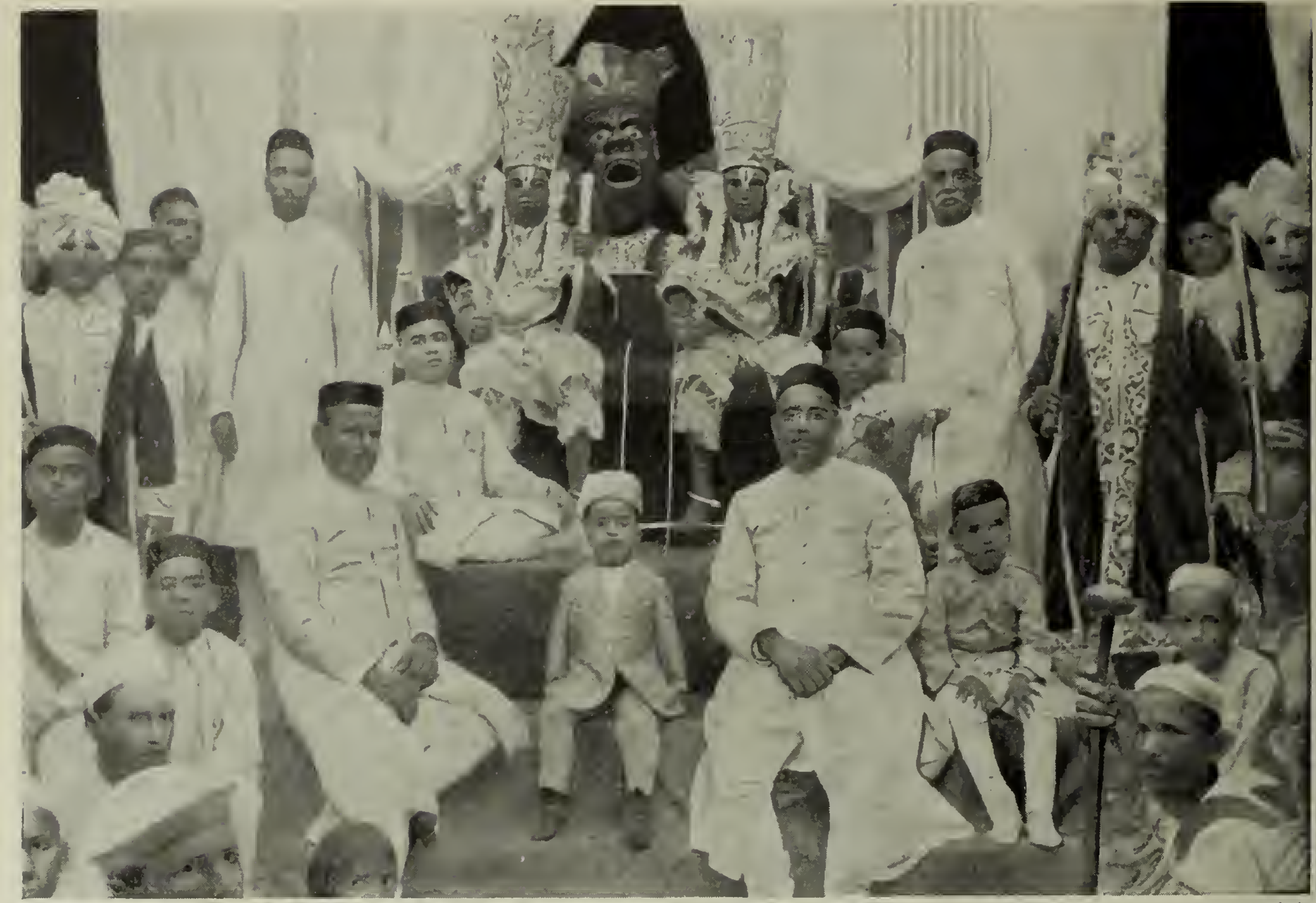
the wayside where the procession is to pass; the more devout and able-bodied men, having stripped themselves to the waist, stand before the portable wooden structure representing the bier of the Martyr in their district of the town.

At about nine in the morning the 'tazias,' or the above-mentioned wooden biers, are seen making the round of the city. From their different localities they are converging to the principal square of the town, whence they are to proceed toward the last resting-place of the biers. All along the route additional men are swelling the number of those who are carrying the several tazias to the central meeting place, till the aggregate might well go over 30,000 men.

Every hundred yards or more is a station for the procession, poems of lamentation are recited, men beat upon their breasts, women who watch from the balconies take up the wailing and are left crying as the tazia moves on. Here and there, especially in India, youths may engage in fencing and sword dances, representing the soldiers of the Martyr; and at wayside booths sherbet or water is distributed free to the people, an act which carries much religious merit in the play, as the followers of the Martyr were denied water by their foes at the battle of Kerbela.

A little before noon the tazias from different localities enter the main square of the town. Anon, thud-thudding of small drums is heard, various stations where tazias are to be deposited are cleared, a passage is made for the chief procession. First come some half-a-dozen boys clad in black, thumping upon small drums; they are followed by men bearing banners depicting the arms of the Martyr; and now comes a band of big men, stripped to the waist, spiked chains, thorns, heavy horseshoes hanging round their necks, their heads shaven, beating upon their bared chests with chains. Blood is often seen to gush out with each blow as they raise their hands in unison and call in loud chorus: 'Hasan, Hussein, Hasan, Hussein,' the names of the two martyred brothers.

This is followed by a number of camels and mules purporting to be the pack animals of the Martyr's camp. A hundred horses bedecked in fine shawl pieces, and others led by their riders, pass next in the procession. After that come thirty-five camel riders who are supposed to represent the female, infant and aged members of Hussein's family, then representations of seventy-two bodies of those slain at the battle, seven heads on lances escorted by



GAILY CLAD CAST OF THE RAM LILLA, A PASSION PLAY OF THE HINDUS

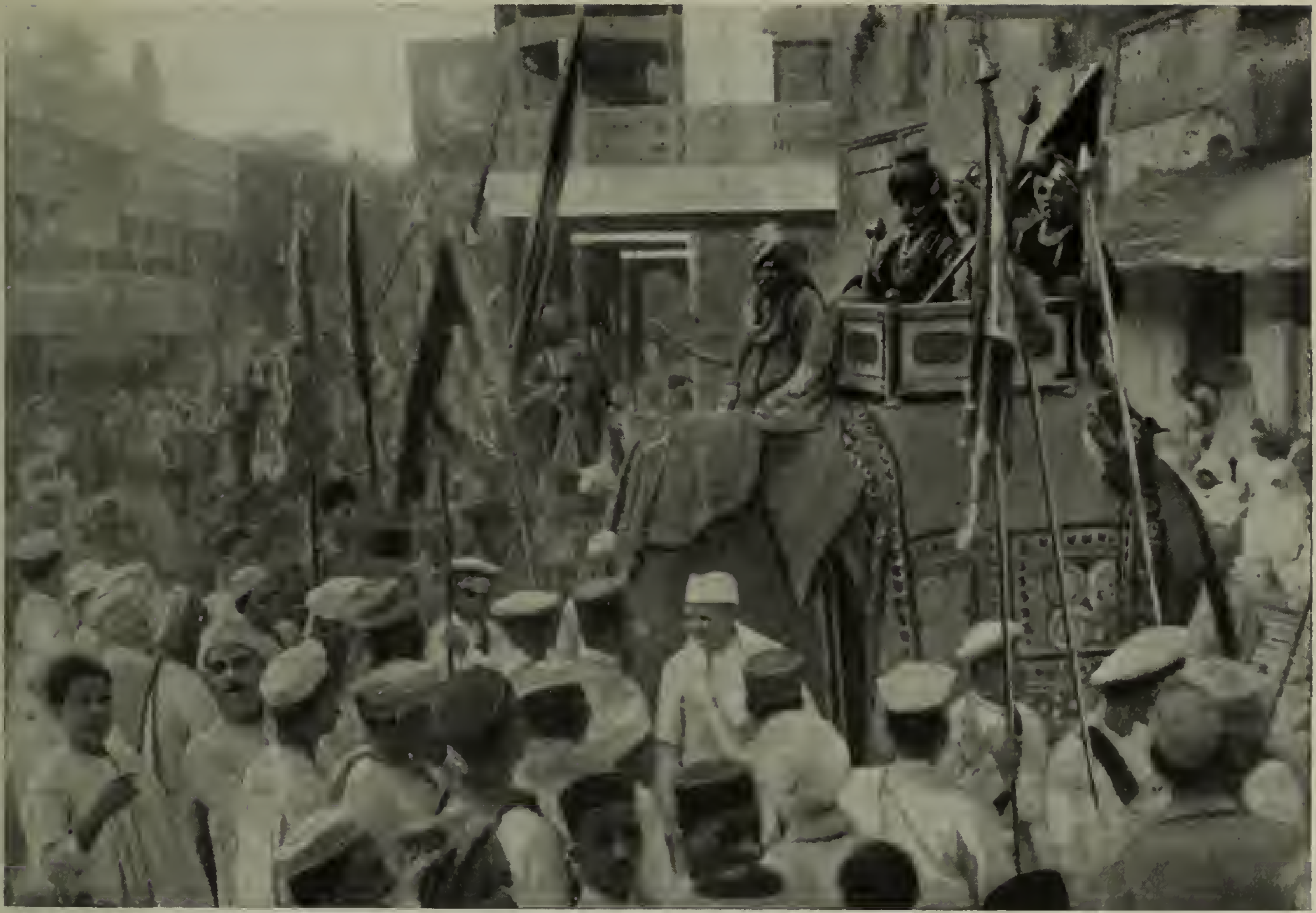
The great Hindu Passion Play, Ram Lilla, takes place on the tenth day of the Durga puja, a festival in honour of Siva's consort, at the time of the autumnal equinox. The drama tells of the trials and adventures of Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, and his wife, Sita, from the time of their exile. It is performed in the open air to large audiences. The group of actors in the Ram Lilla here seen is at Cawnpore. Note the two boy performers in ancient Hindu dress

horsemen: the heads are represented by large lemons. The horse of the Chief Martyr is led at this end of the procession, and last of all comes Hazrat Abbas, the standard bearer, with eighty water-carriers.

The passion of the mourners is at its highest at this juncture. Men form into small groups; at a given signal a sea of arms shoots up in the air and descends upon the bared chests with a thud that can be heard like distant sea waves. Again and again the arms rise, and with increasing force and frequency the breasts are beaten, women wail, men stretch their chests and thud on them with great force. 'Hussein Chai-shud! What happened to Hussein?' one asks. 'Hussein Shaheed Shud! Hussein became a Martyr!' reply a thousand voices in unison, and then the arms rise high above their heads, now descending on their shaven heads, then on their breasts: and so it goes on till dusk.

As a result of excitement and exposure, fatal casualties are not infrequently reported after this Passion Play. For weeks together hospitals are full of those who are suffering from pneumonia and self-inflicted wounds, but as the drama has acquired a religious colour, the ill effects of the performance are cheerfully borne, indeed, are often courted. It is therefore obvious that without the exhibition of so extraordinary a spectacle, the only Passion Play of Islam could not have been kept at white heat for over a thousand years, as it remains to this day.

THE counterpart of this Moslem religious drama is to be found in the Hindu epic of Ramayana, the story having been laid many centuries before the Christian era. One of the greatest of Passion Plays of Hindu India is Ram Lilla, or the recounting of the exploits and hardships of Prince Rama, as described in the Ramayana. True to the Eastern turn of mind, to exalt a national hero into divinity, or at least to the status of a local saintship, which the practical genius of the author of Ramayana has done for Rama, and Firdausi of Persia for Rustam and Sohrab, many lesser singers of India have created other characters for Passion Plays; thus, for instance, we have Actions of Chaityanna, about the seventeenth century, Life of Sankaracharya, ninth century, down almost to such recent dates as the eighteenth century depicting the life work and trials of Sirajad-dowlah, but none has captured the imagination of the people more firmly than the episodes of the hero of the Ramayana, as shown in Ram Lilla.



E.N.A.

ELEPHANTS AND ACTORS IN THE DRESS PARADE FOR THE RAM LILLA

Before the performance of the Hindu Passion Play, the Ram Lilla, those who are going to take part in it parade the streets in their costumes. Elephants often figure in the procession, as here seen in Cawnpore, banners are carried, and there is much noise of drums and brass instruments. The play is enacted in an artless way, the effects being obtained by the simplest of devices. Thus, when Rama and his wife are banished they merely walk out of sight of the spectators into the jungle.

The story tells how the beloved Crown Prince Rama is banished to the jungle for fourteen years with his wife Sita; how his younger brother refuses to rule, but places Rama's shoes on the throne, and 'sitting under their shadow, he rules in the name of Rama till he returns' after his vow of fourteen years of exile is fulfilled; and how during this period of exile Sita is kidnapped by the 'Bad King' of Ceylon; how Rama, aided by Hanuman, the Monkey-General, invades Ceylon, slays Ravana, the Bad King, rescues Sita and lives happily ever after, so to speak.

Dramatised versions of this story are found in Siam and Cambodia, and, as shown in the chapter on Animal Dances of the East (pages 42–52), it is the favourite drama of the Wajang Wong in Java.

In Indian cities all these scenes are more or less grotesquely acted on the open air stage. You would see youths representing Rama, his wife Sita also, dressed in the early garb of the Hindus. They parade the streets, heading a procession and followed by drum beaters and players of brass bands. Later, they are shown taking leave of their subjects, and disappearing in a mango grove, as if on exile. The battle scene is depicted by hordes of men striking upon each other's bantoms, and war dances represent the conquest of Ceylon. Some men use masks of 'monkey faces,' thus forming the legions of the Monkey-General who helped Rama against Ravana. The Princess Sita is then tested for her chastity by 'walking through a blaze of fire,' and she having proved the integrity of her honour whilst captive in Ravana's power, boys sing her praises, conches are blown mightily, food is distributed to the performers; and finally the entire concourse of humanity follows Rama to an adjoining clearing in the jungle, where an enormous effigy of Ravana is erected, and Rama sets light to it. Whilst it burns the people sing, boys dance, and players stand in the glow of the crackling fire of burning Ravana till its ashes can be taken home as potions for curing all sorts of diseases from an eye-sore to malarial fever.

In the extensive land area stretching from eastern Bengal to China one notices dramatic performances which are acted within the precincts of the temples of local deities, who, according to the belief, must have been living personalities, and by their beneficence to the people or by some outstanding exploits in war were exalted to the rank of saints or even gods.

Sport & General Press

MASTER OF MYSTERIES IN A MALAY PASSION PLAY

The Mahomedan Malays have a curious form of Passion Play, in which a company of mystics slash each other with razor-edged swords and stick needle-pointed skewers into their bodies with impunity. These Sufic mysteries are performed by and under the guidance of one Khalifa Ibrahim, here seen, and are said to be achieved in a state of ecstasy.

But it is generally contended that in the countries of hither Eastern Asia, barring China and Japan, much of the drama falls into the category of spirit worship. It is, however, in China that we meet with examples of true Passion Plays.

Even during the time of Confucius, 500 B.C., ritualistic dramas were performed, at which wands and battle axes were brandished by actors, which clearly shows that in origin the Passion Plays of the Chinese must be war plays, or at least arise out of the general human propensity to exalt and to honour the heroes of war.

THAT such dramas cannot have a lasting hold upon the people without a goodly mixture of religious thought is evinced by the fact that in the Chinese plays, as in those of the Moslems and the Hindus, the pious association of 'holiness of these war adventures' was introduced, so that no one in Persia considers the Moharram as a mere battle of Kerbela, any more than the invasion of Rama is regarded as only to rescue his wife, Sita; as indeed is not the case with the career of Kuan Ti, the God of War, who during the period of the Chinese romantic chivalry of A.D. 220 took such a noble part in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms: so that it will be seen that the heroes of all these three plays, although human, were placed alongside the other saints of the several religions.

In such a drama as the God of War the performers are, as a rule, drawn from a professional class in Peking, the company often consisting of sixty men. No women are allowed to take a part, their rôles being played by men. Unlike the Indians and the Japanese, they use no masks, but artificial hair is often used to show the growth of beard. Quite in keeping with their national love of thoroughness, an actor has sometimes to memorise from one hundred to two hundred parts, in addition to undergoing a vigorous acrobatic training, and he has to acquire a very thorough knowledge of the historical background of the play.

An open-air stage is generally used for such a Passion Play. A large thatched pavilion is erected in an open field, planks are placed on the ground, prepared terrace-wise for seating accommodation of the spectators. The stage should face a shrine, so that the gods themselves may have a view of the performance.

From early morning crowds begin to gather at the stadium of the theatre; precisely at noon the play begins, and goes on till sunset. There is no raising of the curtain, as the stage is merely a raised platform with no scenic effect behind it. Presently a character appears and amid hushed silence tells the people whom he is representing. Then the orchestra begins to play, attendants stand in readiness with chairs, tables or even screens to bring up to the stage when the actor wants them to make his piece the more realistic. Another comes to play his part, and another; they sing, they dance, they show their skill at fencing, and it is not unusual to see water or tea handed up to an actor during the performance. As there is no dropping of the curtain, at the close of an act all the characters stand and then walk quickly round the stage in single file. A clash of cymbals brings the play to a close, and the story of the God of War thus continues to live in the heart of the Chinese, as do the exploits of Hussein in Persia, and of Rama or Krishna in Hindustan, for these Passion Plays of Asia have a deep-rooted association with the living religions of the East.

THE VINTAGE AND ITS CELEBRATION

THIS chapter must be regarded as supplementary to others in this section which describe harvest customs in various parts of the world. Many of the practices associated with the vintage and its celebration have today fallen largely into abeyance, but viticulture is an occupation of ever-widening distribution, with customs and methods that lend themselves to picturesque description.

ACCORDING to the Roman historians the Gauls were first tempted to make their incursions into Italy because of their desire to possess the grape and the wine that was made from it. Italy, indeed, may be regarded as the homeland of the grape. It may be asserted as historically true that the culture of the vine in Italy was anterior to the earliest Greek immigration. Italy was the ' wine land ' to which the old Greek voyagers were lured.

The introduction of the worship of Bacchus, who came to be regarded as the ' Wine God,' followed many generations after the culture of wine in Italy, and the rites still associated with the harvests of the vineyards have probably nothing to do with that cult which has linked up Dionysus and Osiris. The celebrations of the wine harvest are indeed simply the old vernal rites applied to the grape instead of the corn.

When recently Mussolini started a ' Grape Week ' in Italy in order to encourage the great national industry he invoked the sanction of those modern priests—the representatives of the medical profession. It was proved conveniently that to eat grapes was to ensure immunity from most of the ills to which flesh is heir. The success of this propaganda was immense, but the great Fascist leader, in making use of these artful aids for national prosperity, was merely imitating a very much more ancient Italian law-giver. That wine should be made properly and the harvest of grapes not wasted, the Roman priests promulgated, as a law of King Numa, that men should present in libation to the gods no wine that came from uncut grapes—just as to introduce the beneficial practice of drying the grain, they prohibited the offering of grain undried.

When the grape was subsequently introduced into France, Germany, and the Spanish peninsula—the grape belt, oddly enough, follows no definite parallel of latitude—the practices to which the sanction of religion or superstition had been given were continued, and the ancient vernal rites associated with them—the invocation of the spirit of fertility—were handed down through the ages

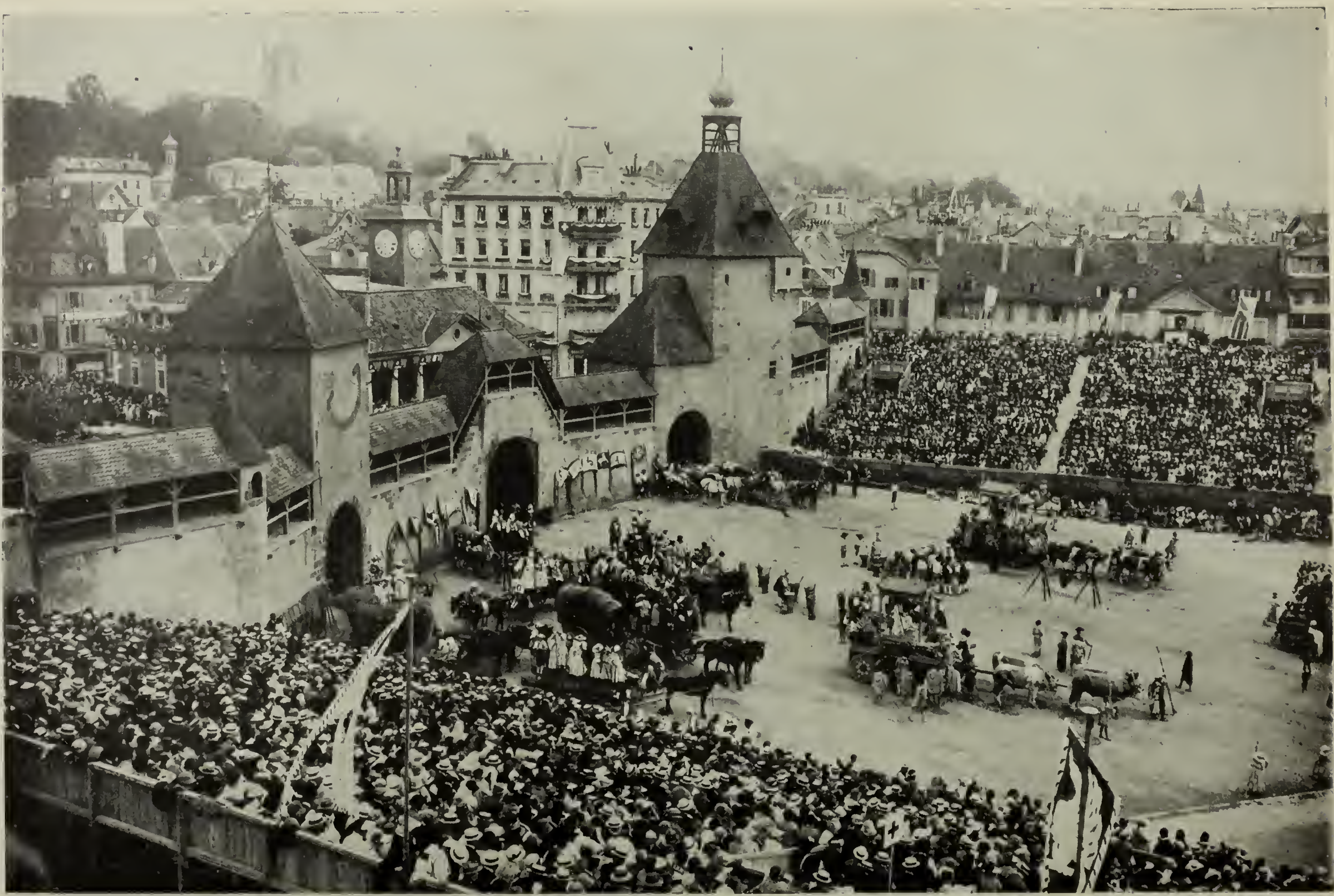
If, then, during the last week of any September or the first week of October you should happen to pass through a village in the district of Bordeaux, where what English people call ' claret ' is made, you would be surprised to see the shops shut and the houses empty. Should you be curious enough to inquire the reason, you would learn that all the people of the village were occupied in the ' vendange,' that is, in harvesting the grapes of the vineyards. Probably you would then say, ' Let us go and see them at work.' You would not have to go far, and this is what you would see.

AMONG the vines, stretching like a wavy green sea as far as sight can travel, are somewhere about a hundred people. At first you only notice a few ; most are hidden by the vine-rows. Each row is allotted to one picker—man, woman or child. Each picker carries a basket and a pair of clippers. They snip off the bunches of grapes (compared by some to ' beads of sapphire,' by others to ' smooth ovals of powdered amethyst '), letting them fall into the basket. This they do deftly and at what seems to the visitor a great speed. When a basket is full, a young man who is moving about with a metal carrier on his back is called for it to be emptied into his receptacle. When that is full, he pours out the grapes into a big

Wide World

EIGHTEEN CENTURIES BRIDGED BY THE VINE

The unquenchable vitality of Rome, 'The Eternal City,' finds curious illustration in this incident in the vintage celebrations of 1930—grapes being bought and sold in Trajan's market as they certainly were bought and sold there 1800 years earlier. Trajan also built the road across the Pomptine marshes, whence came Setinum, the noblest Italian wine of imperial times.



Mondiale

POPULAR REJOICINGS AT VEVEY WHEN THE GRAPE HARVEST HAS BEEN GATHERED IN

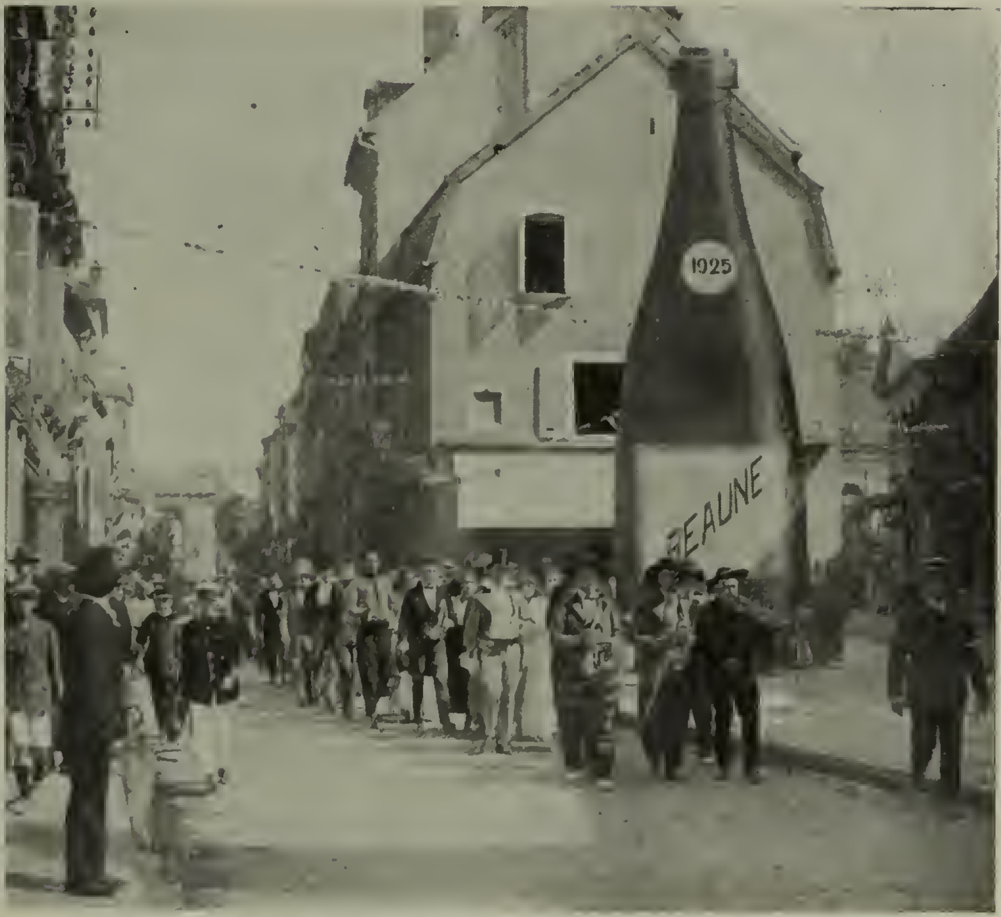
One does not associate Switzerland especially with the production of wine, but on the lower altitudes vines and fruit trees flourish and in the southern cantons a palatable wine is produced, though, with the exception perhaps of Malvoisie—of which, however, there is not very much—it is too thin to be suitable for export. There are many vineyards on the hill slopes around Vevey, a town with a considerable trade in wine and cheese, and the vintage is made the occasion for a festival organized on a large scale by a society called L'Abbaye des Vignerons. The festival is not held at regular intervals, but it provides an exceedingly picturesque and well stage-managed spectacle which attracts great crowds from far and near.

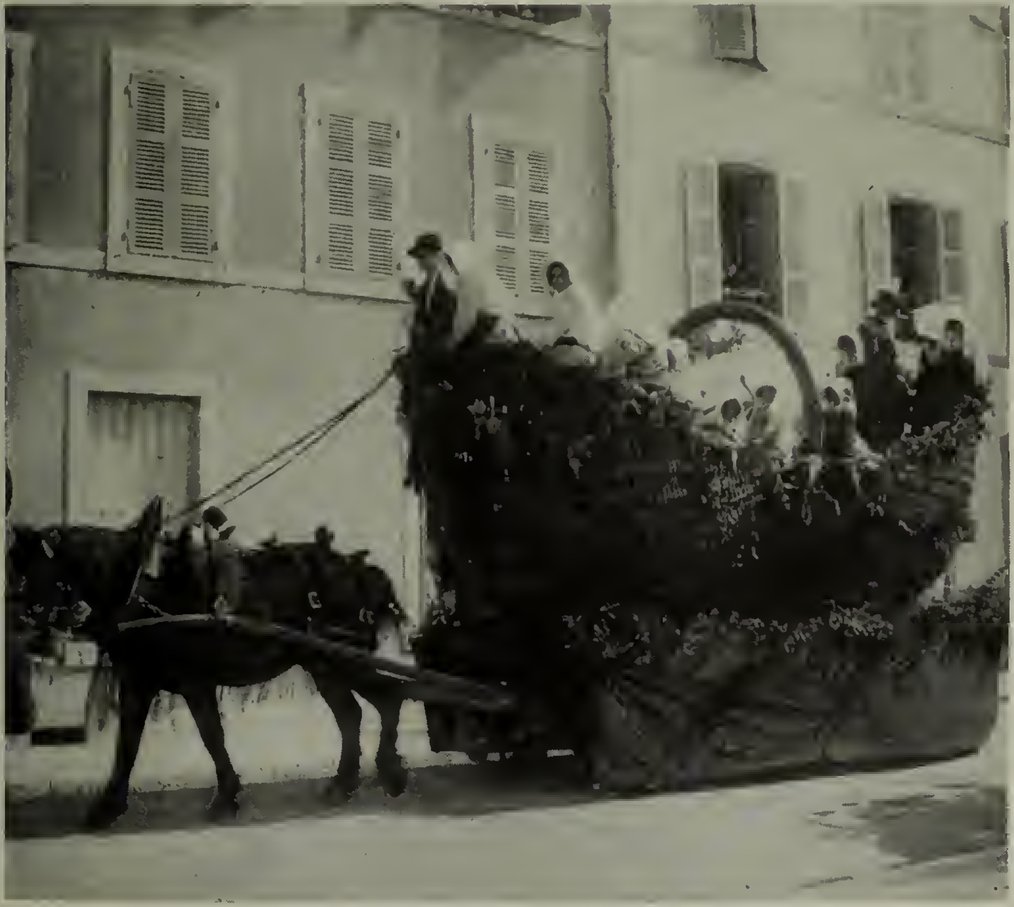
wooden cask in a wagon. They are packed into this as tightly as they will go. The full barrels go off to where the wine-press and the wine-vats are.

As the pickers do not all work at equal speed, some arrive at the ends of their rows before others have finished picking. The quick ones now wait for the rest. Not until all are assembled is a start made for the next part of the vineyard that is to be attacked. They march off to it in good order, and all begin together once more at the beginnings of the new rows.

Just after we arrive a halt is called for midday dinner. This is brought to the pickers in a cart. Time is too precious during the 'vendange' to be spent in walking home and back again. Nine hours a day the work must go on, seven days a week (beginning after nine o'clock mass on Sunday); only an hour can be allowed for the break at noon, not so long as French workers usually allow themselves, whether they are in the fields or in offices or shops. The meal in the vineyard consists of an excellent vegetable soup, meat and potatoes, bread, and of course wine. Not the wine which will be made from the grapes they are picking. That will be marked with a name famous among drinkers of claret and sold at a good price. Their wine is perhaps the result of a second pressing, or it may be made from the grape stalks. It is thin and wholesome; it has a pleasant flavour, too.

Care is taken to prevent any stalks being pressed with the grapes. A machine separates them. The grapes are then pressed by machinery and the juice is pumped into a vat. There it stays for three weeks or so, gradually fermenting. Then it is piped into huge casks, to remain in them for three years. Only then is it ready for bottling and to be

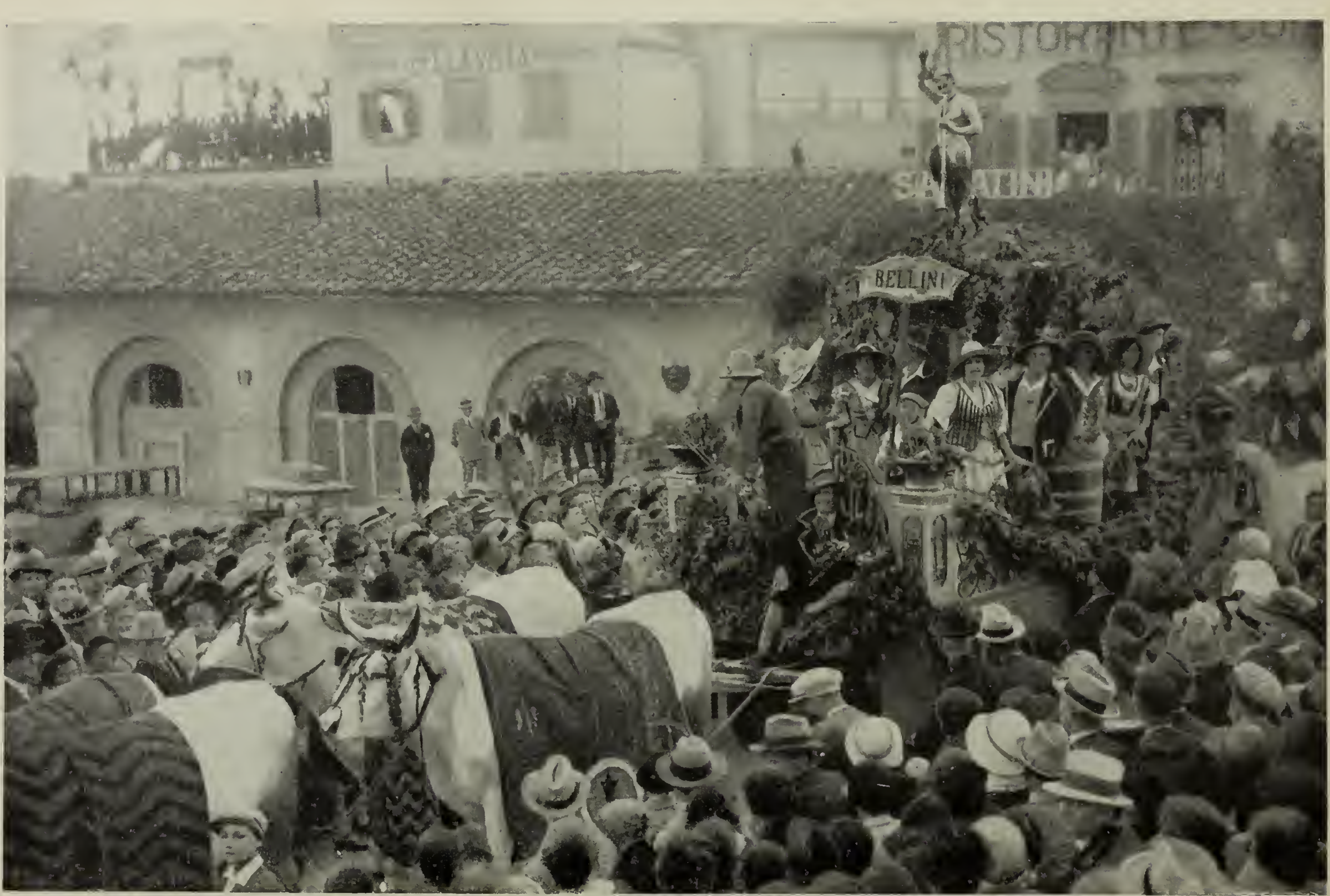




E.N.A.

VINE-DRESSERS 'PASSING THE BOTTLE' AT BEAUNE

Beaune is the heart of the Burgundy wine country and every year an auction of the finest wines produced in the Beaune vineyards is held in the Hôtel Dieu, the prices realized determining the price of other vintages of the Côte d'Or. The vintage celebrations include a procession, spectacular items being a gigantic wine bottle and a vintner's basket filled with grape gatherers.



The Times

'EAT MORE GRAPES!' TRIUMPH OF ITALY'S CAMPAIGN TO PROMOTE A HOME INDUSTRY

Viticulture for wine making has always been a great national industry in Italy, but in order to stimulate its still further development Mussolini enlisted the co-operation of the medical profession and started a popular movement in favour of eating grapes. The grape cure is recommended by the faculty in cases of intestinal and pulmonary trouble, from one to eight pounds of grapes being taken daily. Mussolini's propaganda met with immense success, and in 1930 there was a revival of vintage festivals throughout the country. The festival at Impruneta, near Florence, was organized on a great scale. There was a procession of beautifully decorated cars drawn by oxen and, later, dancing in the streets, and visitors were regaled with fruit from the vineyards.

placed on the tables of those who can afford to drink it. From this estate of 150 acres, all vineyards, 150,000 bottles are sent away. A thousand bottles to an acre—that sounds pretty good. If the wine is bought by a wholesaler at half-a-crown a bottle, that is a fair price. (In restaurants it would be sold for six or seven shillings.) And that fair price would bring in £125 for every acre's produce. Well, reckon up what it costs to tend and manure and harvest the vines. You can then understand why the grower, if he nets a clear ten per cent. profit, thinks he has done well.

Usually the whole produce of a vineyard is bought by a wine dealer before the grapes have been picked, but the buyer never samples the wine made from them before the end of the year. The owner of the vines however, always invites his friends to taste the unfermented wine as soon as the harvest is over, and as they turn it on their tongues they speculate as to whether it will be a 'great wine,' one of the celebrated vintages which are treasured by connoisseurs

'The Times'

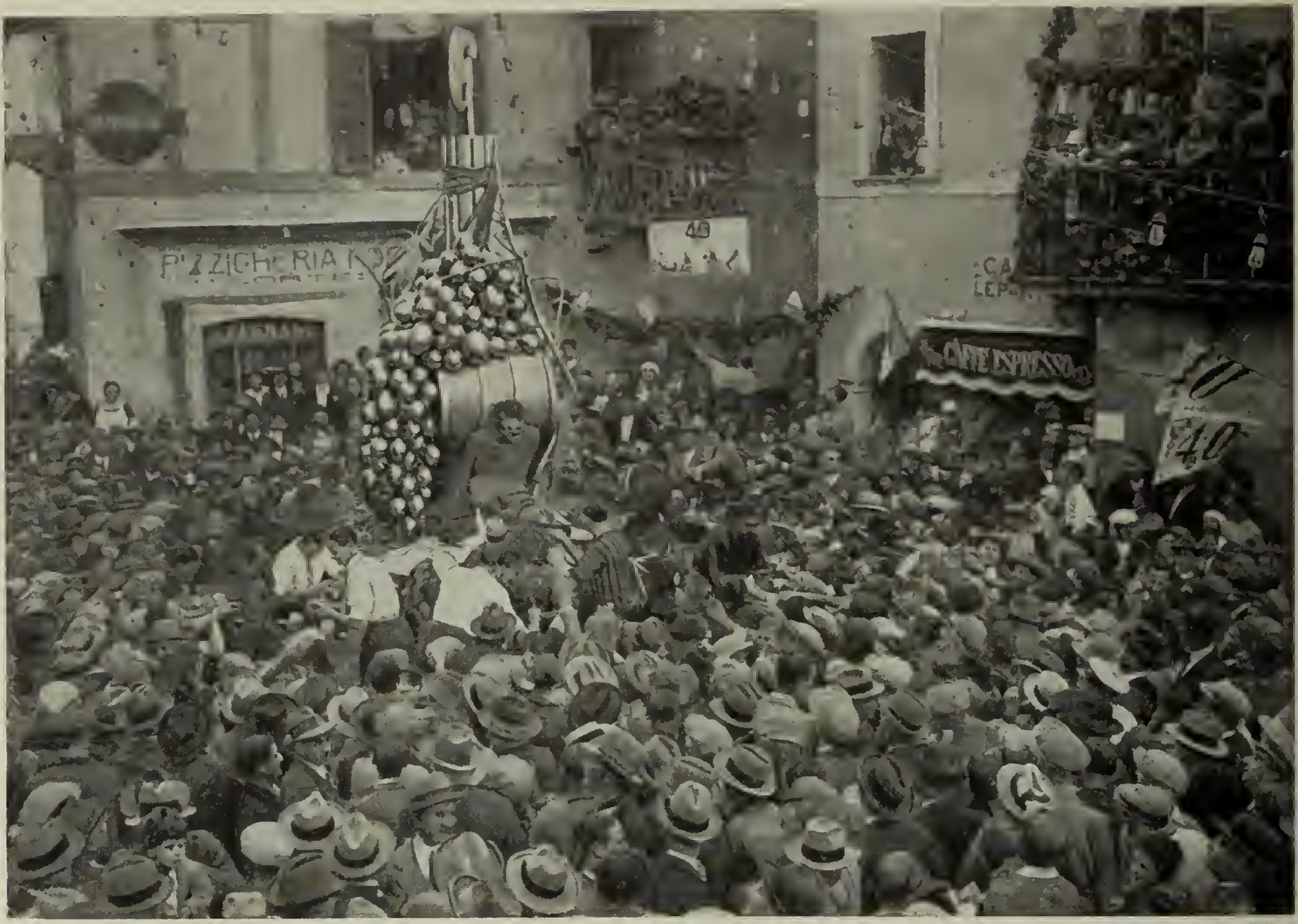
FLORENTINE RIVAL FOR HEIDELBERG'S TUN

An outstanding feature in the grape festival at Impruneta was an enormous vat from which, after the procession shown in the opposite page, wine was distributed free to all comers. It was attended to and danced round by bevies of pretty women wearing national costume and shaking tambourines In Italy wine is almost always drunk from the cask, and not bottled

When the official picking is over the vineyards are then open to all who care to glean (or in English West-country speech to 'leaze') the grapes that remain. No matter how sharp the pickers' eyes are, some small bunches are sure to have been left on the vines. As soon as the drum is beaten through the villages to signify that the regular 'vendange' has finished, all can have whatever they can find. And after the gleaning come the harvest-home' merry-makings and feasts—if the yield of grapes has been plentiful. Should there have been hailstorms to damage them when they have ripened, or an early frost to nip them in their infancy—should the dreaded phylloxera disease or some noxious insect have attacked the plants, then the autumn is a melancholy time. Prosperity has turned its fickle glance away from the vineyard owners. The whole district suffers. But after a good harvest everyone feels inclined for festivities. There is dining and dancing, supping and singing. Those who have worked so hard in the vineyard feel they have earned the right to enjoy themselves. All through the region there is rejoicing over the gathering-in of the goodly fruits of the earth.

Within thirty or forty miles of Bordeaux city the most famous of the wine properties lie. At the entrance to the district of St. Julien there is a board which calls upon all who pass by to salute the ancient and celebrated home of this well-known brand of claret. Near by are the châteaux of Médoc, Larose, Latour, Pauillac and Léoville, Margaux and Canterac. The very names kindle the imagination of those who have cultivated their taste in wine. If they could see the gathering of the grapes on a hot autumn day in this beautiful country, they would appreciate the 'bouquet' and the bottled sunshine of a good vintage all the more.

It is true that not all the wine sold under the names which have just been mentioned comes from the districts near Bordeaux But in France it is now an offence to sell wine with a fraudulent description, and there is far less deception of this nature in England than there used to be. One cannot be quite as sure as the buyers of Bordeaux wine were in the fourteenth



E.N.A.

MARINO'S FAMOUS FOUNTAIN YIELDS WINE INSTEAD OF WATER

Wine making is one of several industries that bring prosperity to Marino, a little country town some seven or eight miles south-east of Rome. At the public festival which celebrates the gathering in of the grapes from the vineyards on the surrounding Alban hill the sculptured figures of Moors that give the famous town fountain its name are utilised to support on their shoulders a gilded barrel topped by a colossal bunch of grapes and spouting wine by the gallon.

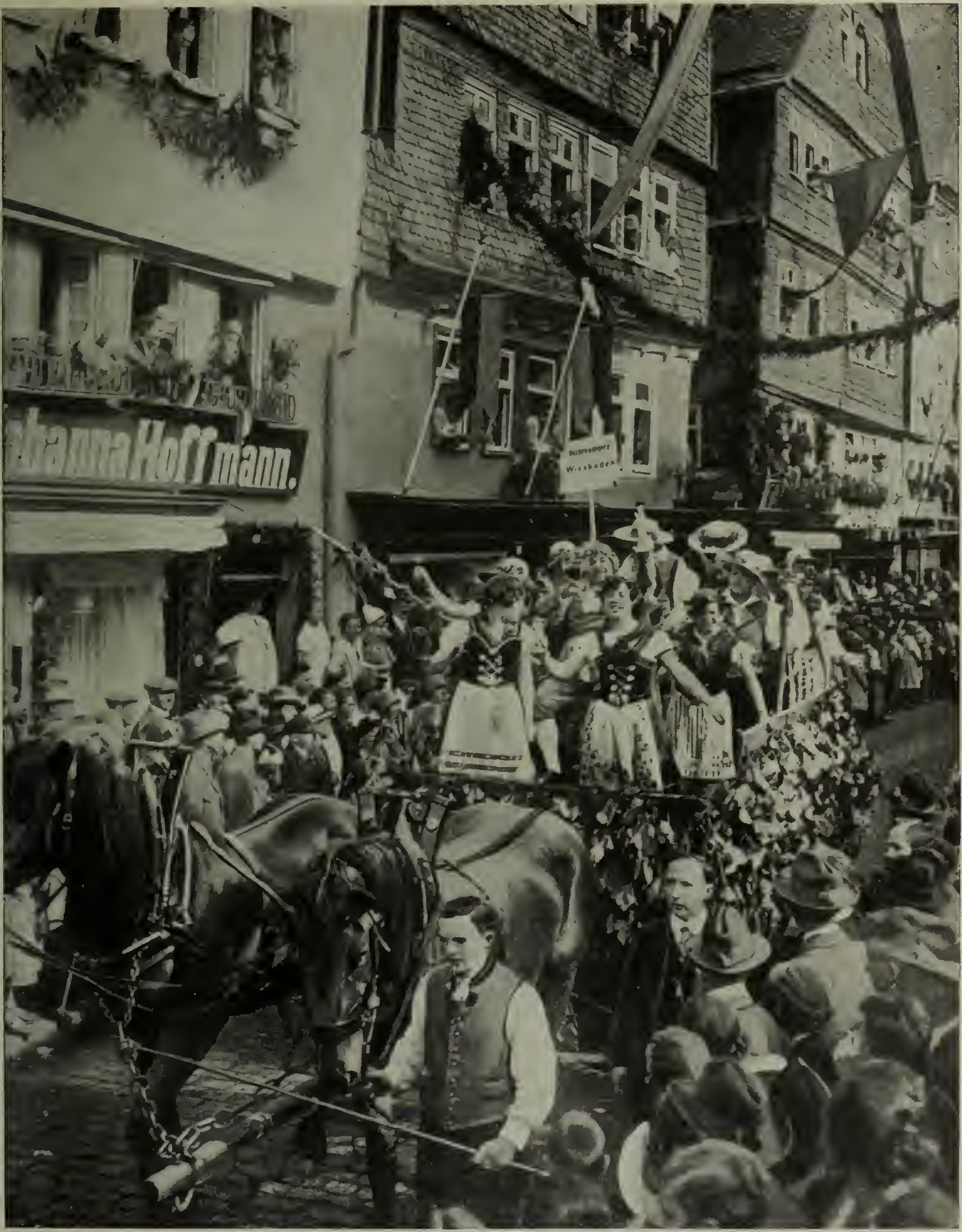
century that it really is what it calls itself. As many as two hundred English ships, according to Froissart, went up the Gironde in that age to bring back cargoes of the wine of which the quality was already renowned. One would like to have seen the grapes being picked and pressed then, and to be able to compare old methods with new.

PROBABLY the fourteenth-century wine makers made their claret in much the same way that the farmers in North Italy follow when they are making wine for their own household use. You can see them still doing it, even in the streets of Padua. Here on a hot September morning, the sun so fierce that you bless the builders of the arcaded streets which afford shelter from its burning rays, we come upon a large cart with three men in it, dancing vigorously. Why they dance appears from the thin stream of pale red liquor which runs out at the back of the cart into a tub set to catch it. Climb on the wheel, look into the cart and you see a squelching mass of grapes in which the three pairs of bare feet go continually up and down.

'*Ecco, signor,*' says one of the smiling treaders, as he reaches out a leg purple with the blood of the vine, '*ecco, vino!*' ('Look, signor, look, wine!')

Wine it is, indeed, though at this stage it is not tempting. When it has fermented and been clarified, that will make all the difference; yet somehow one does not quite like the idea of drinking it even then. The fermentation cleanses away all dirt and nastiness, purifies like the process of boiling, but still . . ! However, this simple method is practised only on a small scale. The farmer makes his own wine thus, and the small innkeeper, and perhaps the impecunious landed proprietor who is far from wine-presses and other conveniences of our fastidious civilization. Wine that is to be sold in bottles is all made in the press. Yet the more ancient method is the more picturesque.

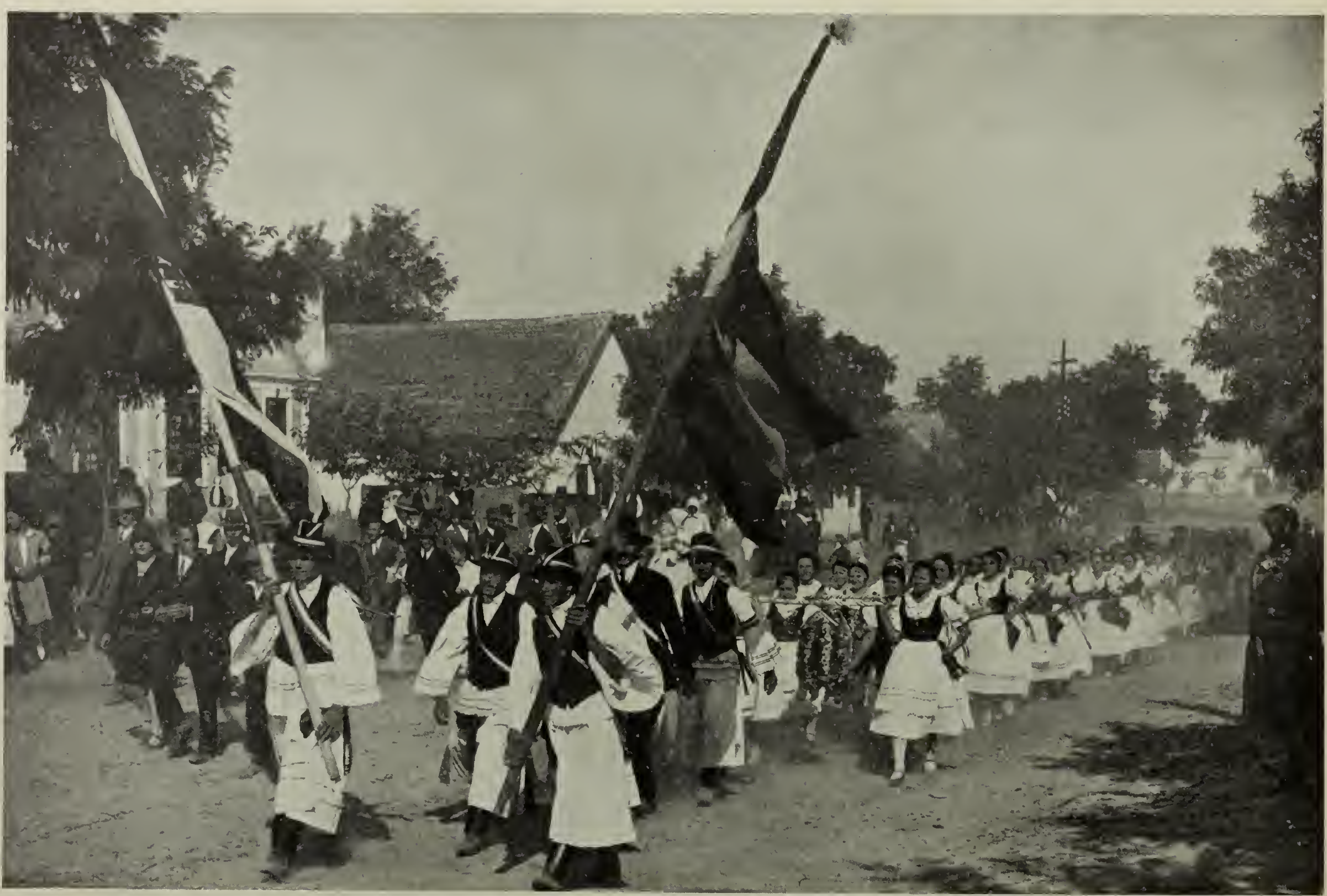
If you walk through the country round Padua, or round any north Italian town early in October, you find the operations of the grape harvest going on briskly. In the hillside villages carpenters are hammering away at huge tubs. The wine-presses are being scrubbed after their long rest of nearly twelve months in a dusty shed; their joints and screws are being tested and tightened up. The whole available population here, as in the Bordeaux country, turns out to pick the grapes. At every turn of the road you meet carts piled high with them, carts drawn by patient oxen with satin hides and large wondering



Central Press

HONOURING THE RHINE WINE WITH MEDIEVAL PAGEANTRY

Rhine wine has provided both the inspiration and the subject for many a famous lyric, and in the Prussian provinces where most of it is produced the vintage is rightly celebrated with general rejoicing. Herborn in Hesse-Nassau is one of the many old German towns with the medieval charm of whose streets century-old pageantry is perfectly in keeping. There is no suggestion of anachronism in the traditional costumes worn on such occasions. They are absolutely 'in the picture' here, in the vine-decked wagon with a peasant Bacchus pledging the world in a bumper.



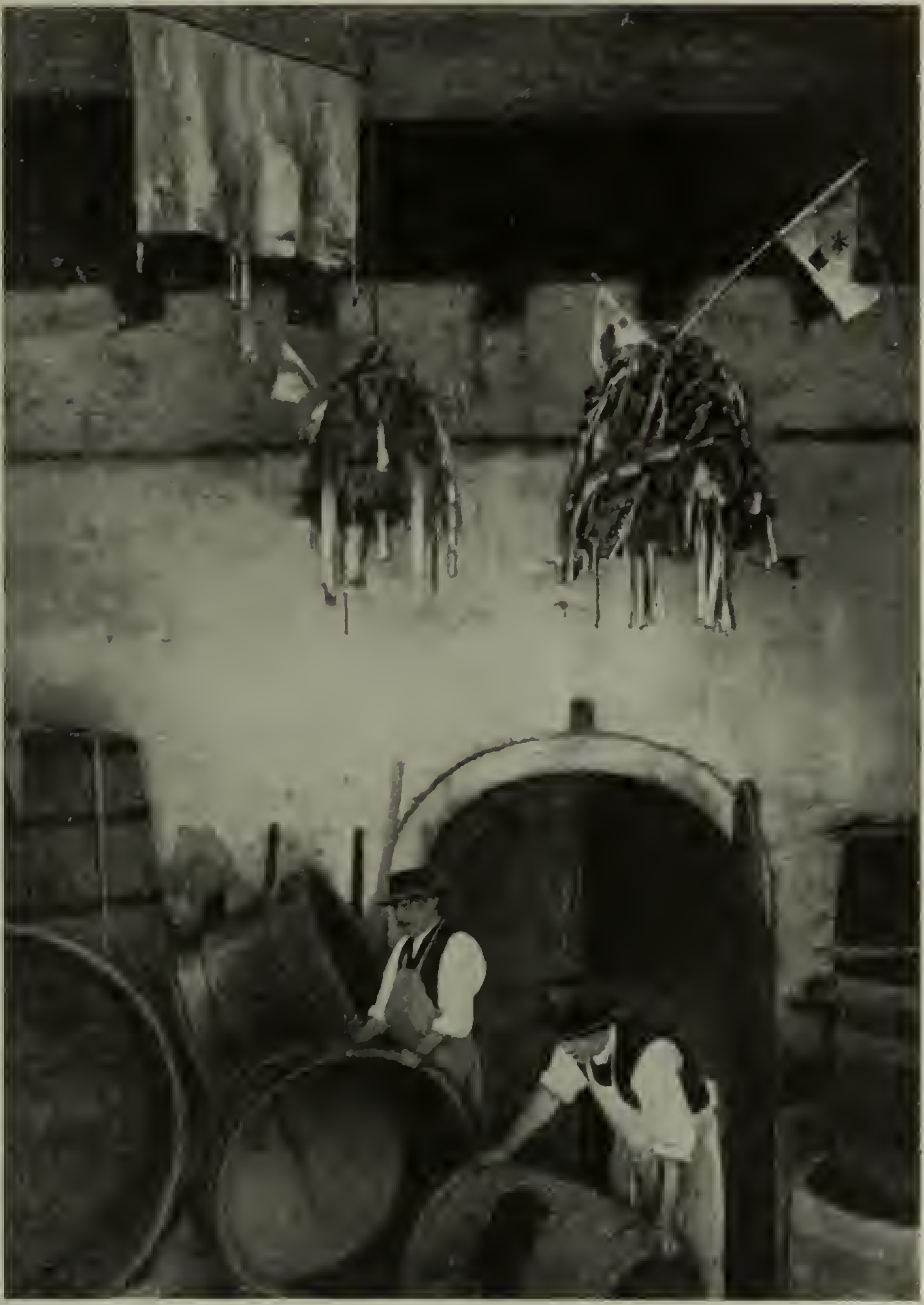
E.N.A.

PUBLIC REJOICING OVER THE GARNERING OF THE FIRSTFRUITS OF THE VINEYARDS

Hungary's most famous wine is Tokay, produced in the vineyards near the town of that name on the Upper Tisza ; but there are other rich vineyards in several parts of the country, as, for example, the Baja district in the south. Hungarian peasants are tenacious of their old customs, several of which are concerned with the vintage. One ordains the public exhibition of the firstfruits of the vineyards, and these are borne round the villages by girls wearing their traditional costumes, the procession being led by men, also in traditional attire, carrying the flags of their country. Wreaths of vine leaves and grapes are made by the grape gatherers and presented to the owner of the estate, to be preserved as described in the opposite page.

eyes and curly formidable horns that set you marvelling how they should bear the yoke so tamely. Not a hillside but has its terrace of vines, not a cottage without its pergola, not a garden that lacks its burden of grape-bearing; not a foot of cultivable space, it seems, from which the bounty of nature has not brought forth a gift to add to this plenteous harvesting. The very railway stations are festooned with graceful trails, and amid the leaves you can spy the ripe bunches that are to furnish afresh the station-master's cellar.

With all this profusion of the soil there goes, naturally enough perhaps, a pleasant carelessness on man's part which to a northern eye has an especial charm. Man seems to vie with nature in open-handed generosity. The vines are trellised even along the open roads. The purple clusters with their delicate bloom, the breath of autumn on them, hang there within reach of any hand that should think it worth while to pluck them. Yet they are safe enough. It is their very profusion that makes them so. After all, what if a few bunches should be picked? It is but a spoonful out of the sea!



E.N.A.

ANNUAL TROPHIES OF THE GRAPE-PICKING SEASON

A widespread harvest custom is to hang a bunch of corn or rice in the barn and so preserve the 'grain spirit' from one year to another. A vintage parallel to this custom is found in Hungary, where vine wreaths are hung in the wine cellars, remaining there until the next grape-picking, when they are replaced by fresb wreaths (see also page 745)

FARTHER south the sun has baked all colour out of the landscape. You see nothing but neutral tints of light brown earth and grey-green olive leaf. There the grapes gleam like jewels with fire in them against their monotone background. But here, in the north, everything is green, the grass is fresh again after being burnt up in June and July. The acacia still wears its green livery of spring. Down the road comes a handsome, brown-eyed, straight-featured young peasant. Feeling the sun, he stoops, and from the brook that hurries down the hill with a gurgling joy he dashes water over his brown hands and brown face and brown neck and so, with a smile and a 'Buon giorno,' he strides on again refreshed. He is going back to the vineyard. Let us follow him and take another look. See the grapes pass from the picker's hand to the baskets worn either on each shoulder, with a yoke across the chest, or else on the back. From the baskets they go into the huge tubs in the ox-carts, and from the tubs to the press or the treading-cart. These are the stages in the transformation of grapes into wine, white or red: white, if you separate skins and stalks and keep them out of the press; red, if the grapes go in whole. The Italians are inclined to be careless wine makers. They are not so particular as French or Germans about what gets into the press. Their wine is rougher, therefore, lacking the quality of silkiness that wine merchants extol.

When the press has yielded up its liquor into the tubs, then comes the work of casking and sending off the casks to purchasers or, if the wine is to travel far, filling one of those enormous tanks on wheels that you see on the railway marked 'Trasporto di vino.'

Now it is time for the rejoicing and thanksgiving that follow the grape harvest. In many Italian villages this is the chief festival of the year. Peasants all turn out in their best clothes—or, better still,

E.N.A.

MOUNTED COURIERS PROCLAIM THE VINTAGE FESTIVAL

National customs in Hungary are given added interest by the vivid colours and the picturesque design of the national costumes worn by the peasantry on all occasions, while those worn by the magnates on special occasions are fantastically rich and ornamental. Hungarian men are all well set up; most of them are good-looking; all are born horsemen. When the time comes near to celebrate the vintage, gallant young fellows ride round the villages and towns—as here, in Budapest—to proclaim the news and invite everybody to the festival.

in costumes of the past that have been carefully preserved. Barrels are piled on carts to which white oxen are yoked, and all go in a procession which usually ends up at the church. In Hungary such celebrations are given a special character by the attendance of young men on horseback (horse-breeding is one of the most profitable Hungarian industries). In the Burgundy district of France the autumn wine festival is made an occasion for revels almost like those of carnival. Cars in the shape of grape baskets are filled with pretty girls. Bottles as high as houses stand in market places.

THAT marks one of the differences between the French and Italian wine trades. To an Italian the bottle would not mean much. Bottling is not a great Italian industry. Unless you order an 'Asti Spumante,' or a sparkling Capri or some other 'fizzy' brand, or a very special old Chianti or Barbera, you get your wine at hotel or restaurant straight from the cask. An elaborate show of cork-drawing and sometimes a neatly arranged piece of tinfoil around the neck of the bottle may deceive the inexperienced traveller, but unless you ask for something out of the common, you may rest assured that you are drinking wine from the wood.

Pleasant it is to wander on through the vineyards until the shadows lengthen and the 'first sweet evening yellow' of the sinking orb turns to the brilliant reds and browns of an October sunset. The 'Buon giorno' of the passer-by is altered to 'Buona sera,' the gentle darkness settles down upon us, and by the time we reach a city gate it is dark enough for cameras to be scanned with some suspicion, although the 'octrois' (local customs duties) have now been abolished. We convince a policeman they are not infernal machines or otherwise dangerous. We are passed in with a laugh and a gracious good-night. And as we drink our Barolo at dinner we wonder what would happen to our friends the peasants if prohibition ever came to Europe.

'They would do better than ever,' says one of our number, 'if they followed the example of the California grape growers and sent their grapes to market. Prohibition hasn't injured vine-growing there at all.'

These modern vineyard owners in America are too business-like in their ways to indulge in anything like vintage merry-makings. The same may be said of their competitors in Australia and South Africa. There is in these countries no tradition of festivity when the grape harvest is over. The vines are stripped of their fruit and that is all there is to it!

TREE AND STONE BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

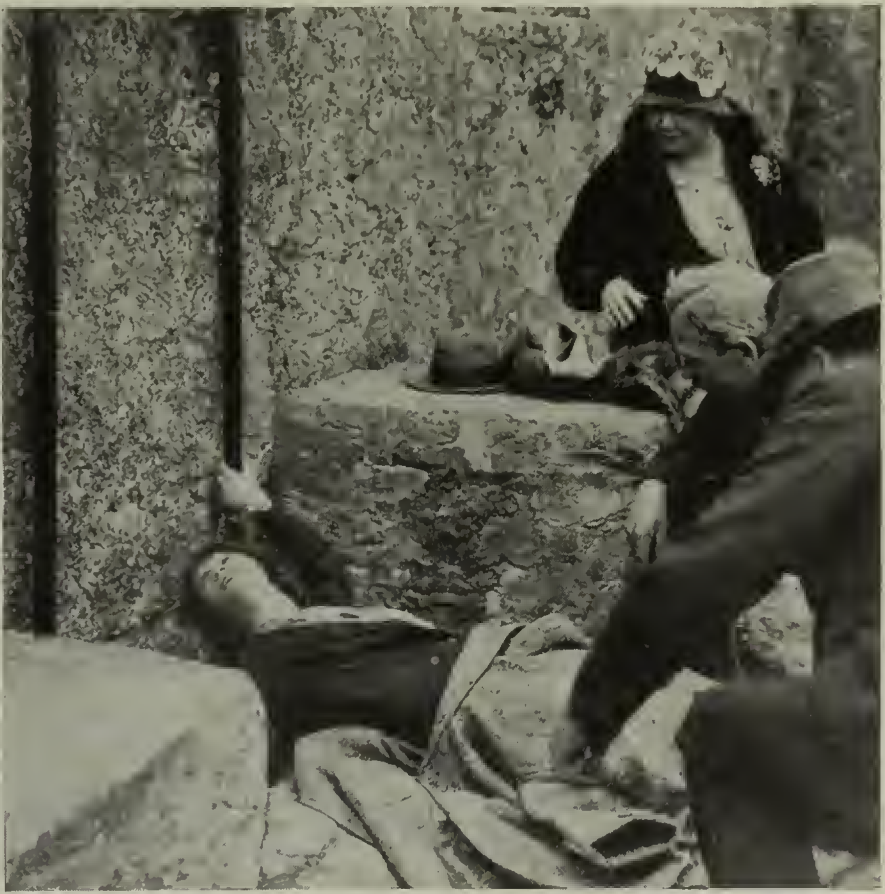
The Worship of the Serpent, once associated with Tree and Stone Beliefs, is now more properly included in our section covering Customs of Other Religions. Besides several folk customs that may have their roots in tree and stone cults, the present chapter also deals with the actual worship of trees and stones. Further aspects are described in the chapter Why We Touch Wood.

Many surviving folk customs are really 'ghost rites,' their original significance having faded from folk memory. They appear to have tardy existence partly owing to the persisting influence of that human imitiative tendency which is summed up in the word 'fashion,' and partly because at the back of some modern minds lies a heritage of old-world superstitious tendencies, which may be rather vague, but are still in some degree operative. Our surviving customs and beliefs connected with trees and stones anciently sacred are of especial interest from this point of view. Nor are these confined to rural areas. Visitors to the dome of S. Paul's cathedral still write their names on its walls, as did the ancient Greek and Roman tourists upon the walls of the still more ancient tombs and temples of Egypt, which they were wont to visit. The original psychological motive appears to have been to establish a ceremonial relation with some sacred place or object whence good influences were supposed to emanate and where, as was believed, vows could be made binding.

Related customs are the tying of rags on 'wishing trees,' driving nails into them, or attaching coins. When Queen Victoria, during her Highland tour in the 'seventies of last century, paid a visit to Isle of Maree, Loch Maree, Ross and Cromarty, she took great interest in the 'wishing tree' there, and amused herself by observing the immemorial custom of 'wishing a silent wish' and having a coin attached to the trunk by means of a nail. Her Majesty saw there many carved initials, including those of a sailor with a symbolic anchor added. That this superstitious mariner believed that he had thus secured his luck is suggested by a surviving custom among fisher-folk in the Black Isle on the eastern side of the same county, who before setting out for some distant herring-fishing ground deposit a bit of white quartz in the hollow of an old mountain ash known as 'the rock tree,' in the belief that their safe return will thus be ensured.

Certain stones, which were anciently sacred, are similarly regarded as depositories of luck and of virtues which may be ceremonially acquired. The famous Irish 'Blarney stone' is a well-known example of this kind. Those who kiss it are supposed to be inspired with effective eloquence in love and business, and kiss it many do 'for luck.' In other cases stones are spat upon for a similar reason. It used to be customary on the part of Newcastle-on-Tyne colliers, when combining to demand better working conditions, to spit on a particular stone one after another in token of their agreement and to make it binding. There are still some recognized 'spitting stones' in Scotland, but the old disgusting custom associated with them has become very rare. It survives, however, in, of all places, the city of Edinburgh. There the stones forming 'The Heart of Midlothian,' in the Old Town, are still spat upon by superstitious people, an ancient but revolting custom which greatly astonishes visitors, including those anthropologists who previously supposed that nowadays spitting superstitions are confined to primitive peoples in the heart of Africa.

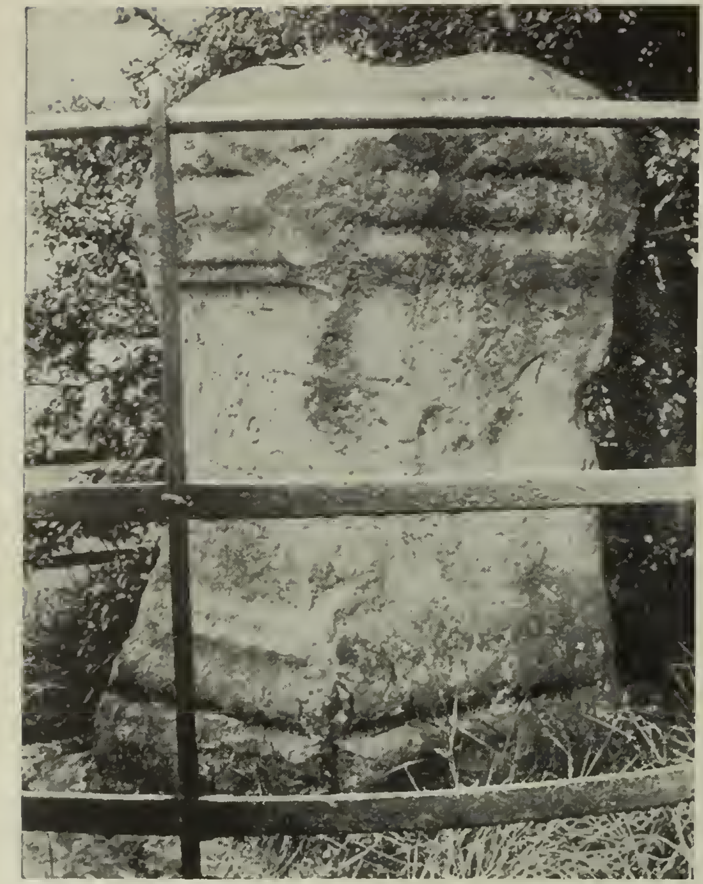
The custom of lime-washing grave-boundary stones



Sport & General Press

PERSISTENT AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION

In the Irish Free State, not far from Cork, lies the little village of Blarney, which boasts a castle founded in 1446 by Cormac McCarthy. Built into the castle walls, a short distance from the top, is the famous Blarney stone, the kissing of which is said to confer the gift of persuasive eloquence.



Sport & General Press

The belief, not yet extinct in isolated areas, that certain stones have healing qualities, is referred to by Geoffrey of Monmouth, the twelfth-century English writer. He tells of the custom of pouring water over the Stonehenge megaliths and then using this water to cure various maladies ; 'for,' he adds, 'not a stone is there that lacketh in virtue of leechcraft.' The immemorial custom of using certain stones to effect cures is not yet extinct in the Hebrides.

At the back of S. Oswald's well, Oswestry, Shropshire, there is a stone which is supposed to grant a wish if a votary, having lifted water in his right hand, sips a little, and then throws the remainder on the stone without touching any other spot. A beautifully sculptured standing stone near Shandwick, in the county of Ross and Cromarty, was, until recently, supposed to impart a sacred influence to unbaptized infants who were buried beside it. In some Highland byres one may still see a stone with a 'cup marking,' into which is poured milk freshly taken from a cow so that no evil influence may prevent the making of butter in the churn. This milk offering is supposed to be accepted by a supernatural being called the 'gruagach' or 'long-haired one.'

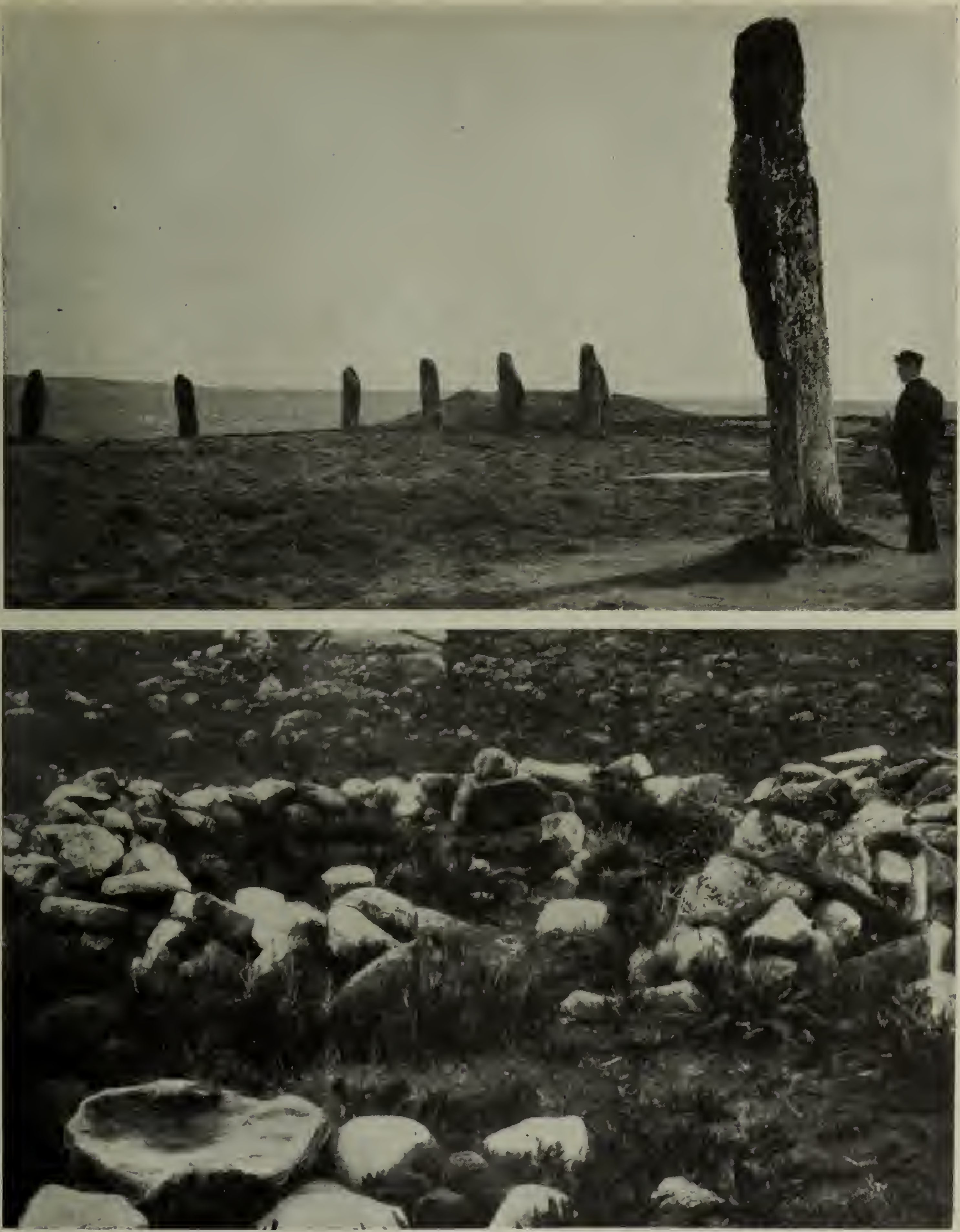
Light is thrown upon the significance of these superstitions and customs still lingering in our islands by a survey of those of the living faiths of

at Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide is not yet extinct in some areas in England and Scotland, although its original significance may be entirely forgotten. In Ireland and the Scottish Highlands cairns are still erected on spots where tragic happenings have taken place, and passers-by consider it necessary, in the interests of 'luck,' to add a stone. Some ancient standing-stones are still referred to in the Gaelic language as 'stones of worship,' and some groups of stones are regarded with a certain degree of superstitious awe. In Morayshire recently, an archaeologist who was examining a stone circle was casually informed by a ploughman that if one were to walk around it at midnight three times, keeping 'to the left' or 'against the sun,' the devil would appear. Another archaeologist learned, in Oxfordshire, of a folk belief that the stones of a circle were transformed on a certain night once a year into young maidens who went down to the river and bathed.

Ian Smith

RITES OF STONES IN SCOTLAND, SUPERSTITIOUS AND PRACTICAL

Not so long ago in parts of Scotland the mourners themselves carried the corpse to the grave. At intervals along the route were placed large stones (top), and on these the coffin was rested, set with refreshments. The ancient custom of spitting on stones for luck is still practised on the stones that compose the Heart of Midlothian in Edinburgh (bottom).



E.N.A.

SPIRIT AND FAIRY CULTS IN STONE CIRCLES, PREHISTORIC AND MODERN

Not forgotten cults only are associated with stone circles, such as are formed by the standing stones of Stenness, in the Orkneys (top), traditionally known as the Temple of the Moon. Some Indian hill tribes still build them. The Kafirs of the Indian borderland look upon large stones as the resort of spirits and fairies. A circle of these is here seen (bottom), used by them as a shrine. The Kafirs were dragooned into Islam, but they retain much of their old idolatry, which bears traces of ancestor worship.

various pagan peoples throughout the world. There is a widespread belief in many Pacific islands that spirits or gods dwell in stones and trees, or enter them at specified times. In Indonesia, which includes the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and Formosa, similar beliefs are prevalent. In many native villages there are sacred trees, including some reputed to have been originally planted by sky beings, under which are sacred stones or rude stone images. The Kayan of Sarawak, Borneo, believe that a tree which had origin in the sun, and a creeper that came from the moon and became a parasite of the tree, were the father and mother of the first man and woman. Offerings are regularly made to sacred stones and sacred trees, and when a migration takes place from one area to another, sacred stones are transported as well as the seeds or seedlings of sacred trees.

In Upper Burma and Assam sacred stones are usually found under rubber trees, which because they yield a milky fluid, known to botanists as latex, are reputed to be forms of a mother goddess. A similar concept is found in Mexico, where in pagan times the agave or maguey plant, which yields an abundant supply of milky juice, was connected with the Aztec goddess Mayauel. This juice was supposed to inspire the drinker and to prolong life. As it ferments quickly and is intoxicating, it is still drunk and is known as pulque. In India the sacred mother cow, the goddess Surabhi, is not only in sacred Hindu writings the ' mother of all kine,' but of Analā, the mother of the seven ' milk-yielding trees,' which are given in the ' Mahabharata ' as ' the date, the palm, the hintala, the tali, the little date, the nut and the coconut.'

The fig tree, which yields a milk-like latex, is still, in rural areas in Greece, shown some of the religious reverence that obtained in ancient times. Mothers believe that the first food required by children is ' fig milk.' In the Scottish Highlands hazelnut milk is likewise given to children born when the nuts are green. The ' milk ' of the nut mixed with honey is reputed to be an elixir for weakly children of any age. In old Gaelic mythology we find mention of the hazel of longevity in the Pagan paradise. The Gaelic name for a sacred hazel grove is ' calltuinn,' and the memory of such groves is enshrined in place-names like that of the Glasgow city ward called Calton and Edinburgh's Calton Hill. The old pagan custom of ' wassailing ' apple trees to secure good crops is not yet entirely forgotten in Shropshire and Devonshire (see page 9). Anciently, cider was not only a beverage but a ' health-giver.'

Another reason for the adoration of certain trees is that they were used for the generation of fire by friction. The priests who, at a festival, used fire-sticks ' were supposed to bring down fire from heaven, and the trees from which the branches had been taken for this purpose were connected with lightning, thunder and the sky. Thus we find various peoples adoring the oak, the pine and other trees used in fire-making, such trees being sacred to the thunder god, the sky god and the sun god. Zeus (Jupiter), for example, who was a sky god and the wielder of the thunderbolt, was anciently connected with the oak. Surviving superstitions and beliefs regarding oaks are evidently faint memories of ancient paganism.

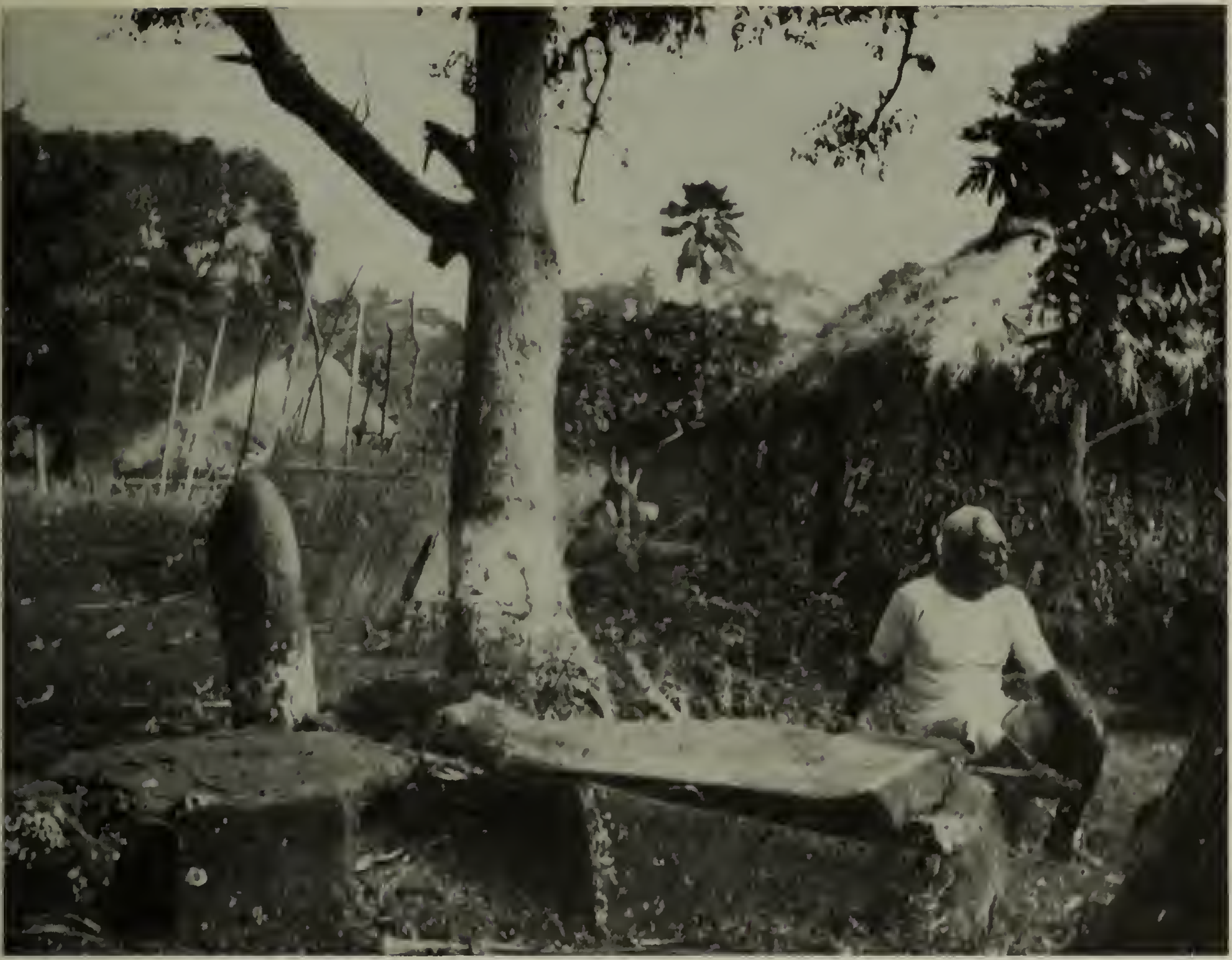
In China we find other psychological motives for the adoration of trees. The pine and cypress are credited with great vitality because under the coldest conditions they retain their foliage, although other green things perish. It is these stores of vitality that give them their healing power. Pine resin is credited with imparting longevity to human beings and is pounded and taken as a tonic. Coffins made of pine or cypress wood are reputed to facilitate the return of the dead to life. Chinese medical texts refer to life-giving wine prepared from cypress leaves. One Chinese writer says :

> Cypress seeds, if consumed for a long period, render a man hale and healthy. They endow him with a good colour, sharpen his ears and eyes, cause him never to experience the feeling of hunger, nor to grow old ; further, they cause his body to lose its weight and prolong his life.

Another sacred tree in China is the ' rottlera,' identified as the lofty white aspen. It yields a white, hard timber which resists moisture and on that account is also used for coffins, being supposed to impart its qualities to the dead, promoting vitality. Great virtue, again, is attributed in China to the peach. It is associated with the Chinese mother goddess Si Wang Mu, queen of immortal beings in the western Paradise in the Kwunlun mountains. The fruit of the peach is supposed to prolong life, and a wine prepared from its seeds is regarded as the elixir of life. Peach blossoms and fruits are prominent art motifs in China.

In Polynesia, as in Indonesia, the coconut palm was associated with the god Oro, or some other deity, Herman Melville found in the Marquesas that the image of Oro was a rudely carved coconut tree log. ' In pagan Tahiti,' he writes, ' a coconut branch was the symbol of regal authority. Laid upon the sacrifice in the temple it made the offering sacred ; and with it the priests chastised and put to flight the evil spirits which assailed them.' The coconut palm not only provided food, but fibre tapers and fibres for making fishing lines and cords for canoes, oil for embalming the dead, a balsam for healing wounds, leaves to thatch huts, boughs to make baskets, nuts which, after being emptied, served as goblets, etc.

But trees were not only revered as givers of food, fire, medicine, etc. Some provided implements and weapons. ' The alder,' declares an old Irish manuscript, ' is the very battle-druidess of all woods, the tree that is hottest in the fight.' The yew was adored not only for the yew-bows it yielded, but also because ' dark red vats,' used for religious purposes, were made from it. The blackthorn was adored because it was beloved by birds which gave oracles. Perhaps the most surprising reason of all for plant adoration is given in explanation of the old Irish



J. Hornell

SEAT OF STONE ON WHICH A KING OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC ASSUMED HIS ROYAL OFFICE

Apart from stones that are actually worshipped, some are revered for their august associations. The British coronation stone is hedged about with old tradition, being said to have been Jacob's pillow at Bethel. A treasured relic in the market place of Kingston-on-Thames is a stone on which, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, seven English kings were crowned. This old Fijian is sitting beside a stone which he holds in great veneration—that upon which Thakombau, the last king of Fiji, was installed in his sovereignty·

reverence for the woodbine or honeysuckle. 'Monarch of Innisfail's forests the woodbine is,' declares an old manuscript, 'whom none may hold captive ; no feeble sovereign effort it is to hug all tough trees in his embrace.' This worship of a parasite affords an explanation why the ivy and vine were in Greece connected with deities. It is evident that in our surviving customs of house decoration with plants and branches during festive seasons, as in the haunting traditional reverence shown for certain trees, we touch upon antique ancestral psychological motives which reveal early man as a reasoning being and not as one merely inspired by terror when selecting objects worthy of worship.

The worship of stones presents a more difficult problem than the worship of trees. One theory is that we have a clue to the mystery in the Greek word sarcophagus, which means flesh-eater. It was evidently supposed that the stone coffin absorbed the flesh and blood and therefore the personality of the dead—that his spirit entered the sarcophagus. Stone-lined graves, which served as sarcophagi, are widely distributed in Europe and Asia, and even through the Pacific Islands. Dolmens are now generally believed to be ancient tombs of great men—priestly rulers who swayed the destinies of their peoples. Another view is that the reverence for stones is due to the innate human belief that there are spirits in all inanimate objects, including rocks, stones and mountains. When a stone was seen rolling down a slope, after being dislodged by some natural cause, primitive-minded people assumed that it was moving of its own accord, that the spirit within it desired to find a new location. We have no records in our own land to throw any light upon this problem. The beliefs entertained by existing stone-worshipping peoples are therefore of particular interest.

THE Kiwai Papuans, according to Landtman, tell that a large stone, and some small ones associated with it, represent Múiere, a culture-hero who instructed their ancestors. After instituting an important religious ceremony, he transformed himself

A. R. Slater

TREE WORSHIPPER OF INDIA PERFORMING HIS DEVOTIONS

In India tree worship is a widespread cult. The worship may be addressed to the trees themselves by reason of their mysterious powers, or to the deities or spirits regarded as having their abode in them. Rags are hung on the trees which constitute the shrines of the local gods. When forests are cleared certain trees may be left standing, lest the forest deities desert the locality. The sacred fig tree of India is the bo tree: it was under a bo tree that Gautama became Buddha

into stone. The Bontoc people of Luzon, Philippine Islands, tell of a man named Lumawig, who came from the sky-world and gave instruction in stone-working and agriculture. He turned his brother into a sacred stone. In Formosa the Taiyal, a mountain people, have a myth which ascribes their origin to a boulder splitting and releasing the first man and woman. Similar myths are found in the Dutch East Indies and in Upper Burma.

But it is in India, of which it has been said 'everywhere the past is the present and the present is the past,' that we can still find most evidence of present-day stone worship. Among the hill tribes, the Badagas, dolmens (' table stones ') are not merely regarded as sacred but as actual deities. An anthropologist has recorded that when steps were being taken to remove a sculptured slab to a museum the natives protested, saying 'It is our god.' The Kurumbas of Madras worship a particular dolmen on a hill, and their explanation for so doing is that it is the residence of a deity. When one of the men of the tribe dies, a water-worn stone is placed in a dolmen to serve as a 'ghost body. It is customary for the Kurumbas to perform some of their magico-religious rites in a cave or at a stone circle. When a headman dies they erect a dolmen; while the Hanbars, a Deccan tribe place a big boulder on the grave.

The Todas still erect stone circles which they call 'azarams,' and utilise for burial and other ceremonies. For some reason a stone circle becomes taboo in time, and the only explanation the Todas offer is that it has become too old, or perhaps they profess complete ignorance regarding the original purpose of a neglected circle. One particular neglected stone circle, however, is said by the Todas to be petrified soldiers. These men are said to have insulted one of their priests, who in his anger threw milk over them, thus turning them all into stone.

LARGE numbers of modern stone circles are found, as archaeologists have recorded, over all the hilly tract lying south of the Gangetic valley. Near Poona, on the Parvati Hill, is a circle of stones. A boulder in the centre is reputed to be a god's habitation, and the surrounding stones are the spirits which guard the deity. In South India a single standing stone is known as a ' virgal ' or ' virakal ' (' hero stone '). One may mark the spot where a man perished in conflict with a tiger or where a faithful widow committeed suttee. The Khasi peoples still erect stone monuments as memorials to those who have done something worthy of praise and remembrance so that their spirits may reside in the stones and receive offerings and adoration.

Evidently two facts must be recognized in connexion with stone worship. The first is that the stone is revered because it contains a deity or spirit, and the second that the spirit may be that of a human being who during life was influential or heroic. Our own custom of erecting monuments to the glorious dead appears to be rooted in a body of primitive beliefs, although these may be wholly forgotten.

CURIOUS CUSTOMS OF FAMOUS CITIES

Examples of customs of a civic nature observed under varying forms in different localities are treated in the chapter on Beating the Bounds, and religious customs peculiar to certain cities are discussed in the chapter on Holy Week and Its Ceremonials. There is a separate chapter on Historic Customs of English Towns. Here consideration is confined to customs of continental Europe.

History leaves many curiosities along the path which it has trod. Few literary occupations are more entrancing than to probe into customs and observances and to discover how they began and what they signified. Human life has its roots in the past. In spite of the changes due to invention and discovery during the past century or so, we still regulate our existence mainly by inherited habit and tradition. For instance, we paper the walls of our sitting-rooms and staircases because these were once hung with tapestry, as in the castle described by Keats where

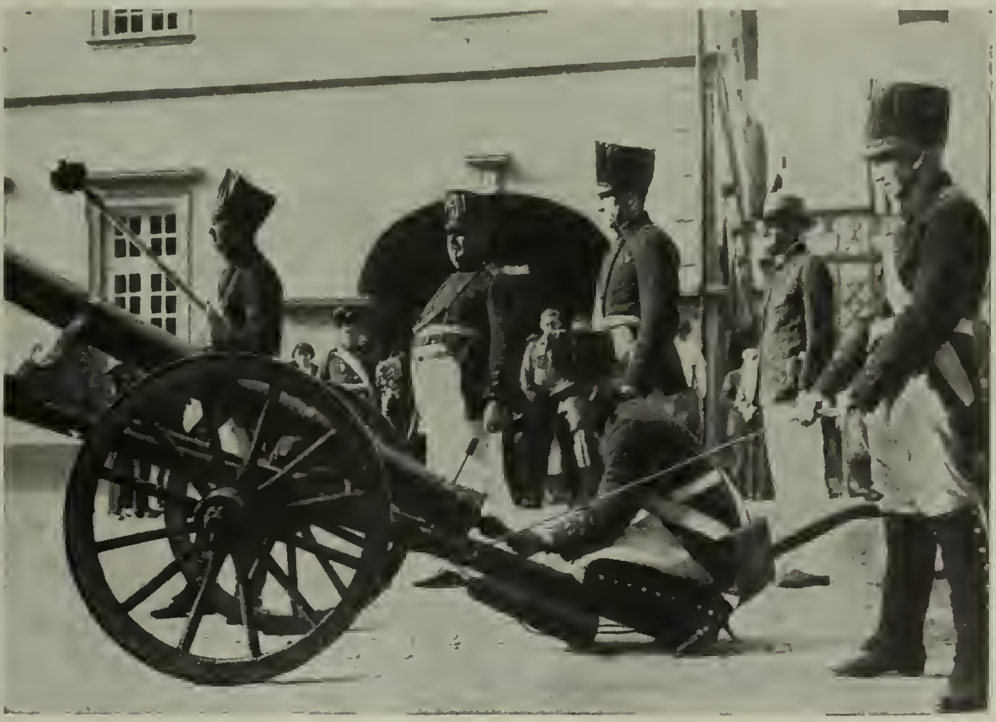
> The arras, rich with huntsman, hawk and hound,
> Fluttered in the besieging wind's uproar.

When people could not afford this form of decoration they imitated tapestry with painted paper. Then patterns were printed on wallpaper, which we continue to use, although it is less sanitary (for it collects dirt) and often less pleasing to the eye than painted or distempered walls. Our policemen still wear helmets because centuries ago soldiers' heads had to be protected from arrows by this form of covering, and when the police force was established it was thought their dress should more or less resemble that of the military.

Sailors salute the quarter-deck of a battleship because the crucifix used to hang there. We sit in uncomfortable, box-like railway carriages for the reason that the first coaches drawn by locomotives were shaped like the coaches drawn by horses ; we have kept to the shape ever since.

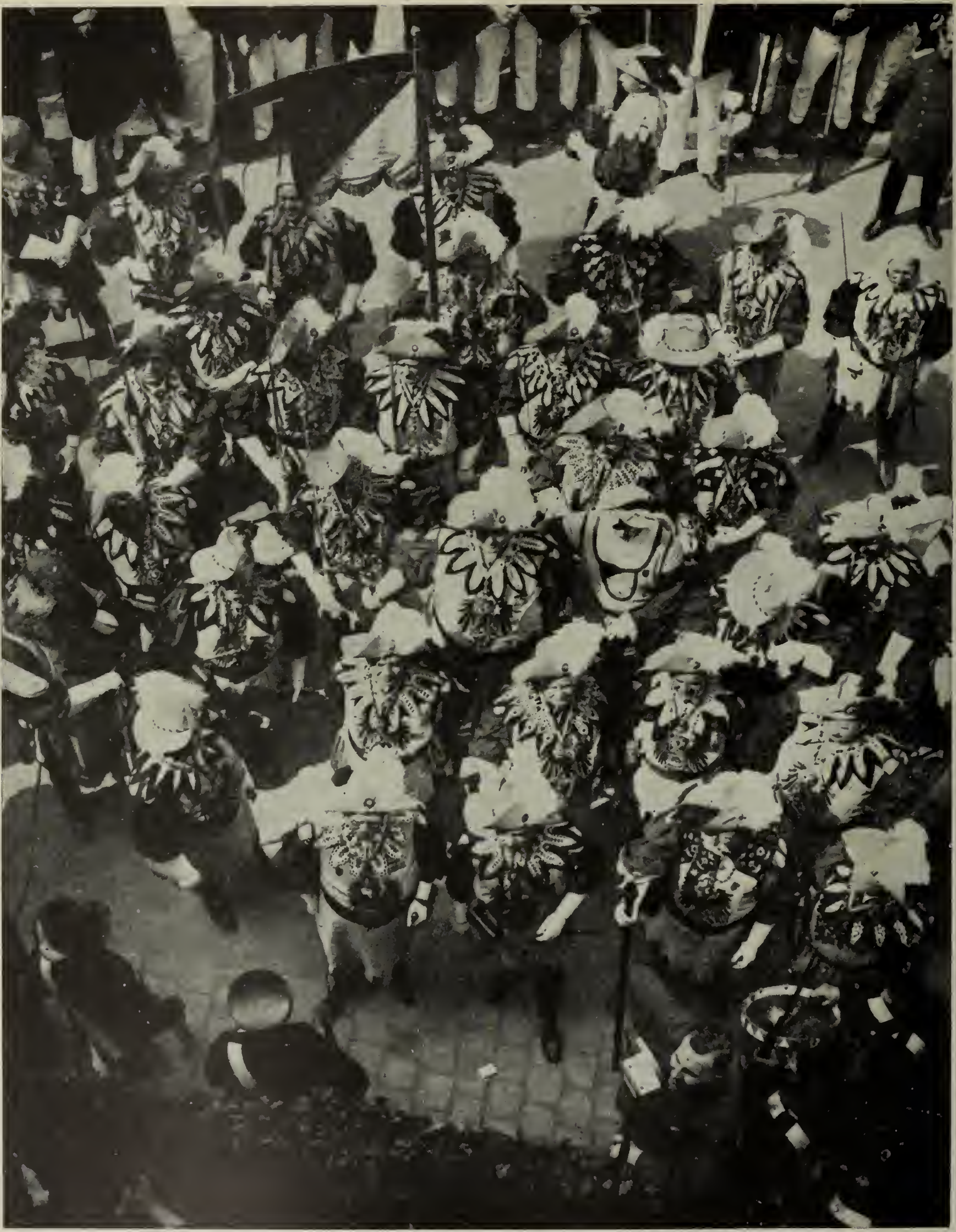
Communities are in the grip of the past not less than individuals. They go on doing things year after year without any notion, as a rule, why they do them. Most famous cities, many ancient small towns and villages, have some festivity or solemnity which means very little to the mass of citizens, but which is interesting to all who look below the surface of things. How many who go to Oberammergau for the Passion Play (described in pages 701-709) could explain how and when the performances originated? Of the visitors to the dramatic representation that takes place on Whit Monday at the lovely little place in Bavaria called Rothenburg on the Taube, what proportions know the events in history which are thus commemorated?

Rothenburg is a perfect specimen of an early seventeenth-century town. It is walled all round, and there are towers on the walls at frequent intervals. Inside the walls the streets and houses seem to be exactly as they were three hundred years ago—and, generally speaking, they are. The buildings have been most carefully preserved and no modern mixture has been permitted to spoil the effect. Those who want to put up dwellings or factories must do so on sites outside the walls. In 1631 Rothenburg was of more importance than it is today. It was besieged by the celebrated Tilly and, after a long and desperate resistance, obliged to surrender. The victor was furious that he had been kept out so long. He entered the town, strode into the council-house, and demanded that four of the councillors should be delivered up to him for execution. If there were any delay in selecting the victims, the whole of the council must die. All appeals to him to exact some less dreadful vengeance fell vainly on his ears. His heart could not be softened by the entreaties of women nor


Associated Press

LINKS IN A LONG CHAIN OF CIVIC HISTORY

Soest in Westphalia has had many vicissitudes in its long history, and more than once has had to fight for its life. Its garrison's unsuccessful resistance to the Berlin Pankgrafen, mentioned in the next page, is represented—with fine disregard of historical accuracy—in the annual pageant by the use of the seventeenth-century cannon mounted on the fortifications.



Associated Press

KNIGHTS OF THE PANKE RIVER IN OCCUPATION OF SOEST CITY SQUARE

A notable feature of German life in the Middle Ages was the multiplication of associations, military and municipal. Included in the military category were the Berlin Pankgrafen—Knights of the Panke river, near Berlin—who in the thirteenth century conquered the Westphalian cities, Soest and Munster. The Order was perpetuated in a corporation founded in 1381, and ever since that date, in June every year, the capture of both towns has been re-enacted in a pageant singularly interesting as an exhibition of medieval costume and military equipment.

by the sight of children soon to be fatherless by his command.

But Tilly was a man of capricious humour. When wine was offered him, he was astonished at the size of the goblet. He said, half in joke, that if any of the councillors could empty it at one draught he would cancel his cruel sentence. They looked at each other doubtfully, hope and fear contending in their glances. Then one of their number took up the goblet and began to drink. With breathless anxiety the other councillors and the townsfolk watched him. The big vessel tilted more and more above his mouth. 'He has done it—no, not quite—he will do it—he will save us!' came from the crowd in agonised whispers. Then as he put down the goblet empty a shout of joy went up. Tilly smiled grimly. 'I didn't think it could be done,' he said. 'But as you have done it, I will keep my promise. You are all free men.'

That is the plot of the piece which is performed in the morning and afternoon of Whit Monday at Rothenburg, attracting large numbers of visitors. The great event in the history of the town is commemorated also by a clock which sets in motion figures of the dreaded general and the councillor who accepted his challenge.

Associated Press

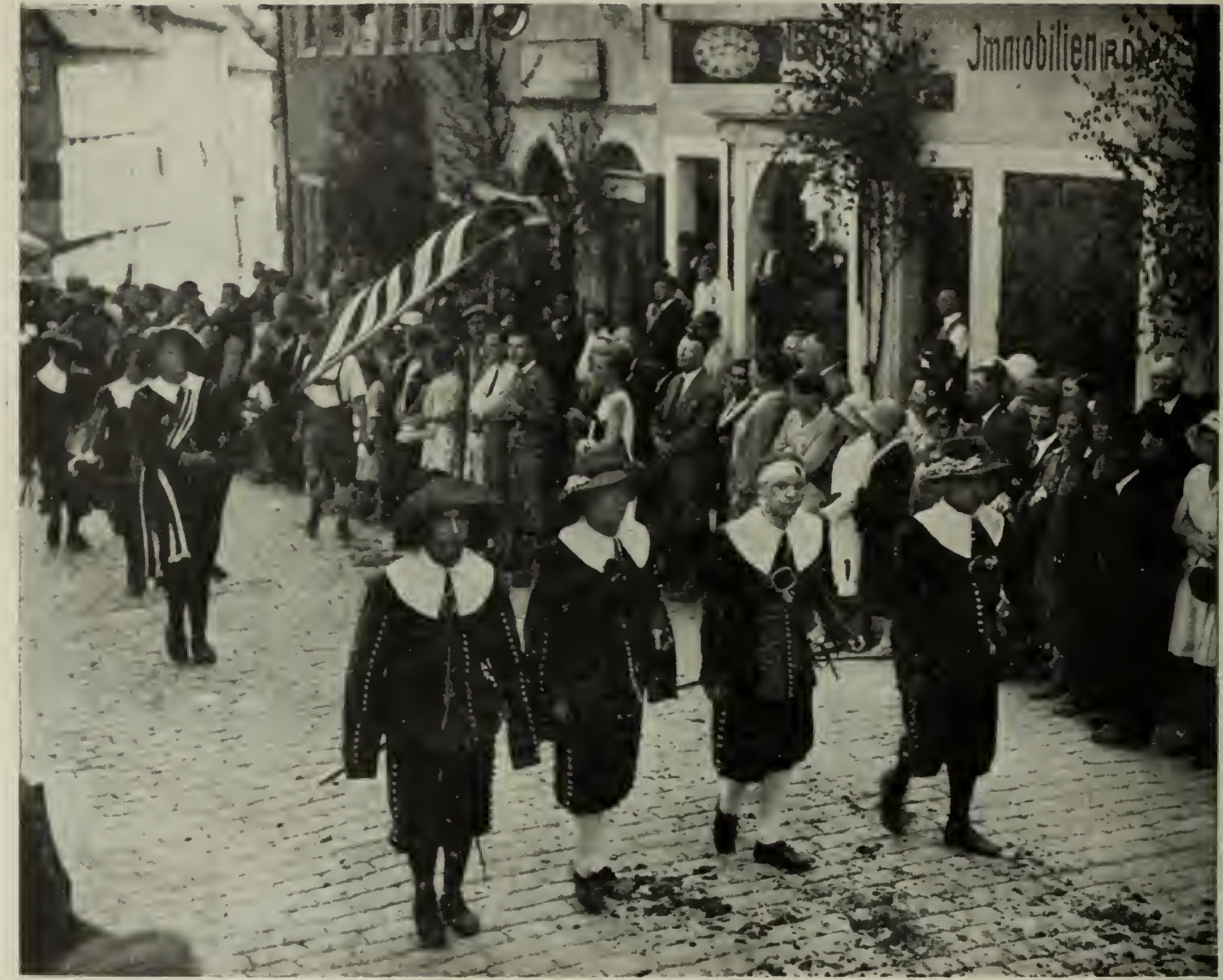
CIVIC CUSTOM THAT DATES BACK OVER 550 YEARS

Soest retains much of its medieval appearance and lends itself well to historical pageantry. No incongruous note appears in the twentieth-century reconstruction of the dramatic scene enacted hundreds of years before when, finding further resistance hopeless, the citizens opened their city gate and the conquering Panke knights marched in with flying banners and roll of drums.

A CUSTOM of uncertain origin is seen at the town of Les Saintes Maries, not far from Marseilles (see page 302). A performance takes place every year towards the end of May in which figure Mary Magdalene, Mary of Bethany (sister of Lazarus) and Mary the mother of James the Apostle, after whom the town is named, for the reason that they are supposed to have landed there after the events recorded in the Gospels. With them came as their servant, according to tradition, Sarah, who has become the patron saint of gypsies. In October there is a gathering of these wanderers in her honour, and a strange picture they make as they troop in to attend mass and pray for a successful year of fortune-telling, fowl stealing, and other rogueries.

The horse race known as the Palio at Siena in Italy is another of the customs that spring from origins little thought of by the spectators who throng the Piazza on August 16. This seems to them, if they are from afar, a queer, unsuitable place for such a contest. For the Piazza is paved with brick and the road around it is covered with flag-stones. There is one very dangerous turn in the 'course,' and at one point riders may easily be carried down a side street and thrown, which contingency is provided against by the laying down of mattresses—by no means an unnecessary precaution. Why should a horse race take place here? Why should there be so many competitors for the prize of a little banner? To find answers to these queries we must plunge into the mists of antiquity.

In the Middle Ages such competitions for a 'palio,' a square flag of some costly material, were common in the cities of Central Italy. They were,



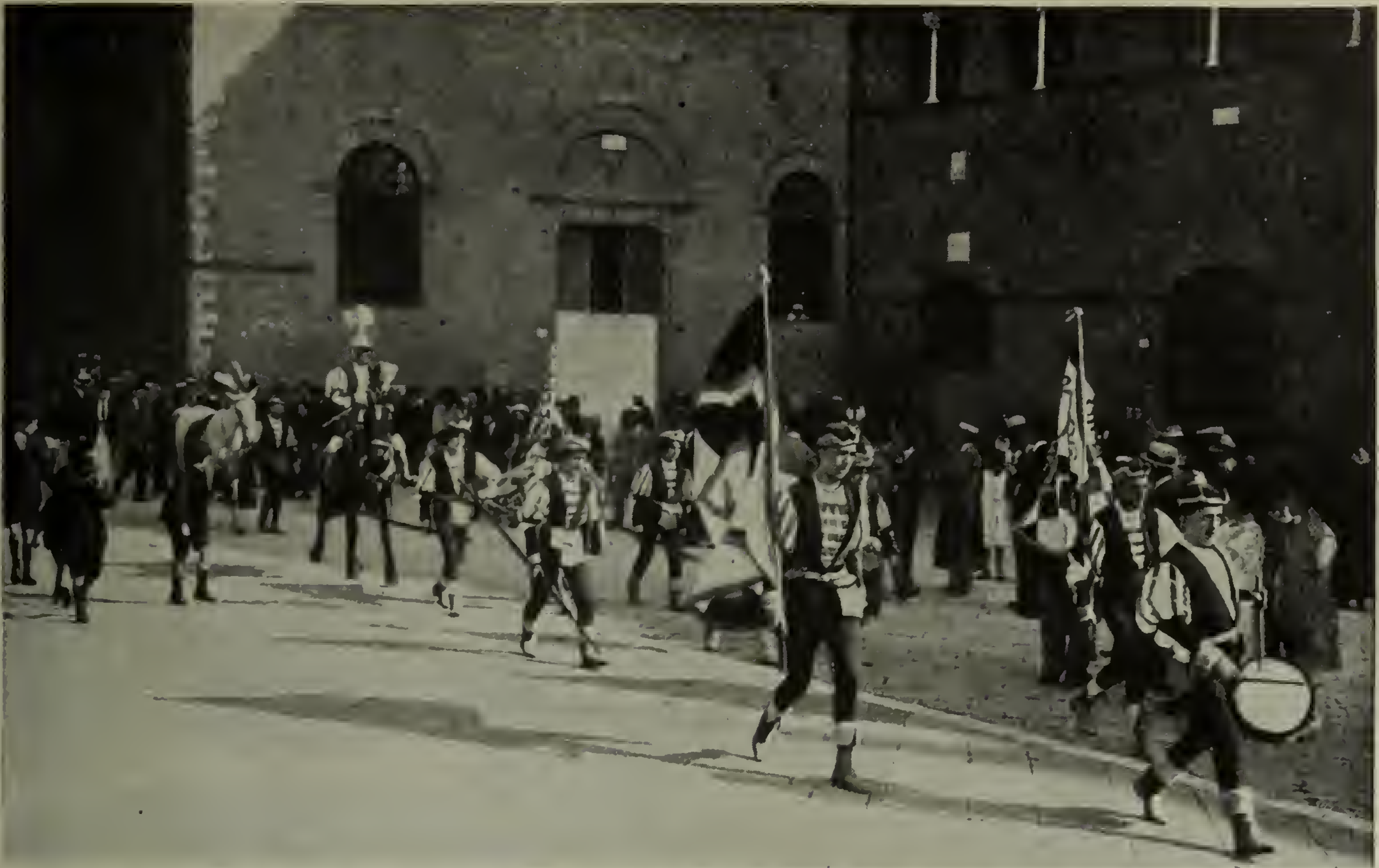
Keystone

HOW A DRINKING FEAT THAT SAVED LIVES IS KEPT IN MEMORY IN BAVARIA

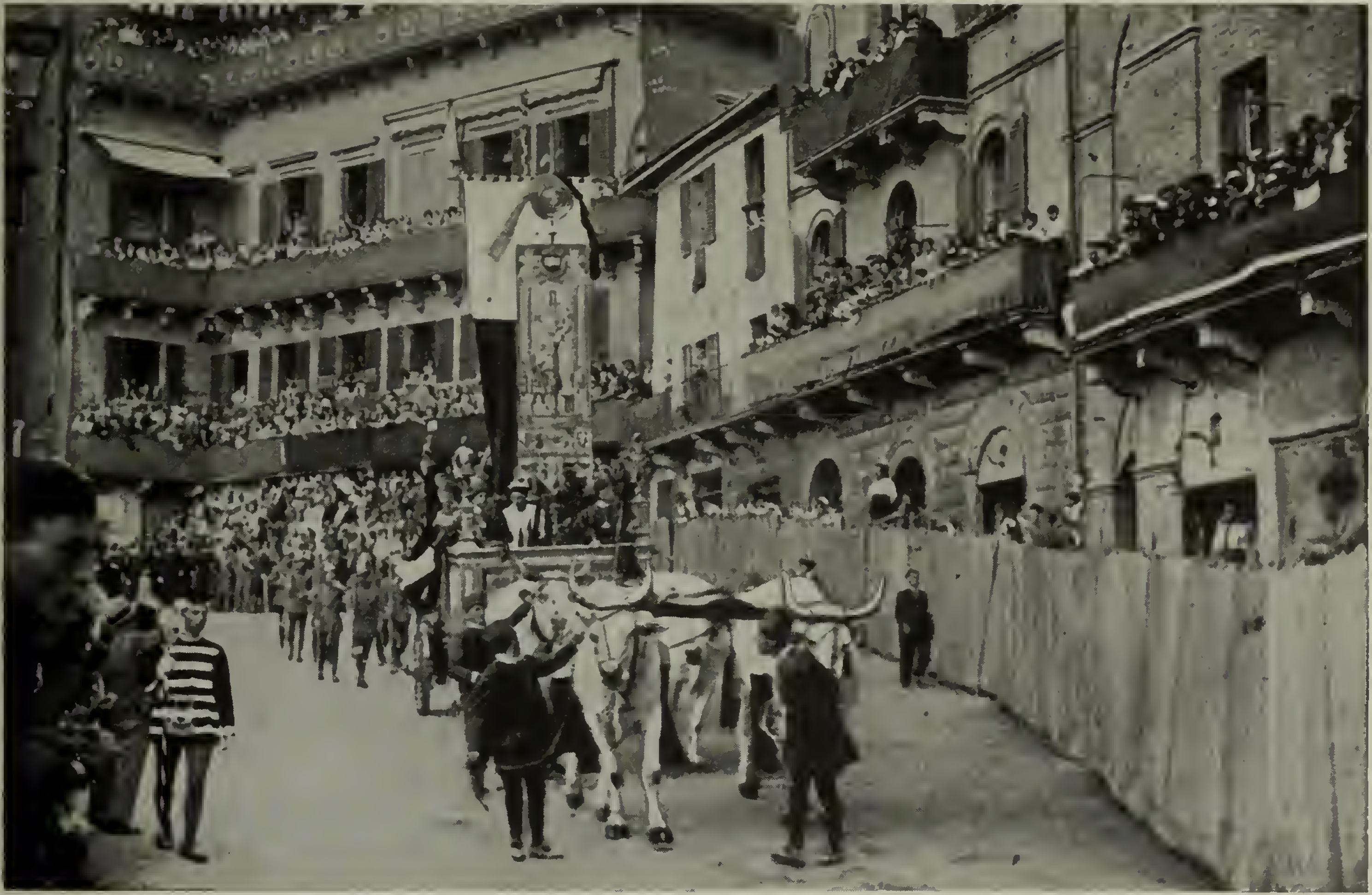
The picturesque little town of Rothenburg, in Bavaria, is noted for a Whit Monday play commemorating an episode of its capture by Tilly in 1631, during the Thirty Years' War. Enraged at the tardiness of their surrender, the victorious commander sentenced the councillors to death, but revoked his threat when one of their number succeeded, at his command, in emptying a huge goblet at a single draught. Townsmen, in seventeenth-century costume. are here seen walking in the procession during the 'Meistertrunk' festival.

like almost everything in the Age of Faith, connected with religion. They were under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin or some saint; they were instituted in gratitude for some benefit received or to commemorate some victory in battle. Now there is little of the religious element left in the annual upkeep of the old custom by the Sienese. The aim is mainly to recall the ancient glories of the city and to attract tourists. For it is not merely a horse race in a city square (or rather, circle) that is staged: what visitors see is a reproduction for a few hours of the colourful life of the fifteenth century. The spectacle is one that stamps itself upon the memory. It is a miniature pageant of the Middle Ages. The costumes are brilliant and they are worn with easy grace. Put an Englishman or a Frenchman into the costume of a past age and he looks self-conscious, uncomfortable and awkward, as a rule. Italians seem even more natural in their Palio dress than they do in tweed suits and factory footwear.

The whole affair is regulated by strictly observed tradition. For several days in advance there are 'heats' in which the worst and the best are alike eliminated. It is desirable to get ten horses of much the same speed, so the race is not in this case to the swift nor the battle to the strong. When the day arrives, the early afternoon sees the various districts of the city busy with preparations. Knights in armour parade about with pages attending on them clad in silk and velvet, their long locks giving them a girlish look. In the churches there are congregations, almost all in medieval costume, awaiting the moment when the horse which represents them is led in to receive the priestly blessing. The prayer for the animal runs: 'O Lord, let this horse receive Thy blessing, whereby it may be preserved in body and kept safe from every harm, through the intercession of blessed Saint Anthony and through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.' The priest sprinkles holy water over the beast and it is now ready for the fray.



Ewing Galloway

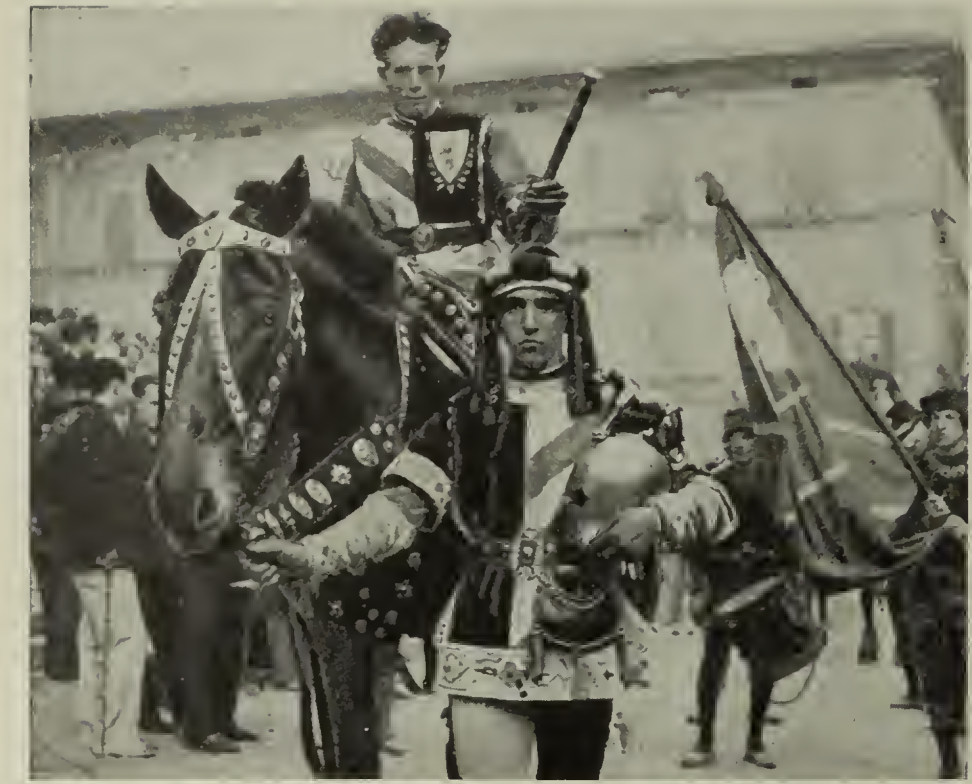


E N.A.

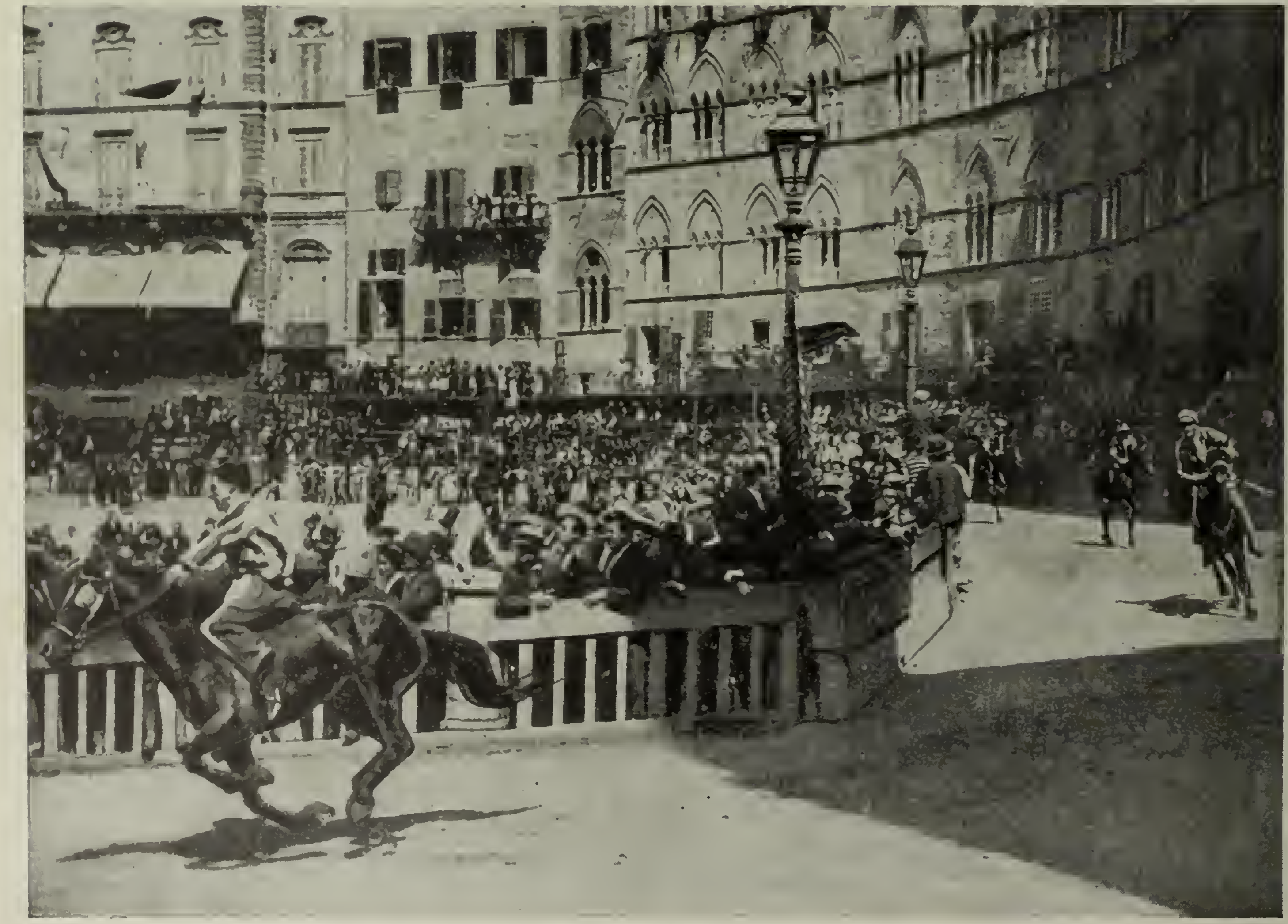
COMPETITOR AND PRIZE FOR THE RACE FOR THE FLAG AT SIENA

The famous horse race known as the Palio, run round the Piazza in Siena every August 16, the day after the Assumption, was instituted in the Middle Ages in memory of a victory and in honour of the Virgin Mary. The name of the race comes from the ' palio,' or square flag, which is the prize. This is carried on a decorated ox car (bottom). Above is seen one of the entrants accompanied by the sponsors from his district. Medieval costume is worn by those taking part in the pageant.

[illegible]
SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA



Meanwhile, the Piazza has been filling. At the windows of the houses and in the stands set up for the occasion there are girls and women who make the scene resemble, in the words of an enthusiastic Englishman, 'a parterre of gorgeous flowers, hovered over by thousand butterflies.' The butterflies are the broad straw hats worn by the peasants; the flowers are the bright dresses they wear. A gun is fired, and mounted carabinieri clear the course. A second gun. and the processions of the representatives of the districts enter. They are led by their standard-bearers on horseback. There are trumpeters and drummers, there are banner-bearers, pages, jockeys, and black men leading the animals which are to race. With their banners the 'alfieri' (as those who



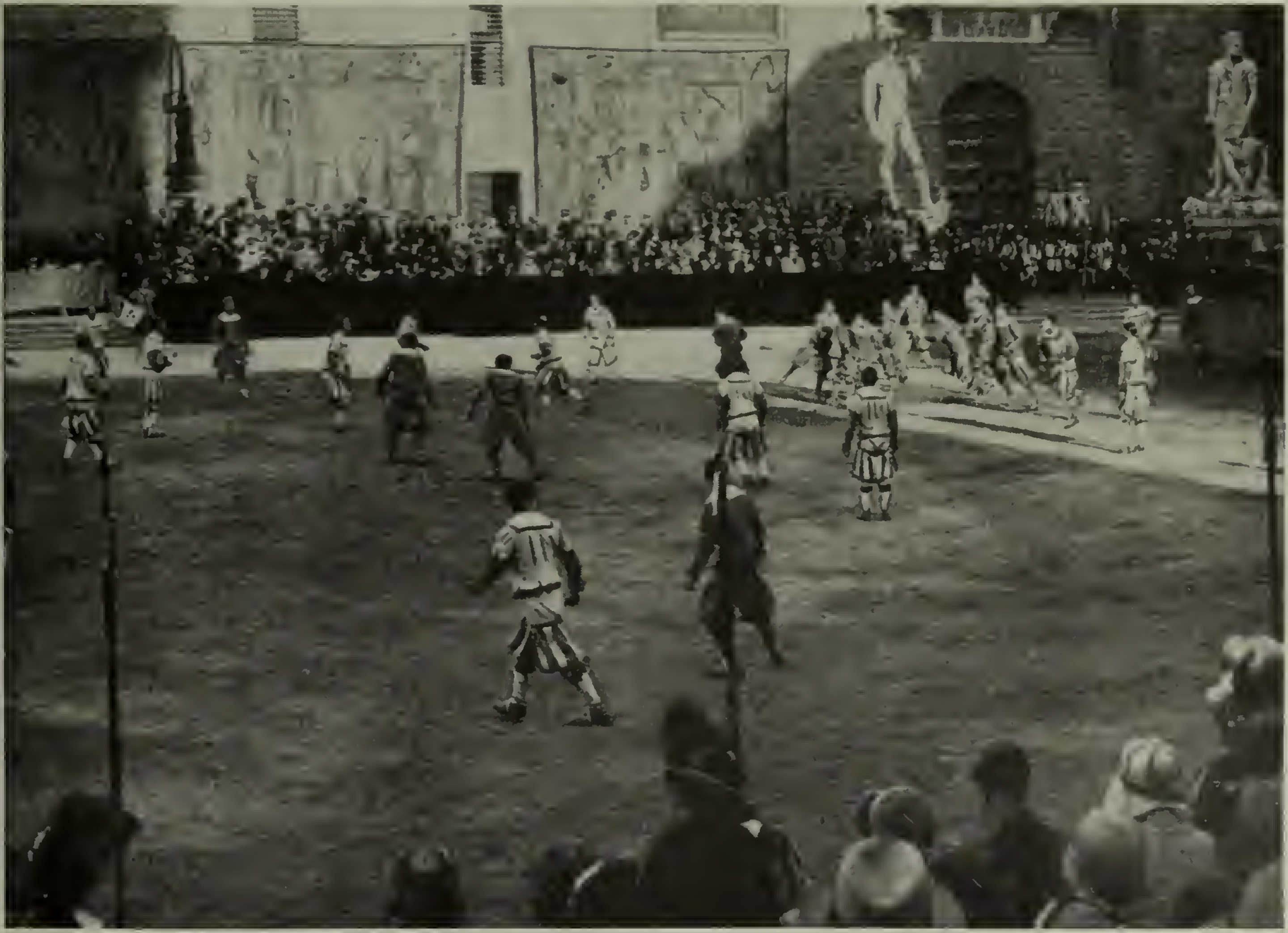
E.N.A.

HORSE RACE OF AN OLD ITALIAN STATE RUN ROUND A CITY SQUARE

Originally the Palio of Siena was run by the republic, and foreign princes and nobles entered their horses for the event. Today the race is confined to the city, ten of the wards into which it is divided being chosen by lot to send a horse to compete. A jockey representing the Liocorno quarter is here seen (top). The course is paved with brick and is by no means easy to negotiate: at one specially dangerous point mattresses are placed to protect any thrown jockeys.

carry them are called) perform the most fantastic yet beautiful evolutions. They twist and turn them, sweep them close to the ground, whirl them about their bodies, throw them into the air, all with apparent ease and evident certainty. They have attended a school where the manipulation of the banners is painstakingly acquired. Each banner bears on it the colours and emblems of the district from which it comes. Its shape is square, not oblong as most flags are. It is, in fact, a 'palio.' The 'palio' which is the prize cannot be entrusted to any young fellow's hand. It is carried on a decorated car; upon it is the effigy of the Madonna, 'our Lady of August,' as the Sienese call her.

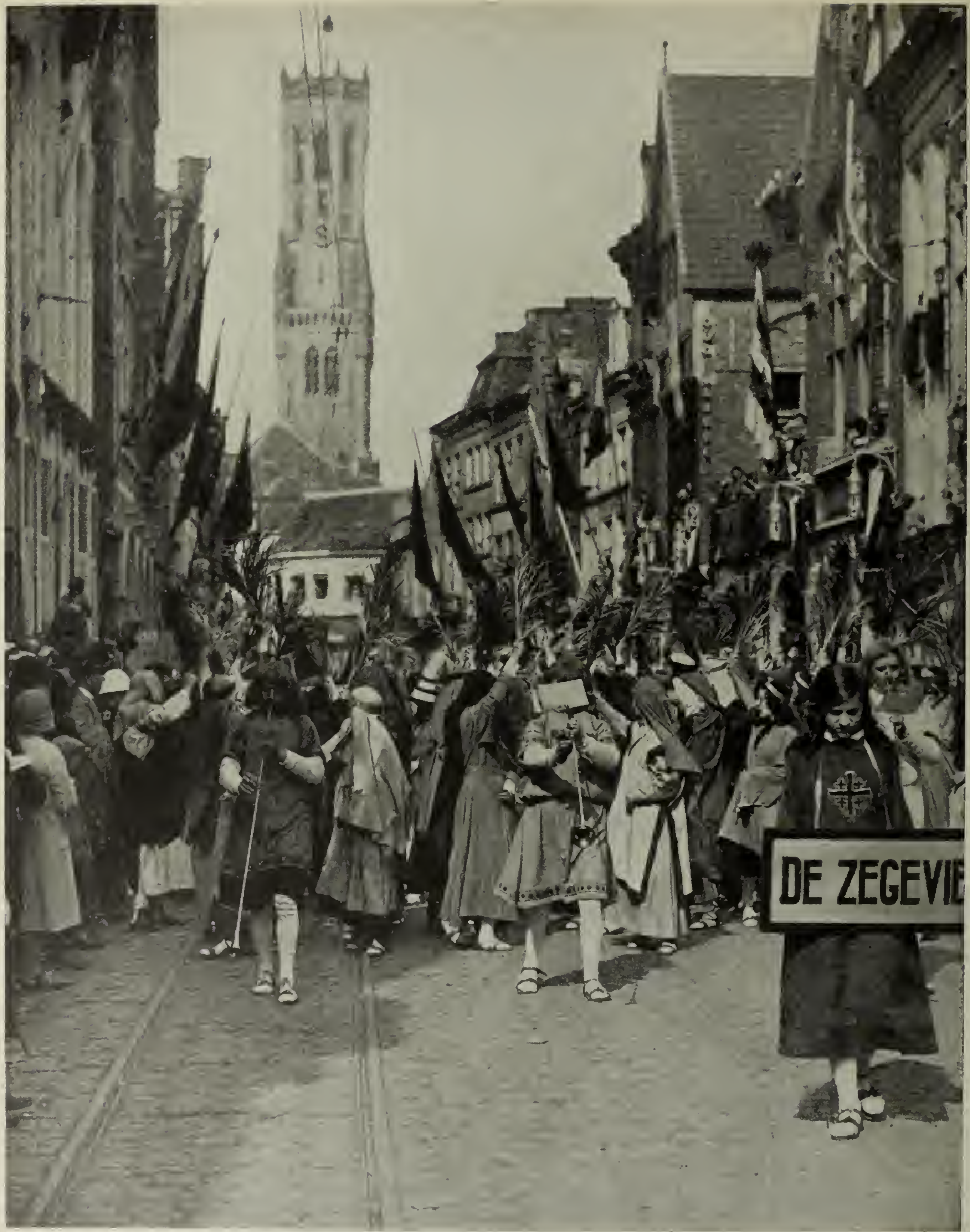
When the clock in the great brick tower which is one of the sights of



E.N.A.

FOOTBALL OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY PLAYED IN THE FLORENCE OF TODAY

The game of football is not unknown in Italy. Under the name of 'calcio' it has been played in Tuscany since the Middle Ages. Although she has allowed her 'palio' race to lapse, Florence, the ancient capital of Tuscany, still keeps up the old football tradition. Every year, in the Piazza della Signoria, a 'calcio' match is played, in the presence of thousands of spectators. The game is made a very picturesque event by the fact that those taking part in it wear the dress of the sixteenth century.



Keystone

EPISODES OF THE GOSPEL STORY DEPICTED IN A PROCESSION AT BRUGES

Among the interesting customs of the city of Bruges is its procession of the Holy Blood, which takes place once a year. In the procession walk men and women made up to represent the principal characters of the Gospel story, and in its course various tableaux are enacted portraying incidents in the life of the Saviour; thus Christ is shown carrying the Cross to Calvary, blessing His people, and so forth. The procession is here seen passing along a street with the famous belfry in the background.

E.N.A.

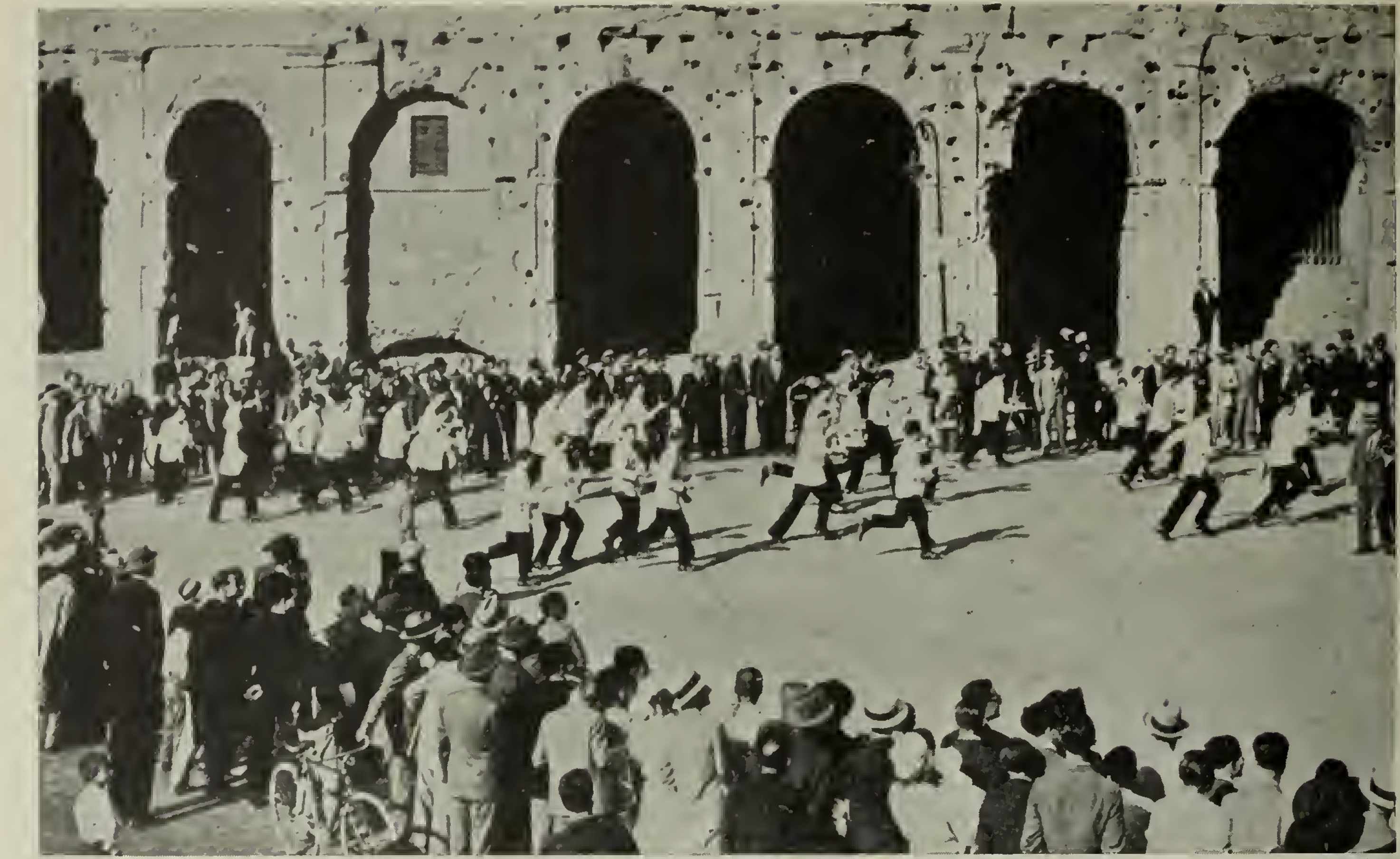
FAIR AND MARKET, MERRY-MAKING AND PILGRIMAGE MAKE UP THE SEVILLE ROMERIA

Two fairs are held in Seville—one in April, lasting four days, and the other in September, lasting three. The former is by far the more important, including as it does an important market for horses, asses, sheep and oxen. It is also the occasion of general merry-making on a wholesale scale, and the roads are crowded with every conceivable kind of vehicle, lavishly decorated. Hundreds of people make pilgrimage to the near-by hermitage of the Virgin of Valme, in whose spacious grounds they subsequently find enjoyable recreation.

Siena has struck seven there is a roll of drums and the horses appear. A little delay ensues before they can get started, during which the riders playfully slash at one another with their whips. This is part of the fun ; they are allowed to do it even while they are racing. Once it was lawful for them to try to pull one another off, but that has been stopped. since it led to many accidents.

Now they are off ! The crowd roars encouragement to its favourites. The hoofs clatter on the stone roadway. There is a horse down—no, he has recovered himself. They are stringing out. That little one looks like winning. Yes, he has got well ahead. The gun again, the race is finished, and the people of the district which has won swarm around their horse and rider, cheering, stroking, embracing, wild with enthusiasm. ' In this medieval Sienese festival,' says an Italian writer in a characteristic outburst, ' lives still the vivacity, the warm energy which made us great as a nation in art and civilization, which set a cathedral in every little town, and reared the many monuments, private and public, before which the foreigner stands speechless with wonder and delight.'

One wonders what this author would say about the waiters' race in the Colosseum at Rome, which has become a regular event to amuse the inhabitants of the Eternal City. Each competitor is dressed in the uniform of his occupation. Each one carries a tray on which are decanters and filled wine glasses. Their efforts to run fast and not spill anything are really more painful than entertaining to persons of quick sympathy. But the whole business is good-humoured, and the waiters who drop everything seem to enjoy it quite as much as those who win. Florence used to have a ' palio ' race like that of Siena, but it has long been no more than a memory. The city of Dante still keeps up, however, the yearly exhibition game of football called ' calcio ' in the Piazza della Signoria. The players wear sixteenth century costumes and rush about with great energy. But neither of these



Sport General Press

RESTAURANT WAITERS' RACE NEAR THE ARENA OF THE GLADIATORS OF OLD

In Rome of late a custom has become established which seems strangely out of keeping with the august associations of the place. Once a year the waiters of the city, clad in their working dress, compete in a race, with the Colosseum as background. The course is usually twice round the Colosseum, as here seen, between the Colosseum and the Arch of Titus. The entrants carry trays charged with decanters and filled glasses, and the prize goes to the one who first reaches the winning post without mishap.

events arouses the same excitement as the declaration of the result of the Great Lottery at Naples, in which almost everybody has a little flutter. Positive frenzy seizes on the mob. Once it was reported that the numbers which were going to win had been written on a piece of paper which was placed in the coffin of a woman buried some time before. The coffin was actually exhumed before an immense crowd !

ALL over Italy these lottery drawings cause great agitation and stir hopes (which are usually disappointed) in millions of hearts. In the eight principal cities, Rome, Naples, Florence, Turin, Milan, Palermo, Venice and Bari, public drawings take place every Saturday afternoon at four o'clock. It would be too complicated to describe the method of gambling on the numbers that are drawn, but the manner of drawing them is of some interest. They are enclosed in small, round metal boxes, and these are put into a large wire cage shaped like a pumpkin and hung on a stand so that it can be revolved. Having been well mixed up, they are taken out by a boy dressed in white (to show his innocence) and hung up on a sort of scoring board. Then those who have waited in hope go away in deep depression, which lasts for perhaps half a minute ; then they begin to wonder what number they should back next week. Many people depend on their dreams for ' tips.' There are books published which tell them what numbers are indicated by certain objects. For example, if you dream that you are crossing a bridge (6), that you meet a bear (55) and that you feel great alarm (90), those are the numbers on which you must put your money. If it seems hard to believe that any human beings could be so silly, one has only to remember the sort of omens upon which backers of horses rely in twentieth-century England !

A charming custom in Paris is the crowning of the Queen of the Markets (Reine des Halles). A pretty girl is installed with picturesque ceremony to reign for twelve months. Near Paris there is a yearly procession and fair at Fontenay-aux-Roses in mock honour of a famous giantess named Rosine who is supposed to have lived in a forest near by. Seville has a ' fiesta ' somewhat similar in April, when a procession composed of gaily adorned cars full of handsome young women and of dashing horsemen on steeds with long tails makes its way to a place about a mile and a half from the city, where the day is spent in merry-making.

Of strictly religious customs there are many, dealt with for the most part in other sections of this work. As striking as any of them is the Procession of the Holy Blood at Bruges, where once a year the streets are packed to see the figures of the Gospel story take part in rough dramatic episodes drawn from the Bible and to watch Christ, bearing the cross, pass to Calvary amid the jeers of the Roman soldiery.

HARVEST TIME IN SAVAGE LIFE

AMONG savage peoples the rites of harvest are largely mixed with magic and spirit worship, intended to safeguard the general welfare of the community. Some kindred ceremonies are considered in the chapter on Magic and the Means of Life. There are separate chapters on The Harvest Home in Europe, Harvest Customs in Eastern Lands, and also on The Vintage and its Celebration.

SAVAGE habits of life and thought are outstanding features of the harvest customs observed in various parts of the world by peoples in a low stage of civilization. But apparently it does not necessarily follow that in these customs we meet with traces of the most primitive concepts—the relics of the beginnings of agricultural religion. What appears to have happened is that backward peoples at certain periods in their history came into contact with more highly civilized communities and acquired from them not only the agricultural mode of life, but the associated magico-religious beliefs and customs, which they blended with their own, thus giving origin to interesting and curious complexes veined with local or tribal characters.

Generally speaking, we find that savage harvest rites are intended to ensure a constant and regular food supply and the continued good health and good luck of a community. The ceremonies performed are supposed to secure in these connexions the co-operation and assistance of spirits and ghosts, including those of deified ancestors and 'culture heroes,' or of vague gods or demons whose prototypes may have been the deities of the original instructors, dimly remembered and probably adopted by ancestors without much inquiry or understanding. To these supernatural beings offerings are made of firstfruits and of human heads and blood, in the belief that they will be stimulated and 'bribed' to give the desired direction to their energies. The harvest singing, dancing, feasting and drinking appear to have similarly a magico-religious significance. Supernatural beings are supposed to share in human rejoicings and to be encouraged by them to become friendly and grateful. Other rites are intended to shield human beings against attacks by evil demons who cause famine, disease and death.

An elaborate yam harvest festival, known to the Ashantis as 'Appatram,' is still observed in West Africa during September, but, like other native institutions, is suffering decay owing to the influence of Christian missionary effort. New yams cannot be eaten by the masses until after the performance of ceremonies that occupy about ten days. On the first and fifth day there is a general fast, but although food is avoided, a good deal of intoxicating liquor is drunk, imported rum, whisky or brandy being substituted for the old native beer. The ghosts or spirits receive their share

IT was formerly customary to sacrifice a human being so that his ghost might carry a festival message to the ancestral beings in the land of the spirits, but animals are nowadays slain instead of law-breakers or prisoners. The demons and other supernatural beings are believed to engage in a flitting on the eighth day, and while they are 'let loose' they may attack human beings and do injury to the new crop. During this critical time there are protective religious ceremonies, including processions, the offering up of sacrifices, and the sprinkling of individuals with sacred water over which the priests have muttered charms.

E.N.A.

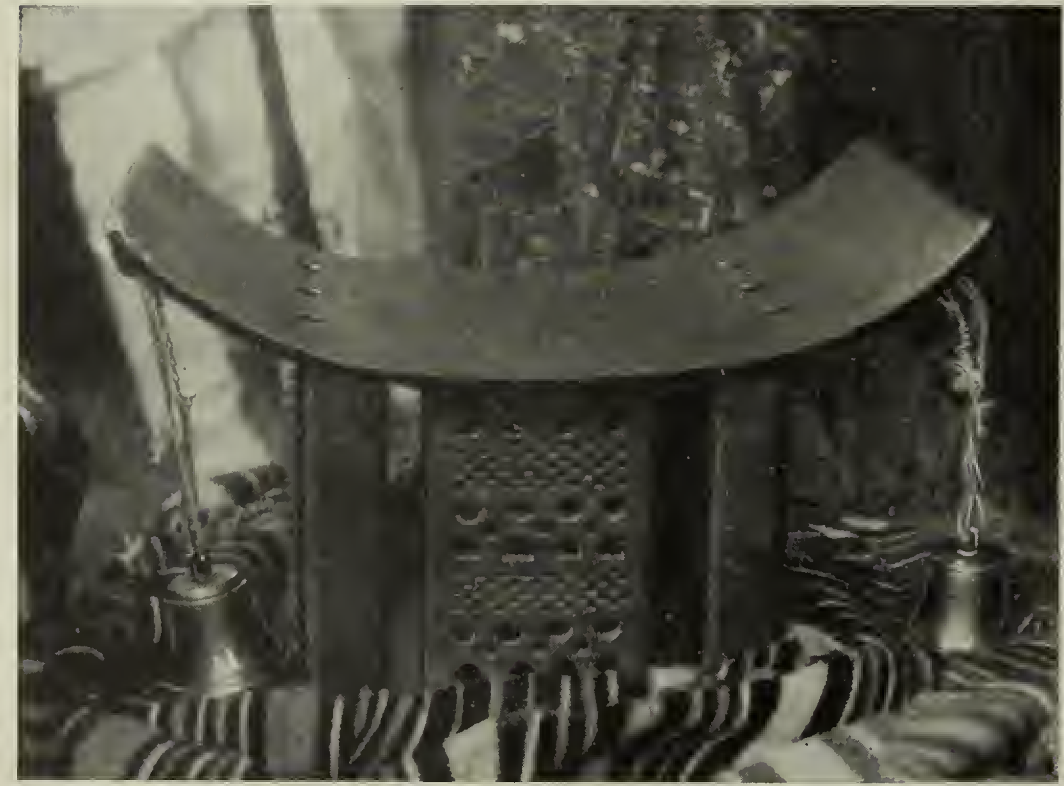
WHERE KINGS ARE HELD TO INFLUENCE THE HARVEST

In West Africa there is an old-established belief that the power to produce good crops resides in the native kings. Consequently they figure very prominently in the yam harvest ceremonies. Not until the king has eaten the new yams may his subjects follow suit. A king's bodyguard of Ashanti is here seen arriving for the festival.

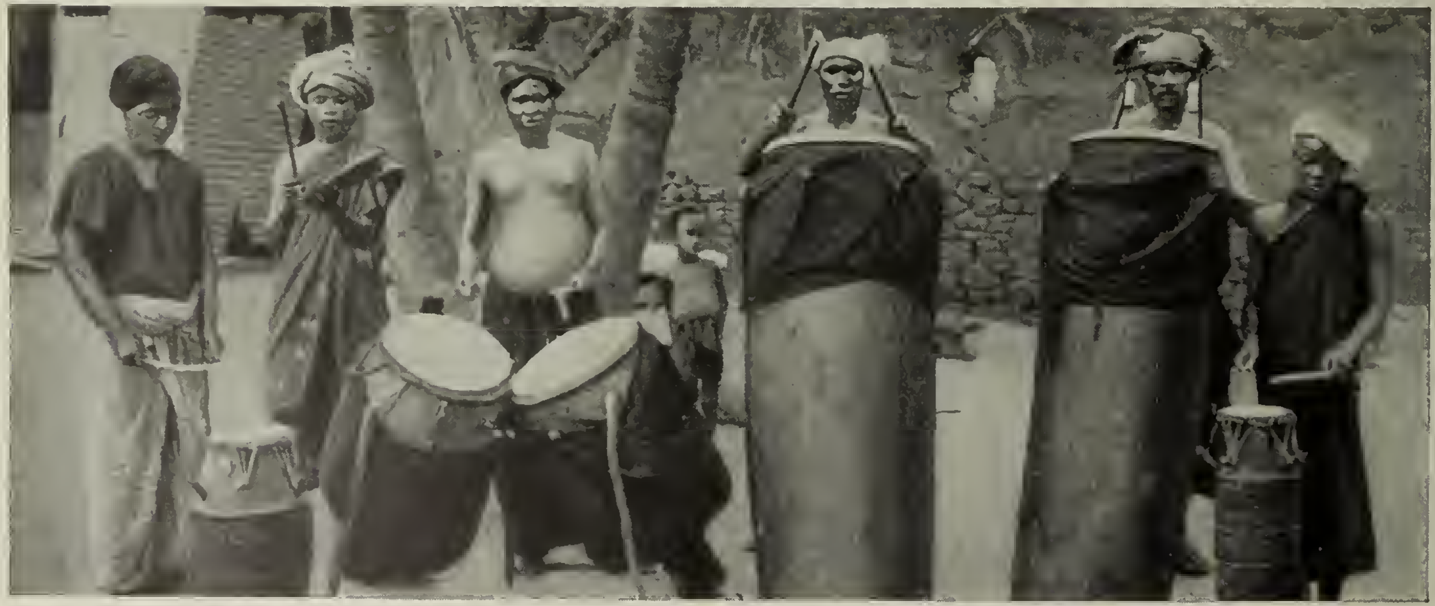
The part played by the king is an important one, because, according to ancient custom, he is supposed to exercise a beneficent hereditary influence upon the crop. On the fifth day he alone eats new yams, and when he again eats them on the last day the taboo is removed and his subjects may follow his example. The dusky ruler, who represents the chief deity, in the forenoon pays a visit to some sacred stream or river pool, or perhaps some holy marsh, to wash and anoint his body, in the belief that he thus receives new strength and is ceremonially purified. Large jars filled with holy water are conveyed to the king's dwelling, and there the priests, dipping branches into the jars, sprinkle the chiefs and commoners. The wives and other women of the court parade in the open, and are supposed to ensure by their ceremonial acts the future fertility of cultivated fields.

It was during the yam harvest ceremony that the Ashanti king was visited by the chiefs of the area under his control and received anew from them pledges of loyal allegiance. An oath was sworn by grasping the royal sword and waving it above one's head. Skulls of fallen enemies were displayed and presented to the image of a god. In the evening the chiefs ate with the king food prepared by the priests from sacred herbs, leaves, animals and fish. This religious ceremony made the allegiance of the chiefs more binding. A chief who broke his oath was supposed to bring down the wrath of the food-giving and weather-controlling spirits.

During the harvest festival the common people protect their houses against evil influences by smearing a red substance on the door lintels, and by day and night they engage in dancing. When they feast, the favoured food is a particular fish prepared in



L. Levy Errell



E.N.A.

MUSIC AND A ROYAL EMBLEM FIGURE IN A HARVEST FESTIVAL OF WEST AFRICA

Among several of the tribes of West Africa the recognized symbol of the king's authority is the golden stool. At the celebration of the harvest this emblem of kingship is almost as conspicuous as the king himself, being carried in procession with the minutest etiquette. The example shown in the upper photograph, which has a solid gold bell attached by chains and thongs to each ear, is from Accra, on the Gold Coast. Below are seen tribesmen of the Ga Manche of the Gold Coast beating the harvest drums.

palm oil. On one of the days there is a general lamentation for the dead. Some peoples, during the harvest celebrations, perform magico-religious ceremonies, and during a fertility performance the women wear male attire and the men female.

On the Gold Coast the Ga-speaking peoples worship sea deities during the harvest rejoicings. Led by a priest carrying a torch made of millet straw, a procession moves towards the grave of some famous individual, round which they march, singing a magical song. Specially prepared foods are thrown into the sea as offerings to deities, and portions are presented to a village god and then eaten by his worshippers. Various secret societies perform mysterious rites at harvest time, adoring the spirits of their founders as well as the food-giving deities. When they dance they mimic some holy fish or animal and illustrate its habits. In a hunting dance the wild animals may be represented by girls, and the proceedings often become boisterous. A picturesque night-time performance is the harvest snake-dance, in which girls decorated with snake markings form into a long line and, having danced, drop down on their hands and knees to crawl together in imitation of a snake. Eye-witnesses report that this spectacle is a most impressive one. A sense of awe seizes upon the natives as they behold the gigantic monster squirming and wriggling in the shadows and then advancing towards the area lit by blazing bonfires. Another harvest custom is a river pageant of decorated boats, which concludes with lively and enjoyable aquatic sports.

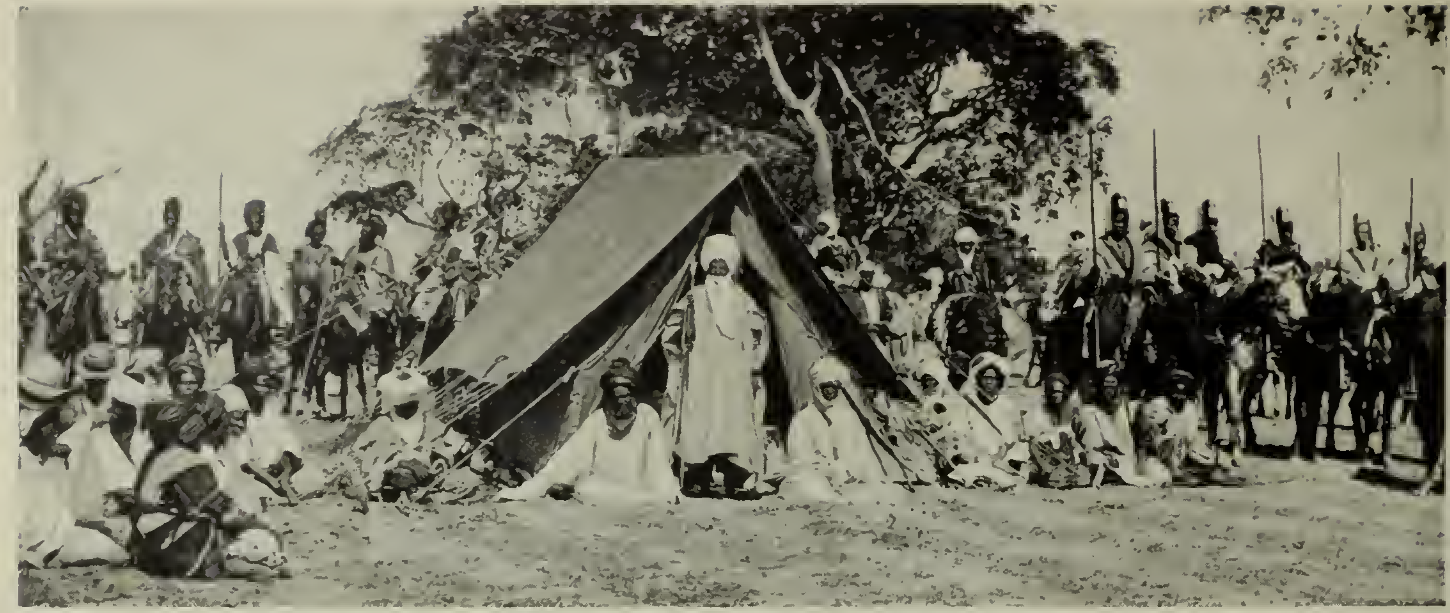
Among the native pagans and half converts of Southern Nigeria there are still attempts to celebrate, in the ancestral native fashion, the customs connected with the harvest festival, the most important

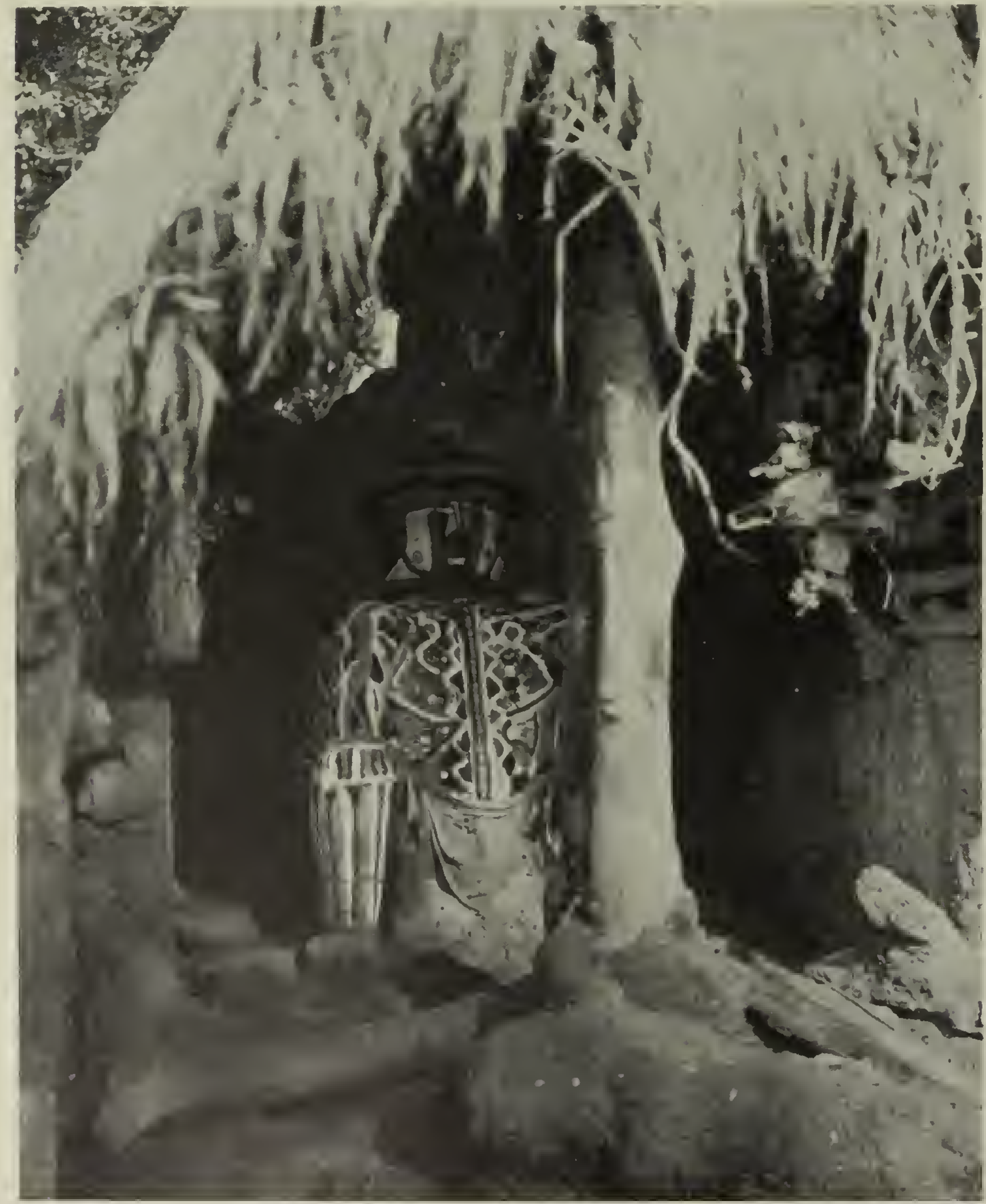
E.N.A.

R. St. Barbe Baker

WOMEN BEAR GIFTS AND CHIEFS SWEAR FEALTY AT THE FEAST OF YAM HARVEST

These native women of West Africa (top) are carrying ceremonial offerings of yams for the harvest festival. Apart from their agricultural import, the harvest festivities have a strong political complexion, for on these occasions it is the custom for the chieftains of the neighbouring districts to assemble for the purpose of renewing their oaths of allegiance to the king, and of taking the oath if that has not already been done. Such a gathering of Gold Coast chiefs in full ceremonial dress is seen in the lower photograph.





E.N.A.

HARVEST BRINGS OUT THE SACRED IMAGES IN NIGERIA

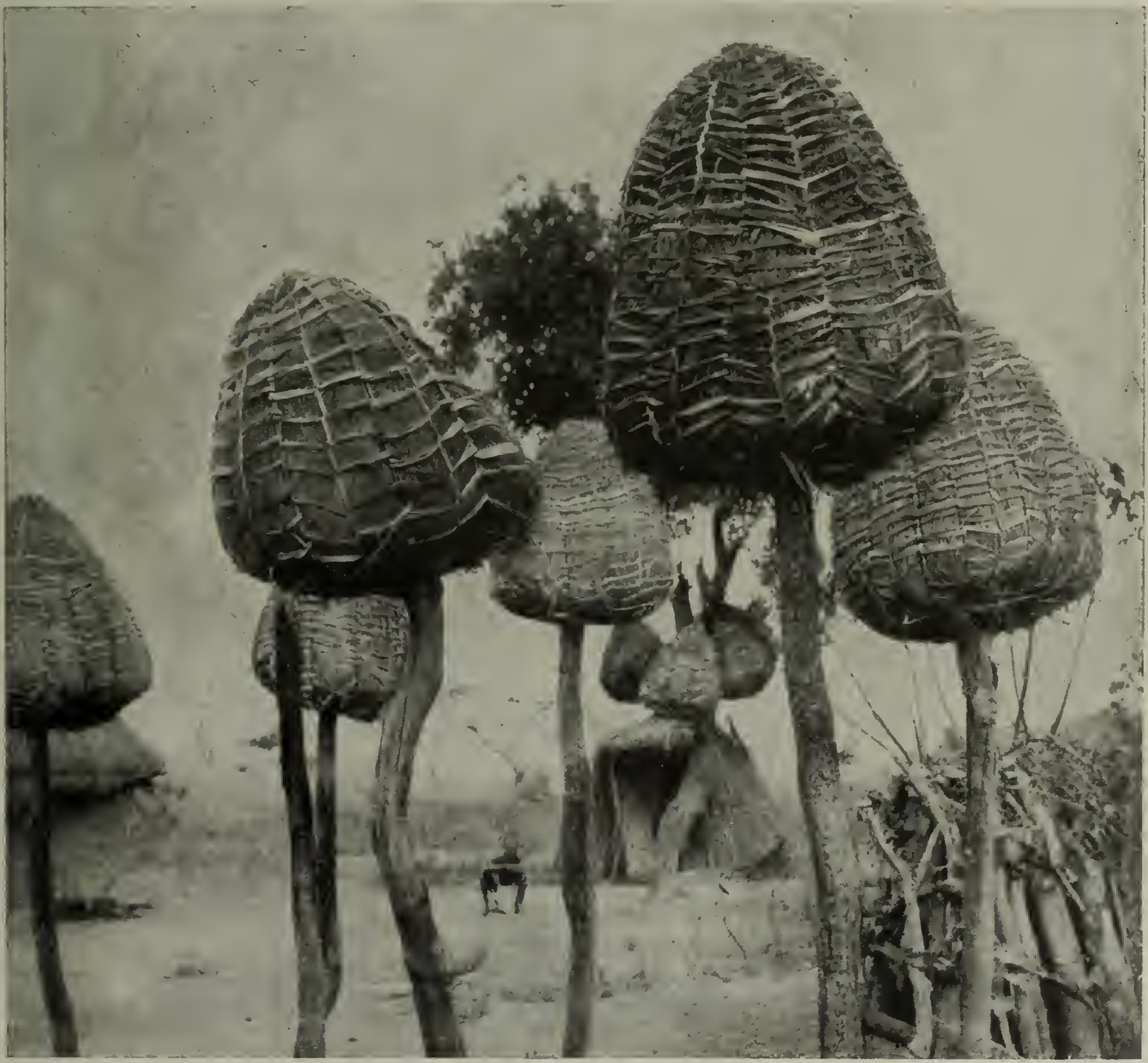
In Southern Nigeria at the yearly harvest festival it has long been the custom to take fetishes—such as this image of the god of plenty, here seen (bottom) in its shrine at Enugu—from their usual resting places and set them up in the open for all to worship. Above is seen the Emir of Katsena, in the Northern Province, encamped with his followers during the yearly harvest festival.

festival in the year. Members of secret societies receive intimation when it is about to be held from a man who goes round with a rattle. Another man carries a carved staff to indicate that the fetish images and cult objects are to be set up in an open village space in which ceremonies are usually observed. Next day figures of deified spirits like the mother Eka Ekkpo 'Njawhaw and her son, and other Ekkpo representatives of the dead, who give fertility to human beings and crops, are exhibited and adored. Offerings of goats and fowls are made to them.

Masked men, elaborately attired and therefore difficult to identify, were in former times wont to obtain human victims for sacrifice by pursuing some passer-by and striking off his or her head, which was presented, wrapped in leaves, to the image of the 'mother.' Of late years British magistrates have had to investigate cases of attacks upon natives by the prowling masked men in quest of victims. Sometimes boys and girls going to a missionary school are intercepted and attacked, and in Court native rescuers have testified that the intention of the attackers was to offer victims in sacrifice to the 'mother.' Occasionally the story of a tragedy is unfolded, the youngster having been dragged away to have his or her head cut off and laid before the ancestral spirit, while the body was cast away in the bush to be devoured by wild beasts.

In Central Africa the Bakitara have a harvest goddess called Kaikara, whose medium is an elderly woman. Before the crops are reaped a mess of millet is prepared and carried to the primitive temple. There it is received by the woman, who acts as a sort of priestess, wearing an elaborate headdress and a robe made of cow-skins. She accepts the food on behalf of Kaikara and sprinkles some of it through the temple. The remainder is ceremonially eaten at the entrance by worshippers, who are supposed to be feasting with the goddess. Then the harvesting operations are begun, men and women working together in the fields. The chief medicine man, who during the period of growth has been performing ceremonies to drive away the famine demons, receives offerings of white sheep and white fowls. He kills one sheep and one fowl and examines their entrails for confirmation of his oracles and, having sprinkled worshippers with their blood in the name of the god Wamala, announces that the harvest festivities may begin. Sometimes a barren cow is sacrificed, the priest partaking of the flesh.

An armistice is observed by the various clans of the Bagesu during the harvest period. Men go about unarmed and visit villages in which, in ordinary times, they might have to carry their lives in their hands.



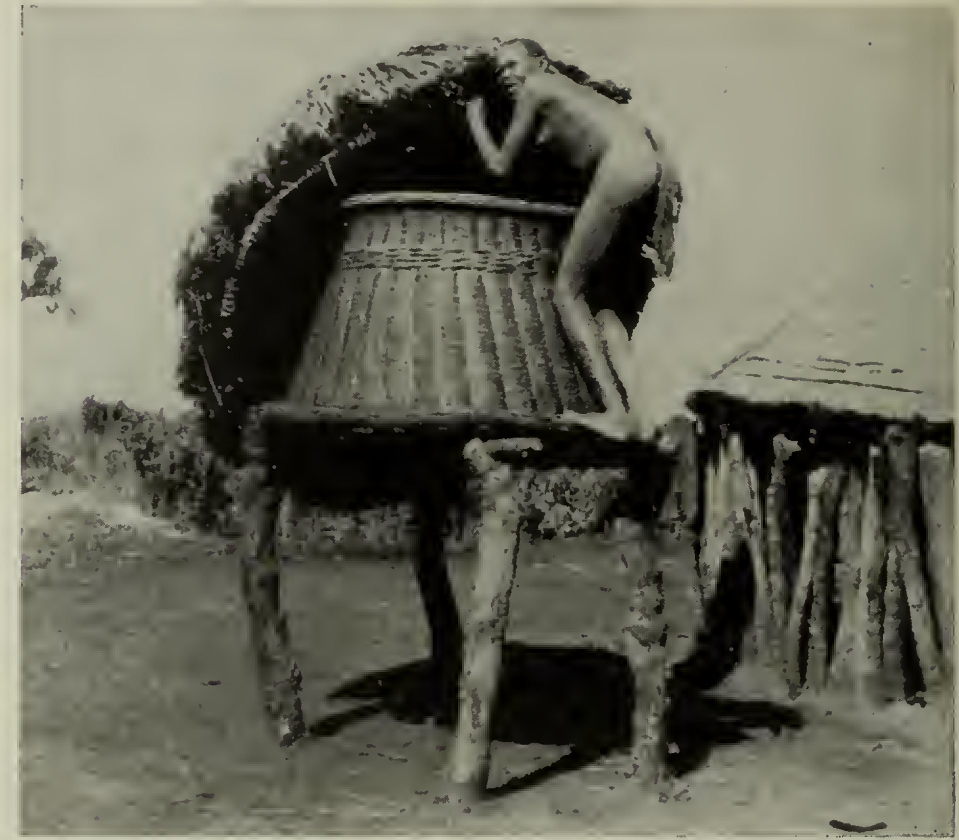
Ewing Galloway

GIANT TOADSTOOL GRAIN BINS OF PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA

The receptacles in which the tribes of Africa store the harvested grain vary widely in shape, size, and general arrangement according to the region. Some of them are sealed with clay, while others are furnished with a removable top. Perhaps the strangest grain stores of all are those used in Angola. Here the natives pack the grain into bags, which they then proceed to make into large grass bundles. These, when safely secured, are placed on tall posts, to protect them from vermin, chickens and pigs.

There is a great deal of beer drinking and dancing during the festival, which is attended by people who come long distances. Women as well as men drink heavily until, in a stupor, they are put to bed. Roscoe states that the harvest gatherings were formerly 'regular saturnalia, for men and women lived together regardless of marriage relationships.' During the harvest festival young men and women select their mates, and after they begin to live together the husband is informed by his wife's relatives what wedding fee he is expected to pay to them.

Before the reaping operations begin among the Banyankole people the wife of a small farmer goes into a millet field and plucks two kinds of grasses and, having pleated these, she deposits the bundle in the field beneath a stone. Then she cuts and binds two small sheaves of millet, which she sets over the stone. The reaping begins next day. A portion of the standing grain is left for the husband's mother, who comes to the field, cuts it and carries it home for her own use. If this custom should be neglected, it is believed the crop of the following year would be a poor one. The harvest rejoicings are accompanied by feasting, beer-drinking and dancing.



Wide World Photos

Reginald Silk

HOW THE HARVEST IS STORED IN CENTRAL AFRICA

In the Walendu district durra is kept in hive-shaped granaries made of basketwork with movable lids (top), and set on poles three or four feet above the ground. In some parts, cereals and family treasures are stored in the same hut. In the combination store hut here seen (bottom) the entrance is only seventeen inches square.

The Bantu peoples of East Africa select an elderly woman to collect the first fruits of the harvest. Maize cobs and beans are gathered by her before they are quite ripe. Then a goat is sacrificed and its blood mixed with the green crop. The mess is cooked in a pot, and after being ceremonially tasted by the king or chief is distributed among the people. The green crops can then be eaten without fear of danger to health or of witchcraft. Before the reaping of ripe crops begins a sorcerer fixes the auspicious day and hour for sacrificing a goat and cooking with the blood samples of the new crop. The food is first eaten by women, to whom it is presented upon freshly plucked leaves. Strict taboos are observed by men and women while the harvesting is in progress. A feast is observed by women, no man being present, when the crops have been carried in. Then the sorcerer fixes the time for the

threshing operation. The harvest festival which follows is of the usual boisterous character favoured throughout Africa.

HEAD-HUNTING in connexion with agricultural rites is known to be a custom in the Congo as well as in West Africa. When we pass to Asia we find this custom prevailing among the Naga tribes in the hilly area between Assam and Bengal. It has long been suppressed in southern India, but among the more primitive peoples there skulls are taken from graves for use in magical ceremonies connected with the growth and harvesting of crops. The hill tribes of Burma perpetuate the custom in secret, but recorders insist that they do not go head-hunting for the sake of taking life. ‘Without a yearly skull for the village,’ one writes, ‘there might be failure of rain or too much of it.’

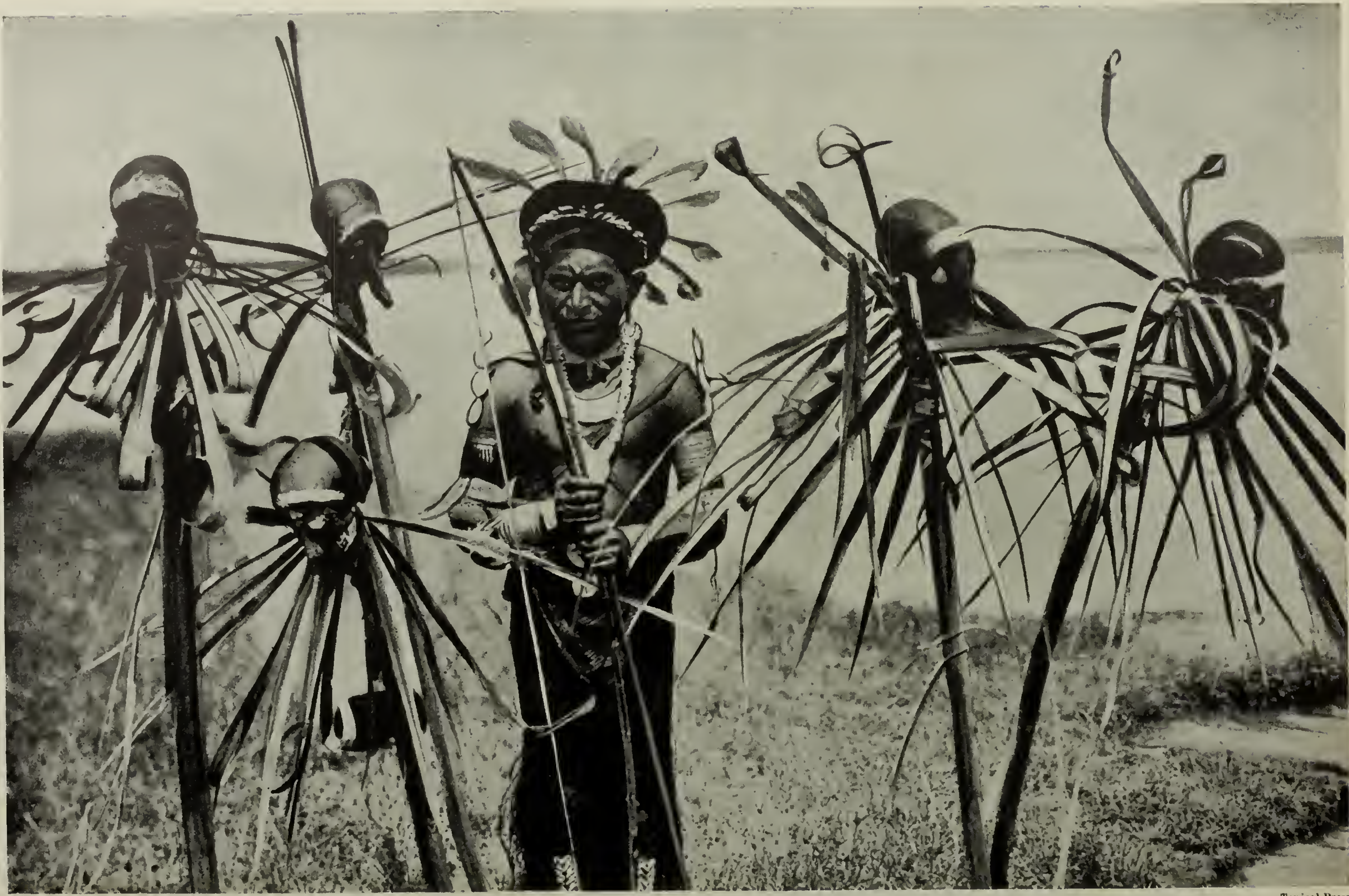
Head-hunting still obtains in parts of Indonesia and Melanesia, and was formerly very common in Polynesia. The half-civilized natives of the Central Celebes, in the Dutch East Indies, require heads to ensure the growth of crops, and to fertilise at harvest time the seed kept over for the following year. The Bontoc of the Philippines, including the Ifugao of Luzon, dispose of the body of a decapitated victim by thrusting it into a hole in a spirit-haunted mountain and covering it with stones. A similar custom is observed by the Kayan people of Borneo, but in Melanesia, as formerly in Polynesia, the body was cooked and eaten with ceremony. In British and Dutch Borneo the severest measures have been taken to stamp out the custom, but European officials state in their reports on native habits that human skulls and preserved heads are still to be seen in houses and granaries. In ceremonial dances, including those of the harvest festival, dried and smoked heads or skulls are displayed.

Among the Papuans of New Guinea and the adjoining small islands native habits of life are invested with ceremony illustrative of myth and savage mental processes. The yam harvest in May–June has a lunar connexion,

Cambridge University Press

HARVEST FRUITS AT A FESTIVAL IN NEW GUINEA

At some feasts of the Koita of New Guinea the dubu, or ceremonial platform, is decked as if for a harvest festival, with sugar cane, yams, bananas, and the like. The photographs, by Mr. G. O. Manning, taken from Dr. C. G. Seligman’s ‘The Melanesians of British New Guinea,’ show a decorated dubu at Pari and women carrying yams.



Topical Press

HEAD-HUNTING A RITE OF HARVEST: SKULLS TO BRING A BUMPER CROP

The custom of head-hunting, which is found among many primitive peoples, is widely practised as a means to ensure the growth of crops. Skulls are used ceremonially not only at the time of harvest, but also when the crops are sown or planted and while they are growing. The Wa of Upper Burma hold that skulls exercise a beneficial influence on the whole life of the community by providing guardian spirits. Without a skull, so they believe, malignant spirits might gain entrance and the cattle die; without a skull the crops would fail, and to guard against this, at least one new one should be taken every year. The warrior here seen with his trophies of decorated skulls is a native of the island of Goaribari, in the South Pacific.

H. J. Shepstone

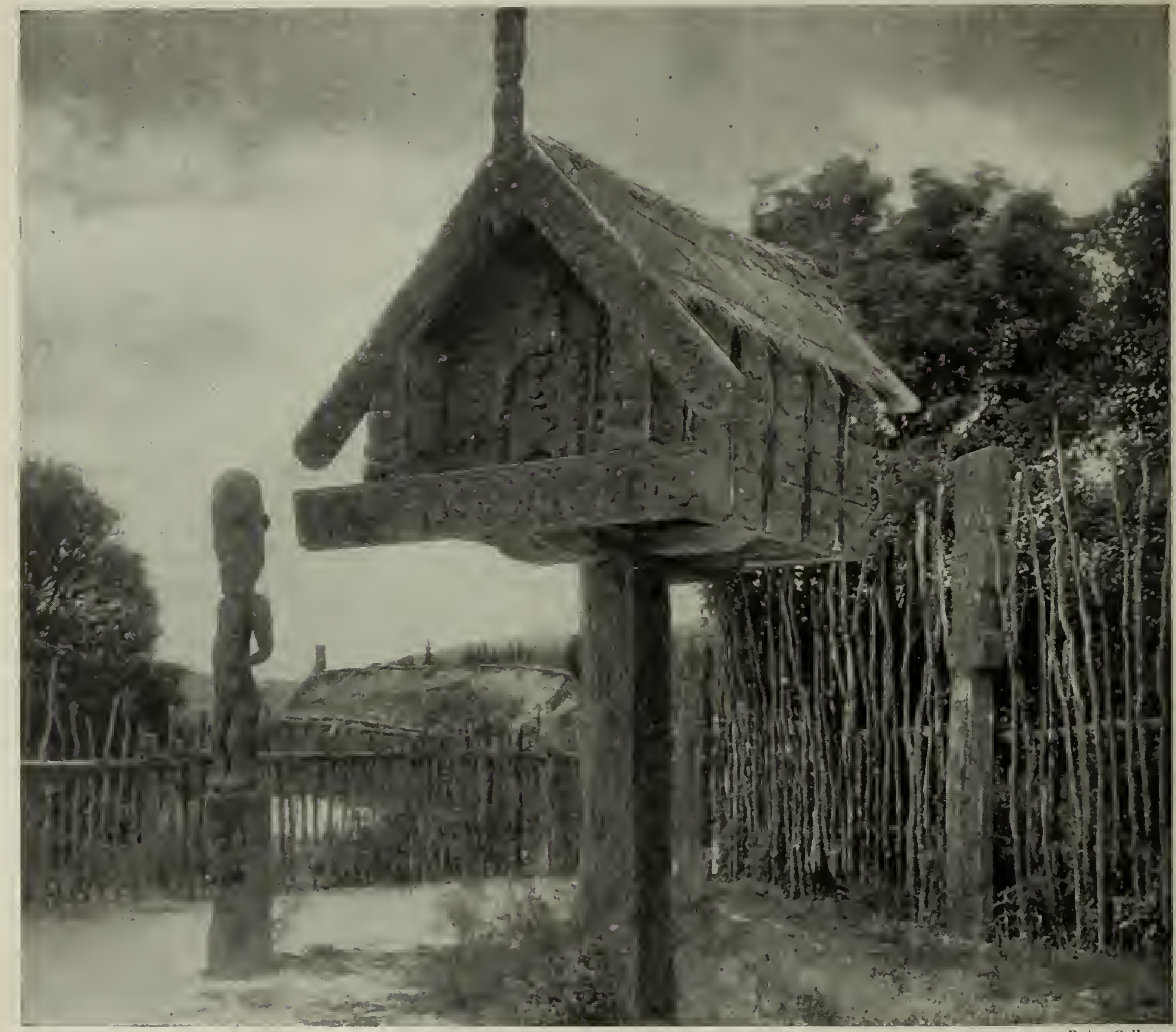
SPIRAL EVOLUTIONS IN A HARVEST DANCE OF HEAD-HUNTERS IN INDIA

The Naga tribes, who live in the hill country south of the Brahmaputra, employ head-hunting in connexion with harvest and kindred rites. The Lhota Naga used to cut off not only the head, but also the hands and feet, and put up the severed extremities in the fields to ensure a good grain crop. The festival dance here seen is being executed by Ao, another Naga tribe. The men and boys dance together in a long line, winding into a spiral and then unwinding.

and the auspicious time for beginning it is also indicated by the blossoming of one kind of tree and the yellowing of the leaves of another. An old couple pay a secret visit to a field to pull up with ceremony the first yams—the 'father yam' and 'mother yam.' These are left lying, and next day the owner and his wife perform a similar ceremony. Then other yams are lifted and brought with the first two pairs to the men's club-house, where they are roasted by an old woman. A ceremonial feast follows, and portions are distributed among the women and children in the communal house. Ball games are played, and when the work is completed there are ceremonial feasts and dances. An old man and woman similarly inaugurate the cropping of taro, and when the firstfruits are taken home they are cooked with coconut and ceremonially eaten. The first ripe nut of a new coconut tree is taken down by the owner and handed to an old couple, who distribute portions of it, and especially to pregnant women and animals.

A widespread ceremony attended by days and nights of dancing, singing and feasting is connected with the erection of the 'harvest tree,' which confers fertility. A suitable tree having been selected, it is felled and carried to the ground of the feast-giver. An old couple strike the first blows in the felling ceremony, and they also begin the digging of the hole in which the trunk is set up after the branches have been trimmed and a platform fixed between two of them. The first pairs of lifted yams are hung on the tree by the old couple and then all kinds of garden produce, coconuts, wild fruit, flesh and fish are suspended from branches or tied to the trunk. In the end the tree resembles a hay-stack, and it is gaily decorated with ornaments and coloured cloths. Mats are laid upon the ground around the tree and then the guests are summoned to admire and rejoice. Fires are lit and there is an all-night dance, during which religious myths and charms are chanted. On the following day the food offerings on the tree are distributed and the feast-giver is praised and thanked as a fine fellow who has proved himself a luck-bringer and food-giver. The stripped tree is afterwards taken down and thrown into the sea. Dancing, chanting and feasting go on for some time longer and, in the end, pigs are slain, cooked and eaten, portions of pork, however, being reserved to be sent as presents to other villages.

The Solomon islanders observe a yam harvest



Ewing Galloway

RICH ADORNMENT LAVISHED BY THE MAORIS ON A STORE FOR THE HARVEST YIELD

In addition to their marvellous proficiency in the more complicated forms of tattooing, the Maoris developed a very virile style of woodcarving, in which, in accordance with an ancient tradition of unknown origin, most of the human figures have only three fingers. They applied their skill particularly to bargeboards, gables, house-posts and canoes. This Maori food cache at Rotorua, in North Island, furnishes a good example of the masterly manner in which the Maori craftsman treated gables and bargeboards.

festival, but the first pair of yams are lifted by a priest, who ties them together. Then in the evening he carries them through the village and down to the altar beside the beach, where they are offered to the spirits. Meanwhile the people are fasting and remain indoors until the ceremony concludes. The lifting of new yams becomes general on the following day. A festival follows. When the taro crop is ripe those roots regarded as sacred are lifted by the priest, roasted and pounded on the field, and ceremonially eaten, the priest eating first, his attendants next, and then the rest of the party. This ceremony is regarded as a communion with the fertility spirit.

When the time to gather canarium nuts arrives, a man plucks the firstfruits. Then he blows a plaintive call on his set of pan-pipes, and his wife comes forward to receive the nuts. The priest offers the firstfruits on the altar. A feast follows, each participant receiving a share of a pudding made of nuts and yams, and portions being set aside for the spirits. The priest, standing between the people and the spirits' food, chants charms to bring good luck and avert bad luck in every form.

In some Melanesian islands the harvest festival is of elaborate character. Yams decorated with streamers are carried shoulder high on stretchers, while the medicine men chant verses, towards a high platform, supported by Y-shaped stakes, upon which the spirits are supposed to perch. These spirits are believed to partake of the substance of the yams. There is much rejoicing and feasting after the crop is stored. Similar festivals were formerly observed in Polynesia, and still survive among the primitive peoples of the Philippines.

MOTHER-RIGHT AND THE MATRIARCHATE

THE matriarchal system, under which personal rights, duties and restrictions are determined from the maternal side, is found at both poles of primitive culture. An outstanding instance is noticed in the chapter on Weddings Without the Bride. Further information concerning Women's Status in Primitive Society is to be found in the chapter so entitled and in that on The Family Among Savages.

AMONG many peoples classed under the misleading term savage or semi-civilized descent is traced through the mother. In their social organization 'mother-right' prevails. Their institutions are of the type known as matriarchal. For it follows as a consequence of tracing descent and kinship through the mother that such societies have certain peculiar and distinctive characteristics which differentiate them sharply from groups which trace descent through the father and are organized on patriarchal lines.

In a patriarchal grouping, such, for instance, as that familiar in western civilization, the father is the head of the family and the fount of authority; the relation of the members of the family one to another is determined by their relationship to the head of the group; women, legally, are in a position of subordination, although in western society their status has been much altered by recent legislation, and property and authority are inherited in the male line as the normal course; though here, again, among ourselves law and custom have intervened to modify conformity to type.

In the matriarchal group, on the other hand, the members of the kin are bound together by ties which originate in the mother; their affiliations are in the female line only. If the society is totemistic, the totem is inherited from the mother; and the natural heir and successor of every man is his sister's son. In some societies the woman is the head and ruler of the group; and women alone can hold and inherit property. Some authorities would confine the term matriarchate, on a strict interpretation, to such societies as the last-named. Others, however, who hold strongly to the view that the female group is the original form of human association, are, in consequence, inclined to regard all manifestations of mother-right as survivals or modifications of the complete supremacy of women and concomitants of the matriarchate.

THE type of society in which mother-right prevails differs so radically from that found among peoples who trace descent through the father and are organized on patriarchal lines, that travellers and others who first recorded observations of such institutions in modern times failed to perceive their true character. This is hardly surprising; for in European culture the patriarchal system is fundamental and all-pervading. It was the foundation of society in ancient Greece and Rome, and it is the most prominent feature in the account of the tribal life of the ancient Hebrews as described in the Old Testament. Yet as long ago as the fifth century before Christ Herodotus had recorded that the Lykians took their names from their mothers; and among the primitive tribes of the Caucasus matriarchal customs still linger, as is indicated by the inheritance of property in the female line and the participation of women in the blood feud.

The Jesuit fathers who laboured in North America in the early days of settlement in the seventeenth century describe a typical matriarchal system of highly organized type which was general among the tribes with whom they came into contact and still exists to-day here and there among the surviving Indians of the southern United States and South America. Among the Senecas, for instance, the most important of the tribes of the famous Iroquois confederation of the Five Nations, the usual dwelling houses were the famous 'long houses,' sixty to a hundred feet in length. These clan dwellings were divided into compartments on each side, and were ruled by a matron, who allotted its compartments to each group and controlled the distribution of food. The women took husbands from other clans; but each ruled in her family group; she was the mistress and heiress of the house. The children belonged to the mother, the father being in the position of a stranger to them; and if he failed to provide his proper share for the common stock he might be sent away. In some cases the husband continued to live with his parents, visiting his wife only at night.

IN this account, which might serve as a type description of such matriarchal societies as still exist with institutions unimpaired to-day, the significant features are female descent and ascendancy, female ownership and inheritance of property—the house, and matrilocal marriage, in which the wife remains with her own kin, while her husband occupies a position of inferiority or is only a visitor, retaining membership of his own kin-group. There is one feature of mother-right, however, to which it makes no reference, though we know from other sources that it existed. This is the position of the mother's brother. It was necessary that the woman should delegate her authority to a male for the performance of certain functions—hunting and war. Owing to the fact that the husband was not a member of his wife's group, these duties fell to the males of her own kin, the brothers, while the leadership in their performance devolved on the most responsible male member of the kin, the brother of the head-woman.

Owing to the wide distribution and frequent occurrence of some of these customs, notably

South-West Museum, Los Angeles, and Dr. A. L. Kroeber

DENIZENS OF AN ISLAND WHERE THE WOMAN IS THE PREDOMINANT PARTNER

The matriarchal system is said to be found in a complete form among the Seri, a primitive tribe inhabiting Tiburon Island, in the Gulf of California. The men fight and fish ; every other activity is in the hands of the women, in affairs that concern not only the family group but also the clan. The husband has no place in the home and no say in domestic matters. The photographs show an elderly man of the spare Seri type and a Seri woman with her baby

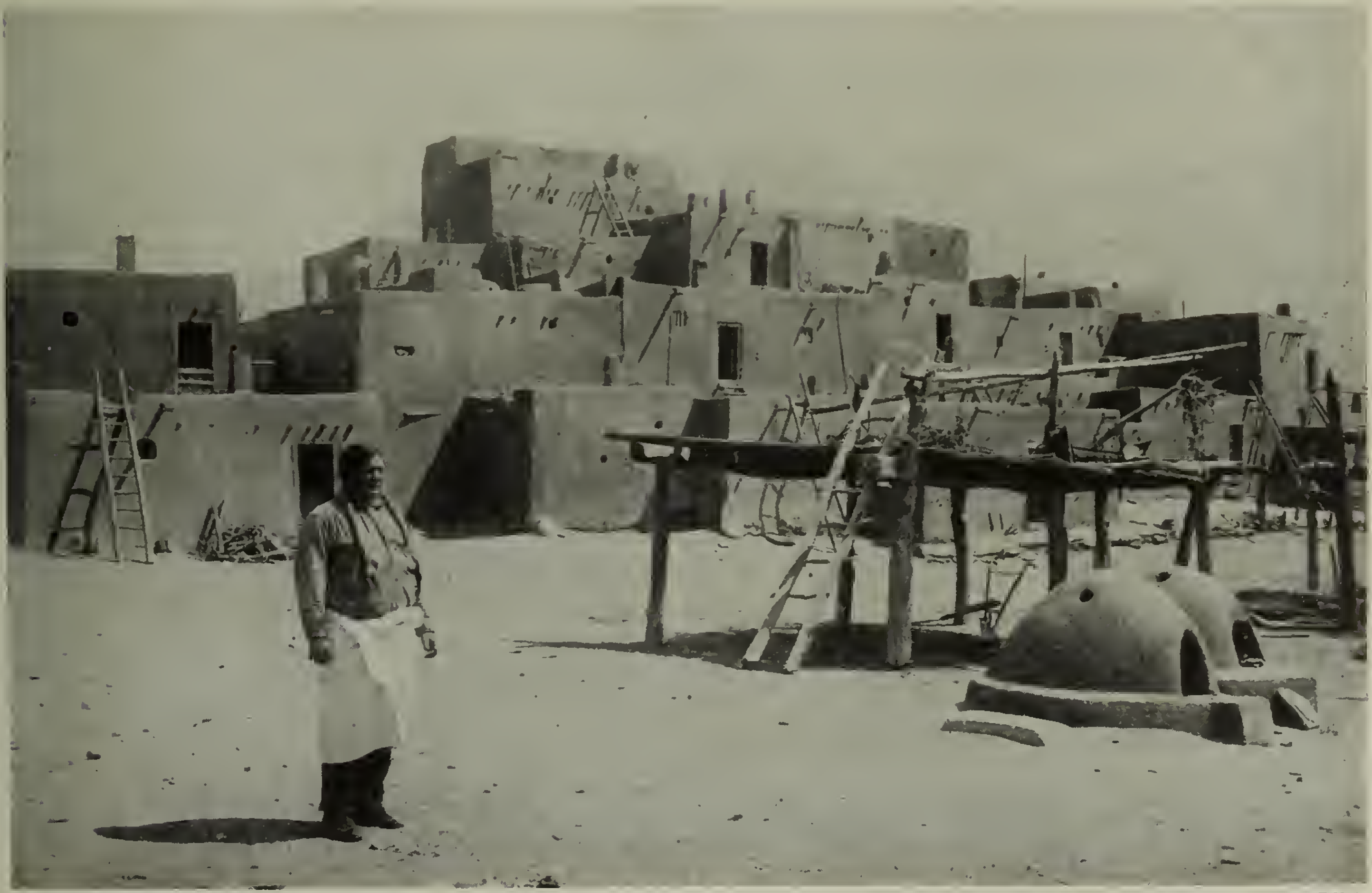
matrilineal descent, the authority of the mother's brother and matrilocal marriage, either as single elements in a social organism or in combination one with another, it has been argued that the original form of human organization was a matriarchate. Other authorities, who are not prepared to go to such a length as to admit that woman was the original ruler of the group, would yet hold that matrilineal descent was at one time universal and that groups which are now patriarchal and patrilineal at one time traced descent through the mother, owing either to ignorance of paternity or to its uncertainty. There is no doubt that in many societies which now trace descent through the father there are apparently survivals of matrilineal descent which may be held to point in that direction, while in others, such as the Jukun of Nigeria, the process of change from one system to the other can be observed as it takes place. Among such a people it may be found that one form of inheritance, say, of the totem, will be through the mother, while another, such as personal property, will be from father to son. It has to be remembered, however, that in some cases such anomalies may be due to the fusion of two groups, each following a different system. Among the Ewe-speaking peoples of West Africa the upper classes inherit through the father, while in the lower classes property is transmitted through the mother.

One of the most persistent and at the same time characteristic institutions of mother-right is the position of the mother's brother. In the form in which the authority of the mother's brother is generally recognized among primitive peoples of the present day it represents an enlargement of the status as it exists in the strict type of the matriarchate. Virtually he acts as the head of the group ; he is the holder of its property, while the mother is merely the channel of relationship through which kinship and inheritance pass. In such case the woman obeys him and looks to him for support and advice, while his authority over her children is recognized as absolutely as if he were their father in a patriarchal group. Nor is his position affected if the father reside with the family, and notwithstanding the strong bond of affection which usually subsists between father and children in such circumstances. On the other hand, at his death his property and authority pass to his sister's children, and not to his own son.

Marriage under mother-right is frequently, though not invariably, matrilocal. The rule of exogamy requires that everyone should marry outside the group—usually expressed in the prohibition of marriage between members of the same totem-kin. In a primitive society the existence of the group depends upon a delicate, albeit unconscious, adjustment of the numbers of the group to food supply. In the maintenance of this state of equilibrium the work of the woman as food-getter, artificer and home-maker is all-important. The group does not willingly forgo the services of so valuable a member. It seeks to protect itself by either a marriage by exchange, when the husband gives his sister in marriage to the brother of his bride, or it may demand payment in compensation. Neither of these courses is confined to the matriarchal group.

Alternatively the group may guard against the loss of any of its members by matrilocal marriage, in which the wife remains with her group, while the husband becomes a temporary or permanent resident with his wife's clan. It is possible that the custom of sexual hospitality common among many peoples, and especially in Africa, by which a wife, daughter or sister is offered to the stranger within the gates, may be a survival of the custom of the temporary husband. In some cases the husband only visits his wife surreptitiously and intermittently at night, as in Fiji. Of this form of marriage the custom of 'bundling' once observed in the north of England, by which it was a recognized practice that engaged couples should spend the night together, the man being admitted secretly, is thought to be a survival.

In the Caucasus the mountain tribes under the Russian regime have retained many of their primitive customs. Among these is the regulation observed among the Ossetes that a husband shall only visit his wife secretly and by night, while among the Chevurs this arrangement continues until the third child has been born. Among the Ainu, before their customs were appreciably modified by Japanese influence, the polygamous husband visited his wives in their villages each in turn. This polyoecious marriage is common among polygamous peoples. Even when marriage is patrilocal it is often the rule that a husband must stay with his wife's family for a year, or at least until the first child has been born.



E.N.A.

HOME THAT HOUSES MANY FAMILIES RULED BY ONE WOMAN

This range of structures in New Mexico, with its square rooms, flat roofs, and storeys arranged one above the other in terraces, is a community house of the Pueblo Indians. The beehive-shaped objects in the foreground are ovens. Among these sedentary agricultural peoples of the south-western United States, of whom the Hopi (see illustration in page 549) are a well-known tribe, the matriarchate flourishes. The community house belongs to and is controlled by a woman of the clan, and when she dies it becomes the property of her daughter.

There are many variants of this requirement, especially in northern Asia, where its observance is almost universal. When residence is taken up permanently with the wife's family it is a common rule that, as among certain Eskimo tribes, the son-in-law should be in a subordinate position until the father dies, when he succeeds to the property and for the first time acquires a house of his own.

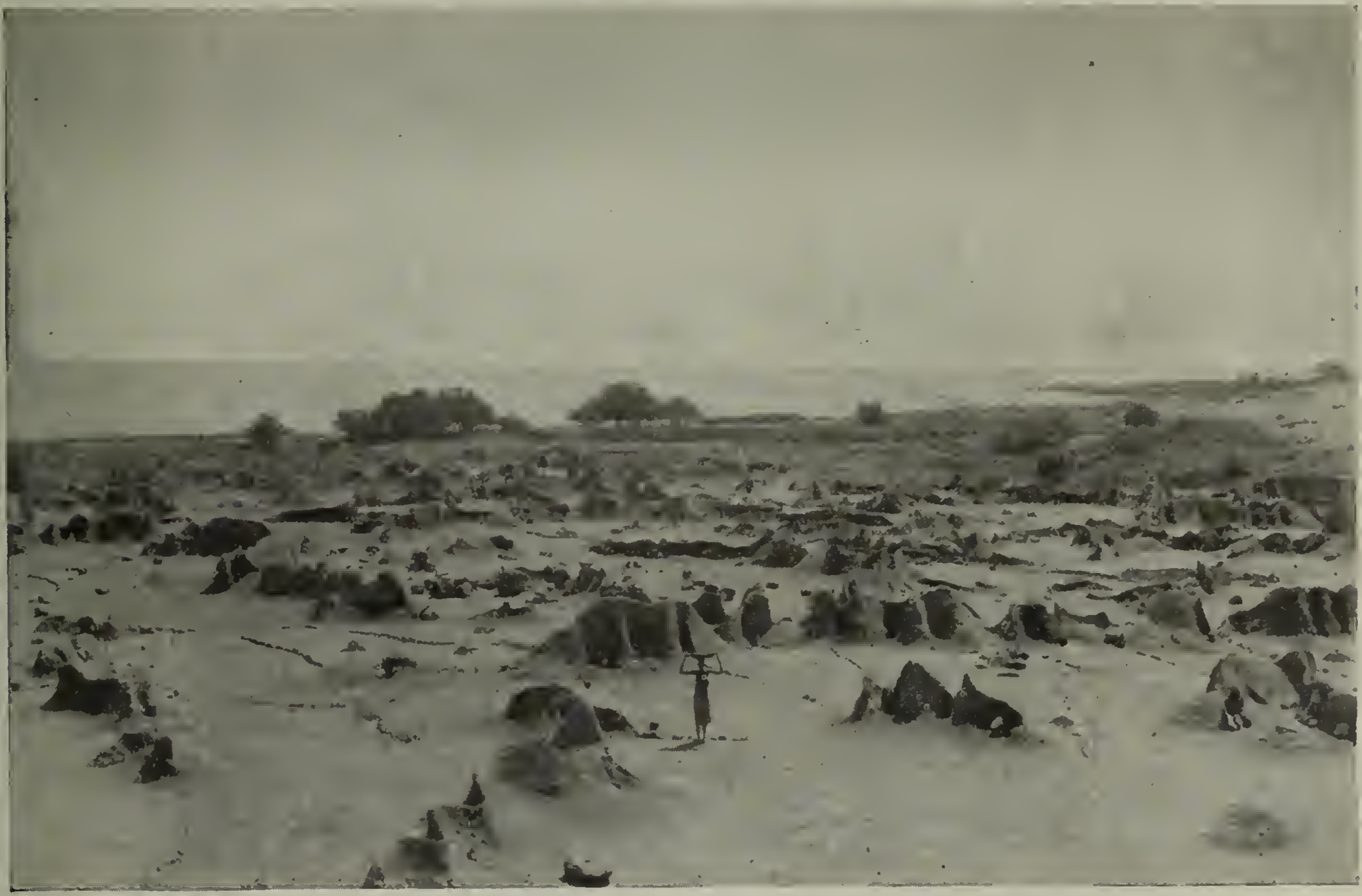
It is obvious that when matrilocal marriage takes the form, as it so often does, of the husband's residence with the bride's family, coupled with eventual inheritance of the father-in-law's position and property, the end of mother-right is approaching. Even in societies which conform more or less closely to the typical matriarchate, forces may be discerned which tend towards

Press Cliché

WOMEN WHO GO TO BUSINESS WHILE THE MEN STAY AT HOME

In the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan, in the Caucasus, there is a little tribe, the Yasai, in which women occupy the dominant position. The Yasai women not only manage the household, but engage in trade and barter to the exclusion of the men, who, with the boys, remain at home and perform only the simplest menial duties. It will be noticed that the woman nearest the wall of the house in the lower photograph is wearing male attire. Above is seen an old Yasai woman beside a cradle.

disintegration and the abrogation of female control in the group. The Seri are an extremely primitive Indian tribe of California who can hardly be said to have yet attained the Stone Age, for they do not even fashion stone implements, nor do they cook their food. It has been recorded by an observer of their customs that they have a matriarchal system in which the supremacy of the female is complete Each clan is headed by a clan-mother with a hierarchy of daughters and grand-daughters. The women exercise all administrative and judicative functions, controlling all action in the clan. They erect their own shelters without the assistance of the men and boys. Although there is a place for the boys in the shelter, there is none for the husband, nor has he any say or authority in



SALT INDUSTRY OF AFRICA WORKED WHOLLY BY WOMEN

A peculiar feature of the native salt workings at Kibero, on the eastern shore of Lake Albert, in Uganda, is that they are owned, worked and controlled entirely by women. The shore is studded with little earth ramparts, each containing three or four recesses, and each marked off from the others by lines of stones (bottom). Each of these sections is the sole property of one woman. While the women prepare the salt the men are occupied only in such subordinate tasks as collecting fuel (top) from the neighbouring heights.

domestic affairs. The women do all the work and, as is usual in such societies, any permanent products, either direct or indirect, are their own property and pass to their daughters on their death. The sole function of the men is fishing and fighting, the latter, however, a matter of some importance, as the groups have an implacable animosity toward one another.

It is in this connexion that a weakening of the matriarchal system is to be noted, for a man is elected chief to lead in war and to control the weather. In this latter aspect, however, he is still dependent on his wife, for as magic is held to be resident in the woman, the man selected is always the husband of her who is considered the most powerful worker of magic. In view of the importance of magic as an element in the authority of the North American Indian tribal chief this custom is of special significance. Occurring among a people of an extremely primitive type, it already heralds the ultimate abandonment of authority to the male.

The occurrence of the matriarchate in such complete form among one of the most primitive of peoples known, and that, too, in America, is interesting, as it has been held that the matriarchate in the strict sense is a local and late product dependent on the development of agriculture and the accumulation of inheritable wealth. It is true that the Iroquois had attained a high level of social organization and culture when they first came into contact with Europeans. The civilization of the agricultural Pueblo tribes had also attained a high level, and they are among the most characteristically matriarchal of all the Indian peoples. The terraced houses on the mesas of the 'arid' region of the south-western United States are each the property of a woman of the group, who is head and ruler of the house. It passes on her death to her daughter, while the sons leave it on marriage to take up their residence with their wife's family in her house, though each still remains a member of his mother's group.

In regard to the view that the matriarchate is a local development, its frequency in eastern Asia may be noted, for it may have been carried thence to America.

Economic influences have received too little consideration in the study of primitive societies, but their effect on the matriarchate cannot be passed over. There can be little doubt that possession of property and its transmission in the female line, as well as the economic independence which follows as a result, have helped to preserve the matriarchate where it still exists, or has existed up to recent times. The Tuareg of northern Africa, for instance, have been the subject of comment among many travellers on account of the independent position of their women, who, notwithstanding the fact that they are Mahomedans, go unveiled and trace descent in the female line. The women only are literate; they have a great reputation for poetic and artistic taste. Most of the property is accumulated in the hands of the women, and they retain complete control of their property after marriage. They do not, as a rule, contribute to their husband's domestic expenses. He, indeed, may remain with his wife on marriage for a few weeks only, and then return to his own village.

Among the best-known of matriarchal peoples are the Nayars of Malabar, the aristocratic caste of the Tamil population. The family group consists of all the descendants of a female ancestor in the female line, and the household is the mother and her daughters. The women were polyandrous, the husbands being temporary; but it was a requirement of custom that the first husband should be a Nambudiri Brahman, who, on account of caste, not only could not eat with his wife's family, but to whom even the very touch of his own children was pollution. These polyandrous customs have now been modified, but the Nayar woman still remains a member of her mother's house on marriage and all property continues to be transmitted in the female line.

Of a similar type, but even more primitive, are the Synteng, Khasis and other hill tribes of Assam. They have been described as 'the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions carried out in a logical and thorough manner.' The household is composed of grandmother, or even great-grandmother and her descendants in the female line, but without their husbands. The woman is the only owner of real property, and through her inheritance passes, though, curiously enough, it is the youngest daughter who inherits. It is highly significant that all a man's earnings go to his mother until he marries, when they are diverted to his wife's family. Among the Kochs the men are said to make over all property to the women. A modification of this characteristic regulation arises when a man may transmit or dispose of property which he has acquired by his own exertions. The effect of this on the matriarchate is to be seen in the Malay Peninsula.

The Malayan marriage system and social organization exhibit great variety owing to the superimposition of Hindu and Mahomedan custom on an originally purely matriarchal society. In Negri Sembilan matriarchal customs still persist, and retain the form which the Malays brought with them when they migrated from Sumatra. In the highlands of the interior of Sumatra the Minangkabau are regarded as the original and pure Malays. They are held to have retained and preserved the original social constitution of the race. Both the Negri Sembilan Malays and the Minangkabau are strictly matriarchal, the woman alone holding property and transmitting it to her daughters. In Negri Sembilan, however, where landed property is still theoretically inalienable in the female holding, owing to the development of rubber cultivation the men have acquired the right to hold and dispose of land which they have cleared and planted themselves. It is hardly rash to prophesy that here Western civilization will prove once more to have sounded the knell of an institution which had endured for untold centuries.

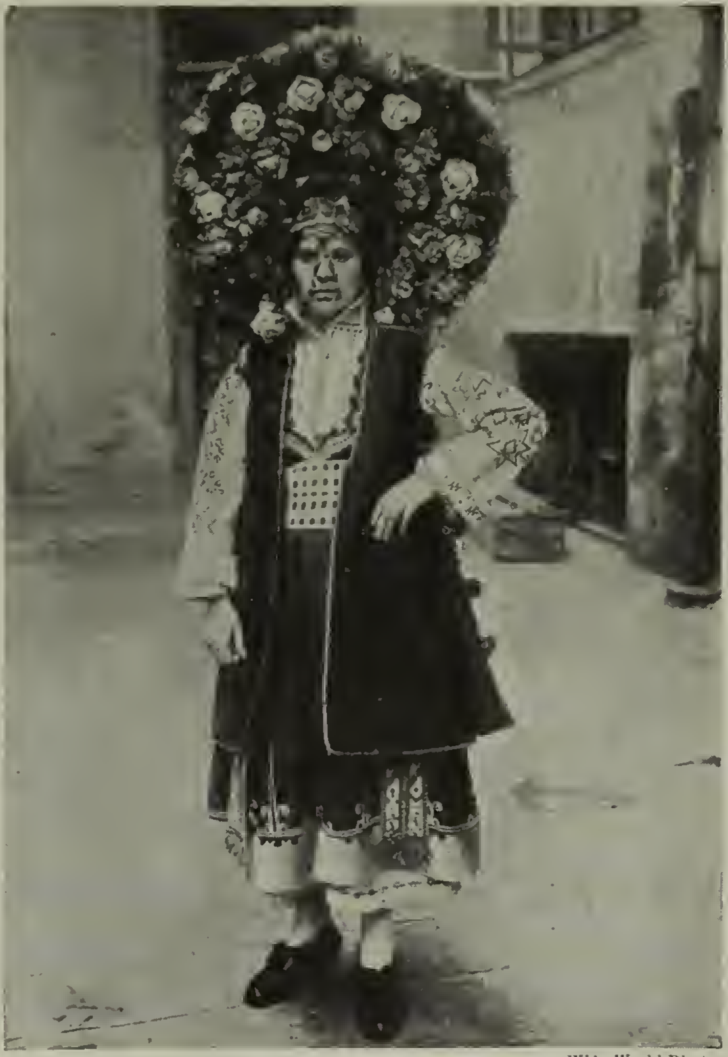
MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

OTHER chapters deal with customs of marriage in Northern and Central Europe and in France, Italy and Spain; others, again, deal with equivalent customs in the East, in Africa, and in South Sea Islands. General aspects of the subject are treated under the heading The Various Forms of Marriage, and specific aspects under Polygamy and Polyandry, and Marriages that are Forbidden

SOUTH-EASTERN Europe possesses for the student of manners and customs an interest which is unique. In no other part of the Continent is it possible to find tribal institutions virtually unimpaired, even after a great war, and a nomad population, wandering in small family groups with its flocks from hill to plain and back again, according to the season, within a few hundred yards of a great city. Elsewhere in Europe, especially among the country folk, are found observances which survive, like the fossils of prehistoric life, from an earlier stage of culture, and of which the forgotten meaning can be recovered only laboriously by comparative study. In the Balkans similar practices are to be seen, not as mere material for the antiquarian or folklorist, but alive and fulfilling their function as integral parts in the everyday life of the tribe or village community.

For both the pastoral nomads (with whom may be included the *komitadji* or semi-political brigand bands) and the settled agriculturists of the villages occupations are determined almost rigidly by the seasonal changes in their climate of extremes. In the spring they plough and sow the ground or move their flocks toward the uplands. The few weeks which follow are given up to the prosecution of family feuds, tribal raids or war until the harvest comes. When this has been garnered it is the time for marriage and merry-making before settling down for the brief but harsh winter.

Marriage in conditions such as are found in the Balkans is something more than an event, however important, in the life of an individual or of the two families immediately concerned. It is a social activity which provides a release for the emotions of the whole group in which it takes place when, after the four months' heat and drought of summer, the autumn rains bring back verdure to mountain valleys and the plains in a spate vivifying the life of men and animals.



Wide World Photos

TRADITIONAL WEAR OF MACEDONIAN BRIDE

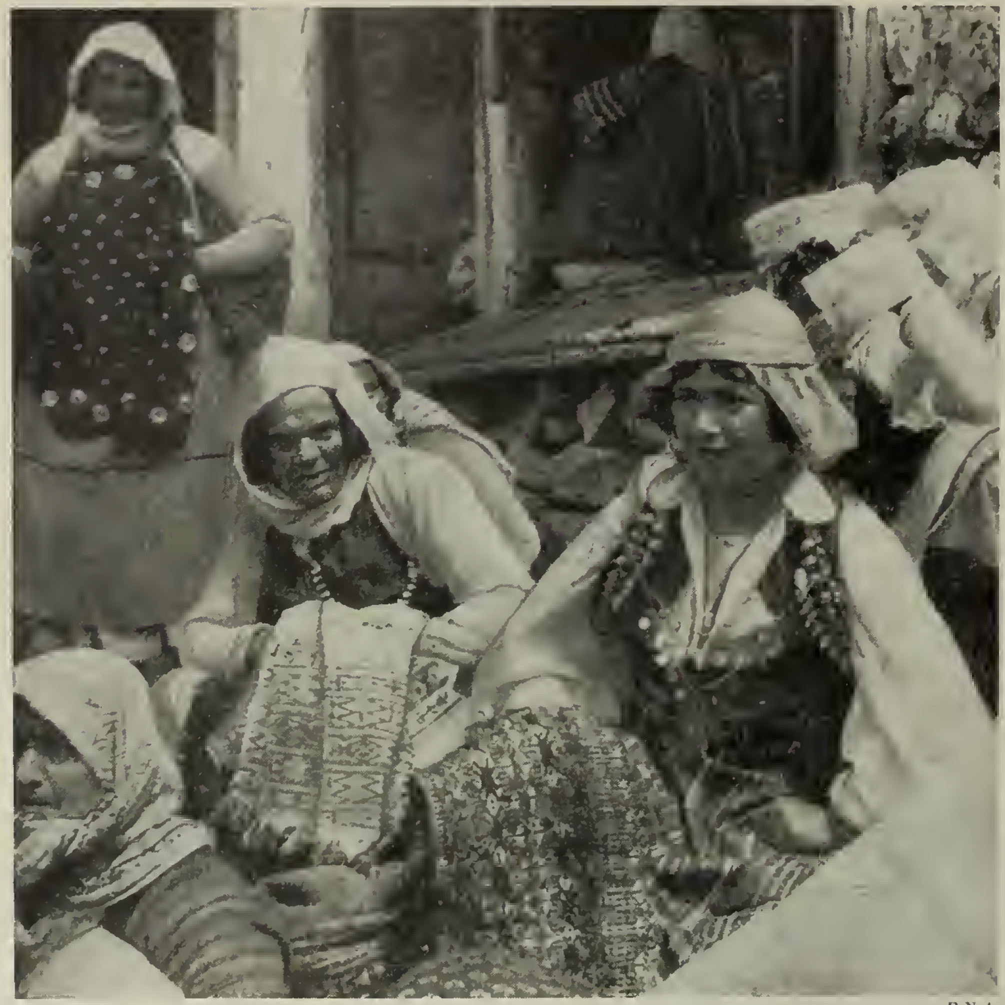
The most conspicuous feature of this bridal costume is the complicated head-dress. The part close to the head is stitched thickly with coins, two strings of which have been looped up so as to fall over the face on each side of the nose.

No wonder, then, that the week, or even fortnight, devoted to a marriage celebration, which may seem to us excessive, is all too short for the feasting, the dancing, and the ritual visits and exchange of formal gifts between the families which must be crowded into the time. This applies more particularly to Macedonia and to Albania and Montenegro, where the tribal organization was virtually untouched up to the time of the Balkan Wars and the Great War.

In the marriage customs of the Balkans there are rites which look back to the traditional practice of marriage by capture of the old Slav peoples; but marriage by capture was not mere tradition among them. It was, until lately, very much in being. The Mirdites of northern Albania made it an habitual practice to carry off their wives from the neighbouring Moslem tribes, and it was a saying expressing no more than the truth which had it that a marriage was followed by many funerals. Almost invariably it initiated a blood feud. In Macedonia when the raiding bands descended on a village they made which must not be, and in fact never is, broken.

The part played by the Orthodox Church in giving a common character to marriage ceremonial has naturally been very considerable. Not only does the actual ceremony usually, but not invariably, take place in church and the priest act as the celebrant, but it is the general practice for him to preside over the betrothal ceremony, though it takes place in the bride's house; it must be enacted before the icon or sacred picture, and the priest is responsible for making known the terms of the contract of marriage to all who are present.

Throughout the Balkans, except in Bulgaria, the bride's portion is of paramount importance, and virtually settles the question of marriage. It consists of an outfit of clothes, etc., but if ready money is to be added, it usually proves irresistible. The bride must provide linen and underclothes for the bridegroom as well as herself, and they must be of her own weaving and making. In Albania she is expected to bring with her not less than two dozen of everything the groom may require. The preparation of these articles is a burden which occupies the girl's time from childhood until the day of her marriage. In Rumania she begins the preparation of her marriage outfit at the age of six years.


E.N.A

PRODUCTS OF THE NEEDLE FOR A SEAMSTRESS BRIDE

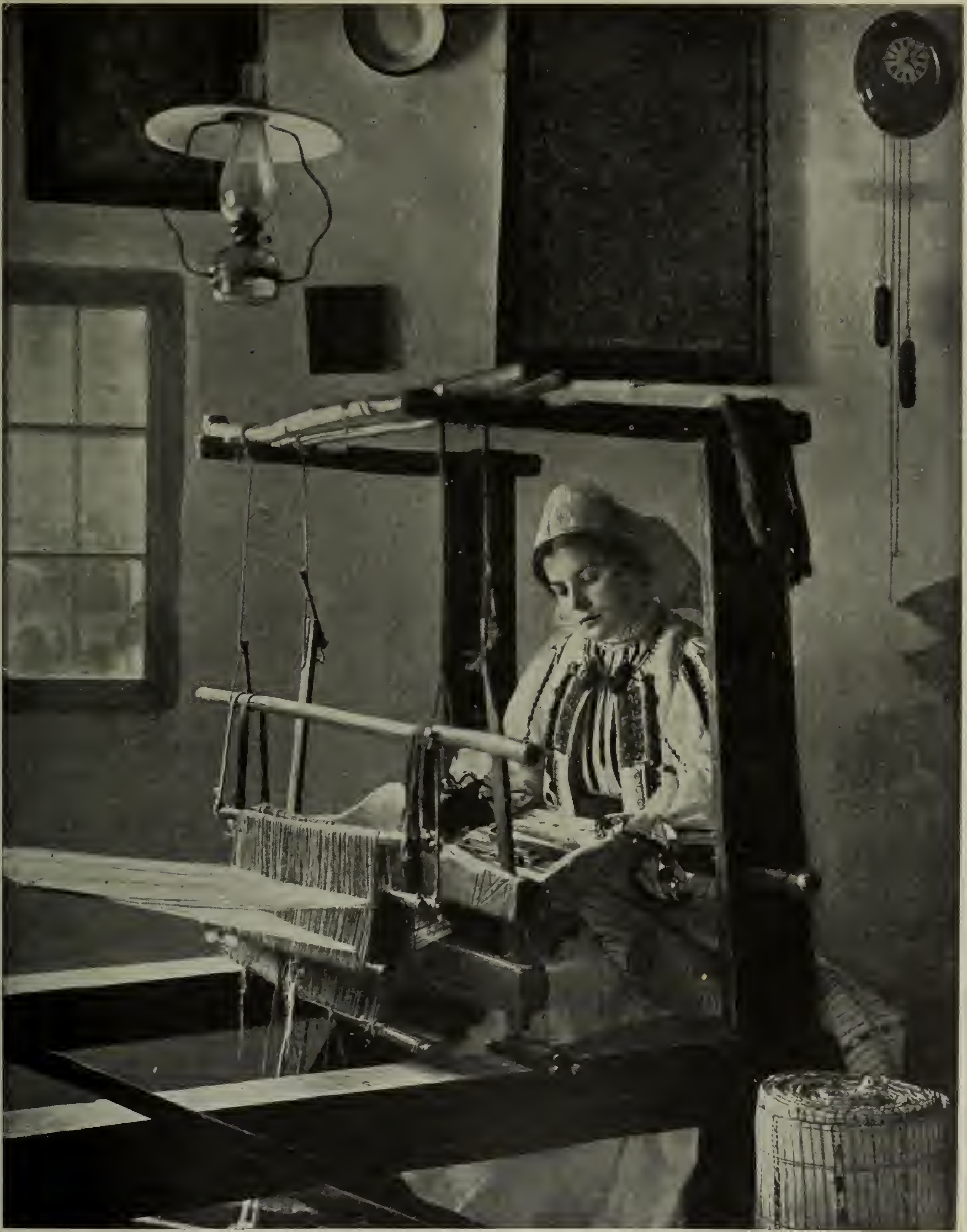
These women of the Zadrema tribe of Albania are awaiting the bride with gifts of embroidery. The handiwork of others should be acceptable, for in most parts of the Balkans it is the custom for the bride to spend the greater part of her time before her marriage in making not only her own outfit but the bridegroom's as well.

it a practice to carry off some of the younger females, not necessarily for ransom, even had there been any hope that a ransom would be forthcoming. Abductions were, and still are, frequent, and a disappointed suitor is not above availing himself of the kind offices of his friends or even of the help of a raiding band.

From the earliest times south-eastern Europe has been an arena of racial conflict; and for the last two thousand years or more it has been under the domination in turn of Greek, Roman, Slav, Bulgar and Turk. Each race has left its mark on the customs of the country. Marriage rites have not escaped their influence. From Greece to Bulgaria and Rumania the bride visits the village well to propitiate the water nymph with an offering or the simple rite of a triple circumambulation as she did in the days of ancient Greece. Like the Roman, the guests at the Rumanian wedding scatter nuts and sweetmeats over bride and bridegroom in the marriage ceremony. Although the parents may decide upon the marriage, the inevitable negotiations are in the hands of the woman matchmaker, as among the Slavs of Russia and the Turks; and in Macedonia she is even responsible for conveying the gifts from one party to the other when mutual pledges are given on the conclusion of the preliminary agreement.

MARRIAGE is universally exogamous—it is contracted with someone outside the immediate group. In modern conditions in many localities this may imply little; but it is nevertheless responsible for the tradition which makes obligatory the excessive weeping to which the Russian bride, for instance, gives way for days before the wedding ceremony. The same tradition persists among the peoples of the Balkans and lies behind the reluctance which the bride often shows on her way to the bridegroom's house. In Macedonia the bride contemplates with dread a separation which may involve no more than a distance of a mile or two; but in the unsettled conditions of even a generation ago this might well mean a permanent parting from her own people.

We get a clearer view of the conditions of exogamous marriage in the more primitive customs of Albania and Montenegro. In Albania descendants of a common male ancestor are forbidden to marry; they are regarded as brothers and sisters.

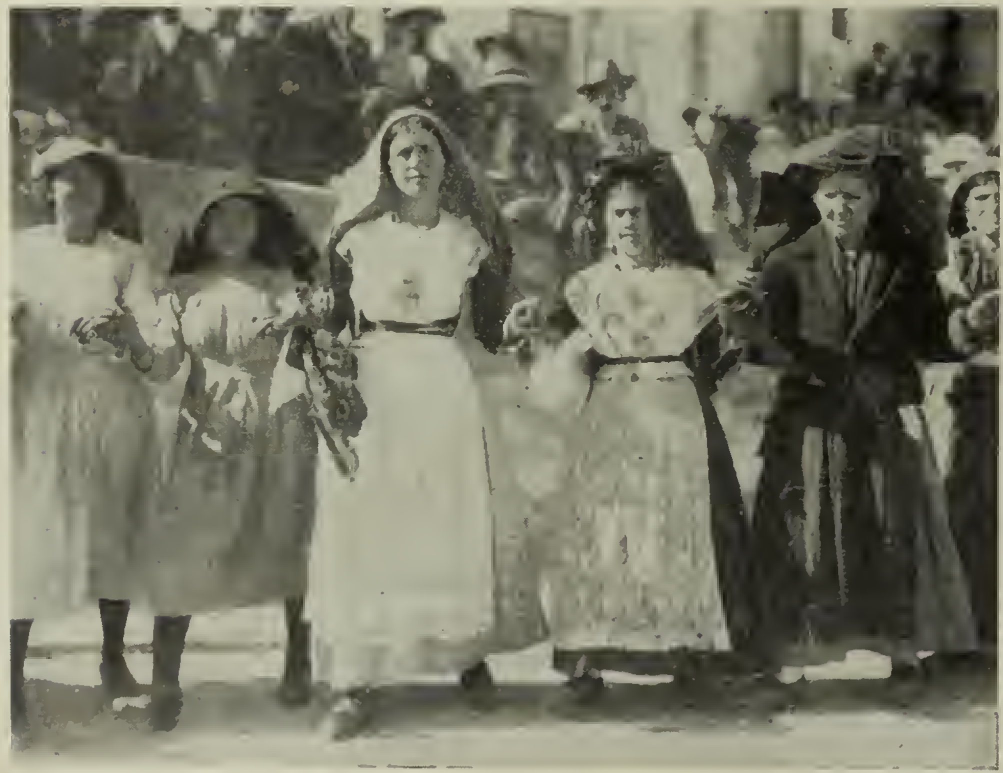


E.N.A.

WEAVING THE CLOTH THAT WILL GO TO MAKE HER TROUSSEAU

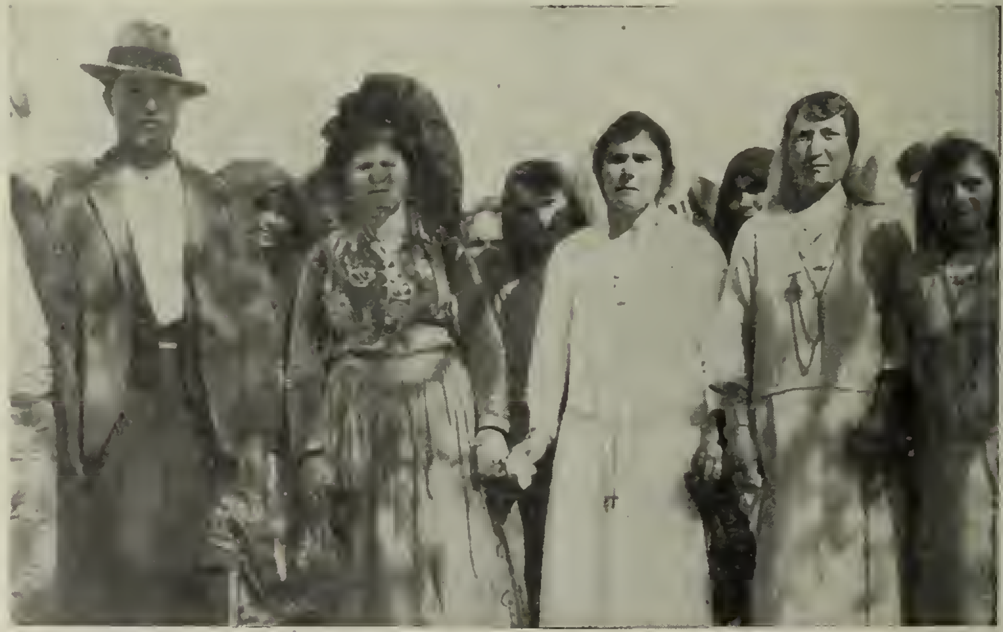
In the homes of the Rumanian peasantry almost everything needed for the wardrobe and for household use is home made, and also hand made, by the women and girls. They tend the flax while it is growing, they spin it, they weave the cloth, and they fashion the fabric into garments and household linen. When this is done they embellish the linen garments with the embroidery for which the women of Rumania are renowned. A Rumanian girl starts making her trousseau when she is six years old.

In Montenegro the group within which marriage is forbidden, known as the 'bratsvo,' does not extend beyond second cousins. The prohibited degrees, therefore, within which marriage may not be contracted give the reluctance of the bride a more convincing air of reality. Exogamous marriage means a real and permanent separation from the group and may often entail a journey of some days' duration before the home of the bridegroom's tribe is reached. The bride must travel under the escort of a number of strange tribesmen, and even though members of her own tribe may accompany her part of the long way to her new and strange home two friends of her future husband, who hold this as their recognized official position in the marriage rites, are responsible for her throughout from the time she leaves her home. They never leave her for a moment night or day, and at night one sleeps on each side of her.



In the ceremony as carried out in the towns, on arriving at the bridegroom's house after the wedding, the Albanian bride has to be helped to the door by two guards, while her feet drag along the ground, and as much as ten minutes may be occupied in covering the few yards across the court. She is then required to sit for hours in a corner of the bride's room with an appearance of submission and shyness while her veil is removed for the first time and she is inspected by her husband's relatives and friends. It may be conjectured that more often than not the air of submissive shyness which the bride is expected to assume is something more than bridal etiquette and not far removed from hysterical collapse, if we may trust eye-witnesses' accounts.

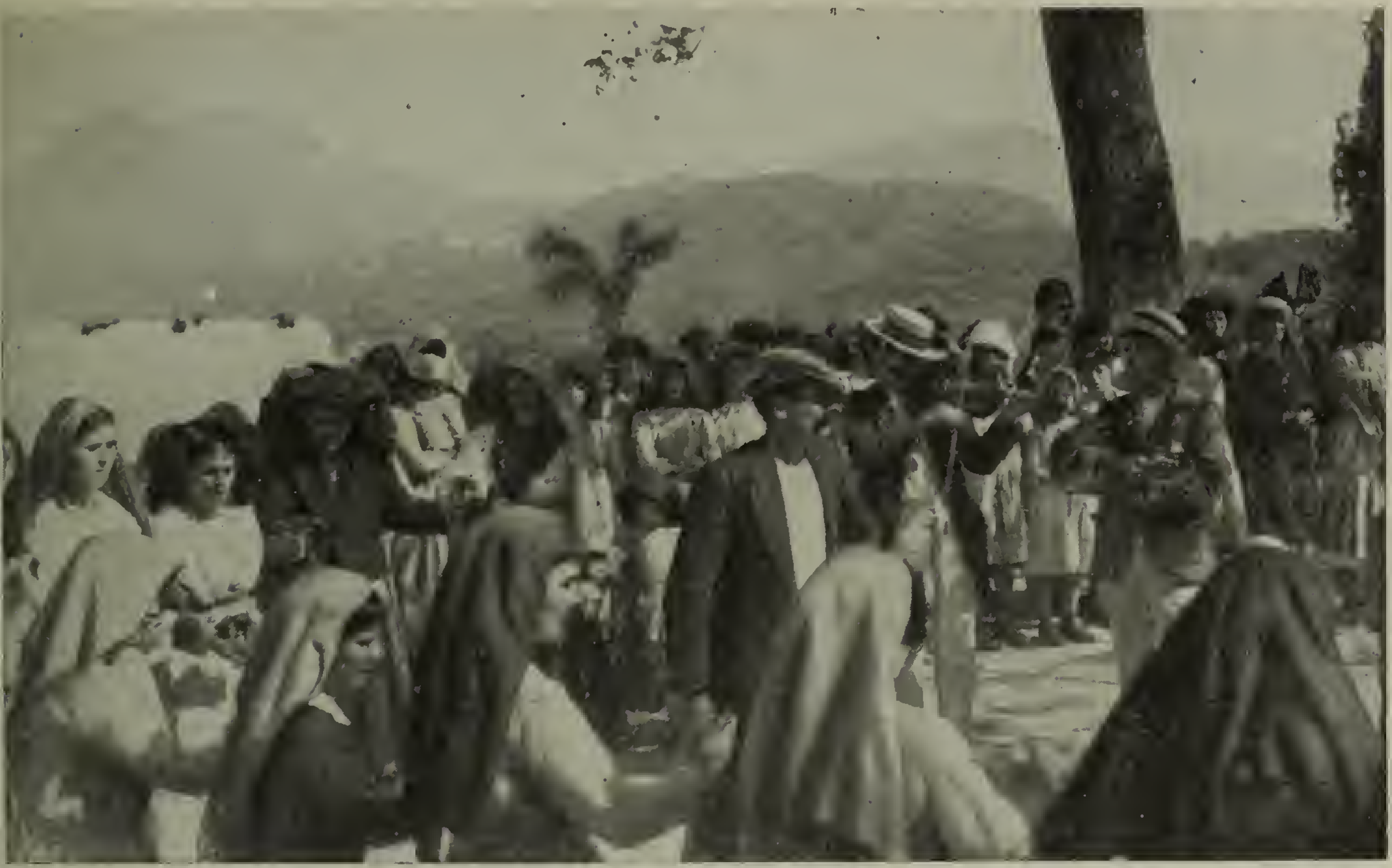
It may not be out of place at this point to mention a remarkable institution of Greek marriage. This is the 'koumbáros,' a friend or relative of the family who plays an important part in the wedding ceremony. In certain of his duties he is supported by the 'koumbára' or head bridesmaid. His exceptional position is indicated by the fact that among the poorer classes the 'koumbáros' may bear the whole expense of the wedding and, in certain circumstances, may become responsible for the wife and children, should they be left destitute. His office is closely connected also with that of godfather. It is evident that he represents the principle of group responsibility toward poorer members, and if the evidence for matriarchy in ancient Greece were less ambiguous, it would not be unreasonable to regard him as performing some of the functions of the mother's brother in a matrilineal society. This brief survey by no means



George Long

AMONG THOSE PRESENT AT A WEDDING IN CORFU

A Greek peasant bride wears white, with a white head-kerchief. Married, single and childless women wear distinctive costumes at the wedding, the colours varying from village to village. Mothers wear masses of false hair under enormous hats. In the upper photograph the bride's mother is on the bride's left. Below, the bridegroom's mother is fourth from the left.



George Long

WEDDING DANCE PUNCTUATED BY GUNFIRE IN A GREEK ISLAND

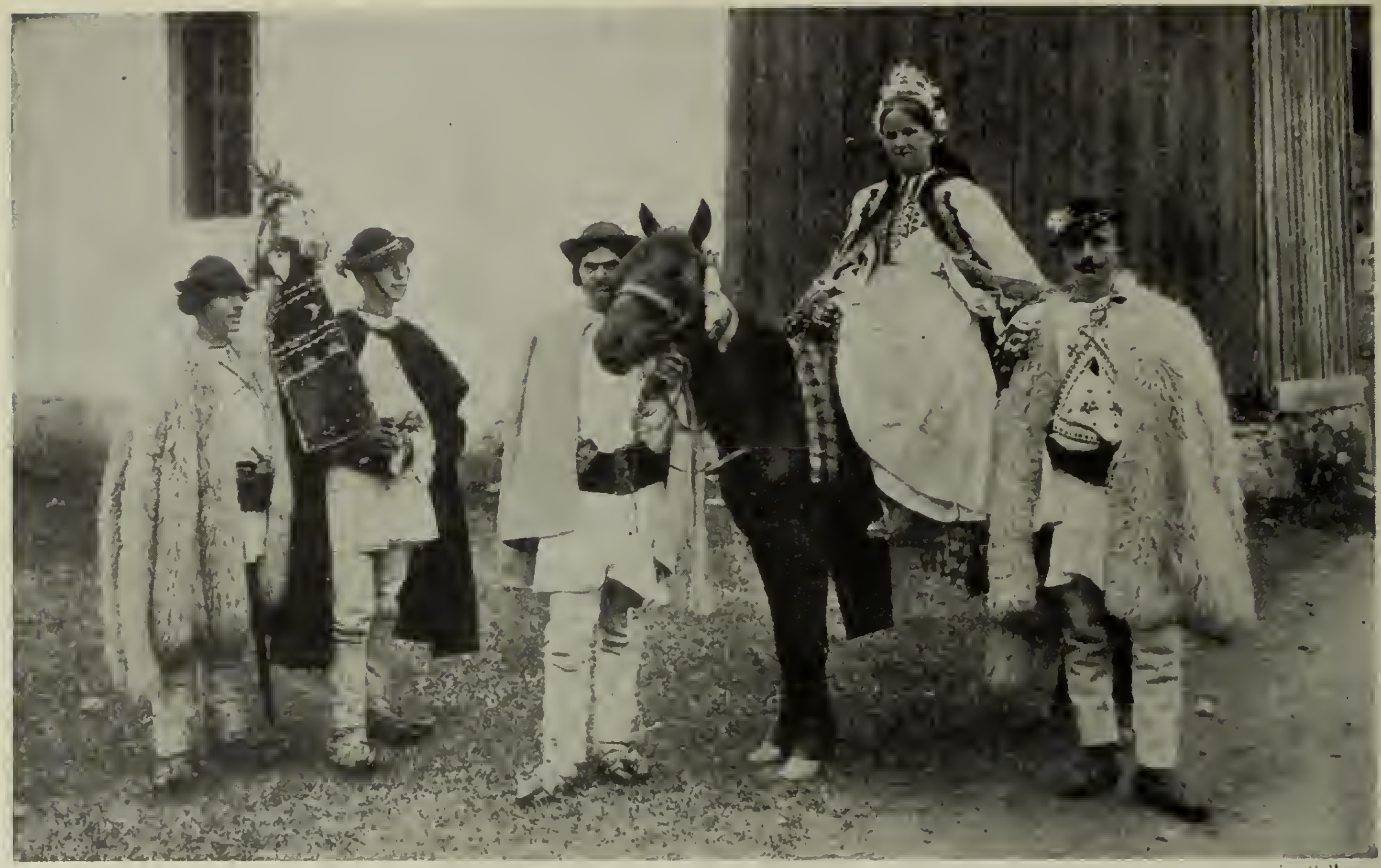
Greek peasant weddings are characterised by feasting, drinking and dancing. The dance takes place in the village square. The women form up in a crescent, with a man at each tip of the half moon, and two musicians stand facing them. The dancers take three steps to the right, then sway to the left, and repeat these movements until a complete circle has been made, the musicians capering wildly inside the slowly moving arc. At intervals guns are fired. The dance here seen is at Pelleka, in Corfu.

exhausts the list of resemblances in the marriage customs of the Greeks and the Balkan peoples ; but we must now turn to details of the ceremonial which will bring out points in which they differ—points in which distinctions may be made between Greek, Bulgar, Slav and Albanian.

In Greece the betrothed pair are not allowed to meet before their wedding day except on the most formal terms. In northern Epirus when once the bride has been introduced to her future husband at the house of the priest, and they have been blessed, the priest bids them solemnly not to meet again until their wedding day. On the wedding day the bridegroom goes in procession to his bride's house. In Cyprus the groom, if he comes from a distance, rides to the house on horseback. The lads of the village oppose him, but it is a matter of his personal honour that he should reach the house without losing his seat. If he succeeds the lads must carry him into the house on their clasped hands.

One ceremony at the bride's house, before the party goes to the church, directly recalls a custom of the ancient Greeks: the bridegroom's father and the bridegroom each present to the father of the bride a plate which bears a sprig of sweet basil. Symbolism and magic unite in the following custom. A glass of wine, a ring-shaped cake and a spoon are presented to the groom. He drinks the wine, dropping some coins into the glass, and gives half the cake and the spoon to the best man. On the morning after the wedding the best man calls on the newly wedded couple and presents the half cake and spoon to the bride. She must eat the cake and take her first mouthful of food with the spoon. Much importance is attached to the bride's shoes. They are placed on her feet by the best man just as she leaves the house, and at the church door her mother asks her three times ' Bride, hast thou thy shoes ? ' In the marriage ceremonies of many countries much importance is attached to the bride's shoes as emblematic of luck.

On the return from the church the mother of the bride places a loaf of bread on the head of each of the bridal pair. The guests throw sweetmeats at them. As their healths are drunk, glasses are cast over the left shoulder, and it is unlucky if they remain unbroken. It is usual for some ceremony to be performed at the door when they enter their own house. Usually the mother gives the bride a glass of honey and water and sometimes the foot of the bridegroom crushes a pomegranate as he crosses the threshold—obvious pieces of symbolism in each case, the pomegranate being the symbol of true love throughout the East. Of these observances, the presentation of the sweet basil and the binding on of the sandals are found in Montenegro, the crushing of the pomegranate in Macedonia.



Ewing Galloway

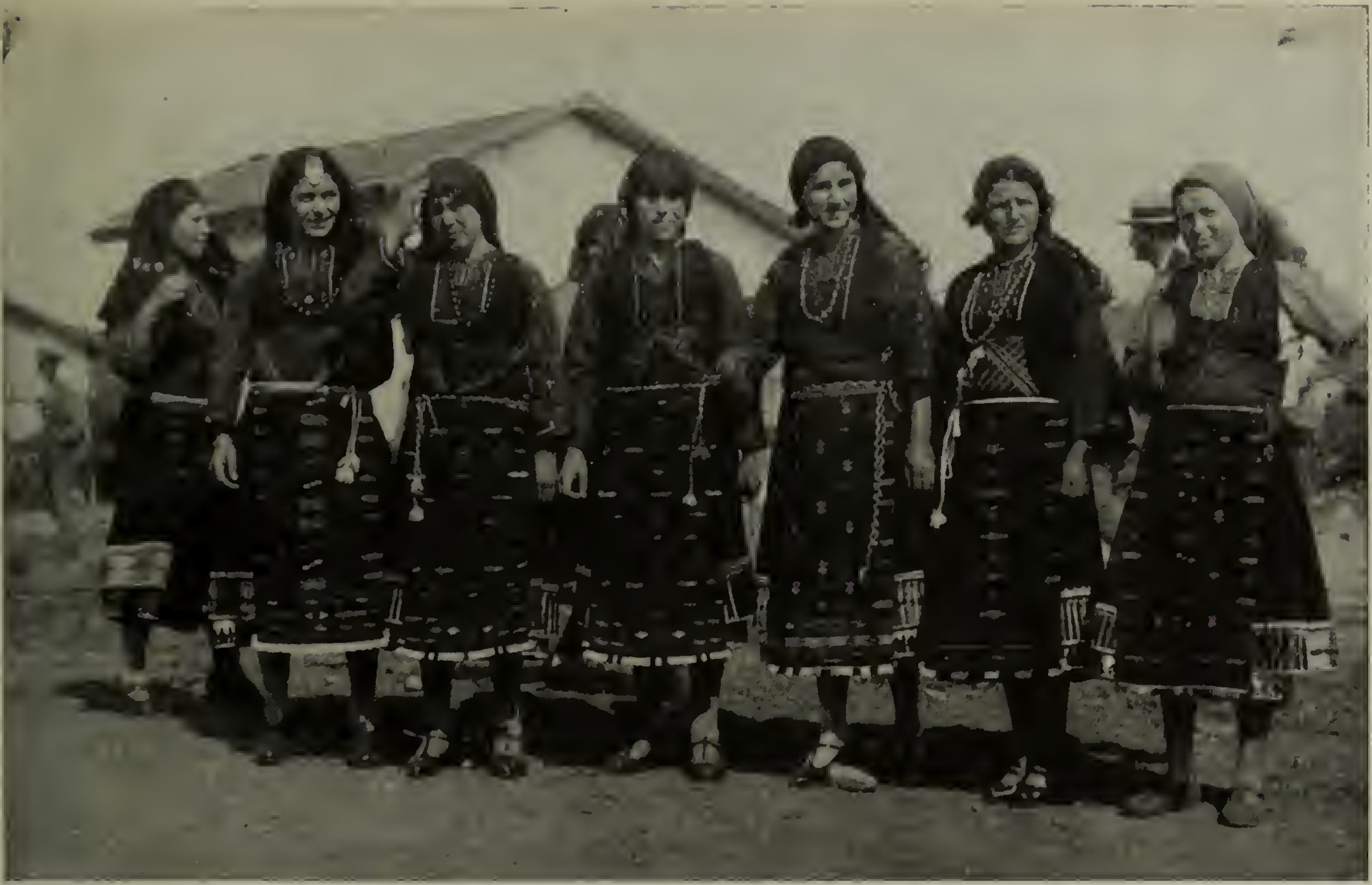
PEASANT BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM OF RUMANIA ALL IN THEIR WEDDING BRAVERY

The marriage customs of Rumania, as of other Balkan countries, have been strongly coloured by those of a succession of foreign invaders. Rites that were current, for instance, in ancient Greece and Rome are used in Rumania today. This bridal group shows the picturesque costumes worn by the peasantry. The bride's dress boasts the inevitable embroidery. On the right is the bridegroom, wearing the characteristic sleeveless sheepskin coat ; his tunic, too, is embroidered. The attendant on the left carries the bridal bouquet.

The Bulgars are a people of strong racial character, which is reflected in their marriage customs. These are marked by much practical commonsense, leaving little room for sentiment. At the betrothal feast, which is eaten by the elder and the younger people in separate rooms, the former sit at an ample meal which is laid on a cloth placed on the floor. After the meal the young people dance round the house and then the suitor gives his future bride her presents. Among these are the gold coins which she will wear henceforth as a head-dress to signify that she is engaged. The father invariably expresses his dissatisfaction with the number of coins first given and it must be increased until he is content. The wedding usually takes place six months after betrothal ; but the interval may be as long as two years, while the man is erecting a house with his own hands and stocking his holding. The wedding takes place on a Sunday. On the preceding Friday the trousseau is displayed, and on the Saturday the bride, accompanied by her girl friends, as in Russia, takes the one and only bath of her life. Invitations to the wedding take the form of cakes sent out by the girl's parents. The wedding day opens with dances by the village girls before the bride's house and by the young men before that of the bridegroom. It ends with a feast at the house of the bride. For one week after the marriage the bridal pair remain at home in strict seclusion.

One very curious form of the ceremony found among the Bulgars of Macedonia has a distinctly pagan flavour with an obvious symbolism. The bride's procession was headed by a friend of the family carrying a standard on which was placed an apple. On approaching the house of the bridegroom's father it was met by the best man leading a goat with gilded horns, accompanied by other friends who carried cakes, fruit and wine. The apple-crowned standard was placed upright in the courtyard and the wedding ceremony then took place in a granary, the altar being composed of the wedding cake resting on a barrel of wine. Around this altar, after the usual ceremony, bride and groom walked three times while the guests threw fruits and sweets at them. Water drawn from the well by herself was then thrown over the bride.

A REMARKABLE custom followed by parents in Rumania whose daughters were of marriageable age was that of the 'maiden market,' now practically extinct. On the feast of S. Peter and S. Paul (June 29th) the girls assembled each with her trousseau on top of a high mountain called Gaina. The young men then came with their parents and selected their brides. The Rumanian wedding, which has many picturesque customs attached to it, does not necessarily take place in church. Very often it is the first occasion on which bride and

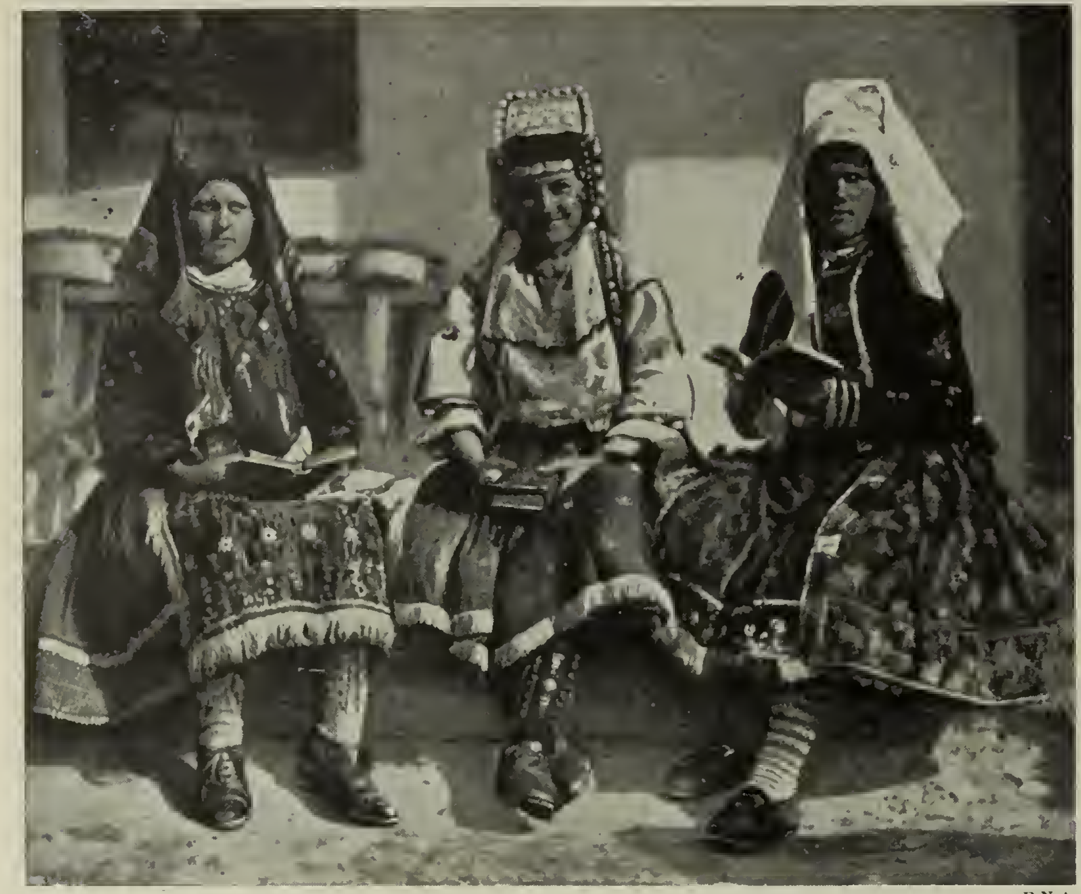


A.

Planet News

WEDDING, AND A DANCE THAT MAY LEAD TO WEDDINGS, IN MACEDONIA

In Macedonia and other parts of the Balkans, where the old tribal organization largely survives, the period immediately following harvest is regularly set aside for marriage celebrations. These sometimes last as long as a fortnight, and are participated in by the whole village. The girls of the Macedonian village of Pigadhitsa here seen (top) are about to perform the 'husbands' dance,' with a view to enabling the young bachelors to choose their marriage partners. Below is seen a Serbian peasant wedding party in Macedonia.



E.N.A.

HEAD-DRESSES TO MARK THE SPAN OF MARRIED LIFE

The different styles of head-dresses worn by these three Croat married women of the Drave River region denote the number of years they have been married. The woman in the centre has been a wife less than three years, the one on the left between three and ten years, and the one on the right for at least ten years.

bridegroom meet. Coins are thrown on a carpet, on which the bridal pair then take their stand. Crowns are placed on their heads by the officiating priest and the guests shower sweets or nuts on them.

The Albanian marriage is largely a matter of tribal politics, contracted only with a view to the increase of tribal power and influence. Betrothal often takes place before the girl is born. When once the bride-price has been paid over she is regarded as the property of her future husband's group. Sentiment does not enter into the matter ; the bridal pair often meet at the altar for the first time. But as the object of the marriage is to procure sons who will add to the numbers and fighting efficiency of the tribe, the Albanian frequently delays the ceremony until the woman has shown her qualities by bearing a son. The contract to marry is seldom broken ; but a girl to whom the idea of marriage is distasteful, if she can obtain the services of twelve conjurors, may cut her hair, adopt men's clothes and swear perpetual virginity. Henceforth she lives as, and with, the men.

Marriage ceremonies among the Serb peoples are best to be observed as least affected by outside influences in the tribal society of Montenegro. The bride-price, for instance, was abolished in Serbia itself, because of its abuse, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Infant betrothal is common, and should the bride on marriage prove not to be 'virgo intacta' a blood-feud will result. The marriage must receive the approval of the whole 'bratsvo.' The betrothal takes place before the priest, and is followed by the usual exchange of rings and other conventional gifts, including the coins which are worn as a head-dress by the girl, and probably represent the old bride-price.

Reference has already been made to the custom of the friends of the bridegroom fetching the bride. In olden days as many as a hundred might take part in the expedition. As they had to be entertained by the bride's father and each received a present from him, this was a serious burden. The number is now restricted, but the best man and the two guardians of the bride are still the essential personages of the expedition. Their function has been interpreted as a survival of marriage by capture ; but much more probably it is a consequence of the unsettled condition of the country, especially under the Turk, when risks of violation were not inconsiderable. This latter explanation is supported by the very significant fact that at the wedding ceremony in church no woman is present except the bride. When the bride reaches her husband's house her mother-in-law presents her with a male child, whom she carries into the house over a carpet covering weapons which lie on the threshold, an infallible protection against evil. Until her brothers bring the wedding chest at the end of the week, the bride sleeps with her mother-in-law, who instructs her in the proper way to address her various new relatives.

In Macedonia the marriage ceremonial follows in general outline those which have already been described—the preliminary agreement negotiated by the matchmaker, the exchange of formal gifts, the religious ceremonial of betrothal, followed after an interval by the actual marriage ceremony. The distinctive feature in Macedonia is the rigidly prescribed ritual for the actions of bride and bridegroom on each one of the days in the week or fortnight of the celebration. These include formal visits and exchange of presents, dancing and feasting and other activities to promote the good luck and prosperity of the bridal pair.

FOLK DANCES OF THE BRITISH ISLES

Here we attempt something more than a mere description of some of the picturesque dances which are the rich product of our native genius, giving in addition some explanation of their origin in the religious rites and ceremonies of the most primitive culture. Some supplementary information on the general subject is given in the chapters on May Day and the Maypole, and National Dances of Europe.

NOTHING emphasises more the difference between 'Merry England' of the past and our England of today than that change in the habits of country people which has allowed the folk dance to become so rare. Once all the English danced. Their reputation as dancers went into all European lands. They danced at Christmas; they danced the old year out and the new year in; they danced round the maypole on May Day; they danced into the fields, when the seed had been sown, to propitiate the sun; they danced winter away and summer in; if they had no other reason for dancing, they then danced from sheer lightness of heart.

Originally their dances had a religious, or, rather, a magical character. They were intended to win favour with their gods, to call down fertility upon the soil. They had been handed down from far-off pagan times, when, with anxious ritual, the Earth deity was propitiated—sometimes with gifts of grain, sometimes by the sacrifice of a lamb, a kid, or even a human child. This ritual developed in the course of ages into the morris dance, which was for a long while supposed to have come from Spain and to have been introduced there by the Moriscos or Moors. But this is now disputed, and as Violet Alford writes in Peeps at English Folk-dances, the opinion is widely held that:

> Our village club-walks, our Whitsuntide morris dances, our sword dances, our village processions, our Rogation processions, have each and all sprung from old primitive ceremonies, though in their journey down the ages they have lost their awfulness and have become representations only, mere shadows of the original thing.

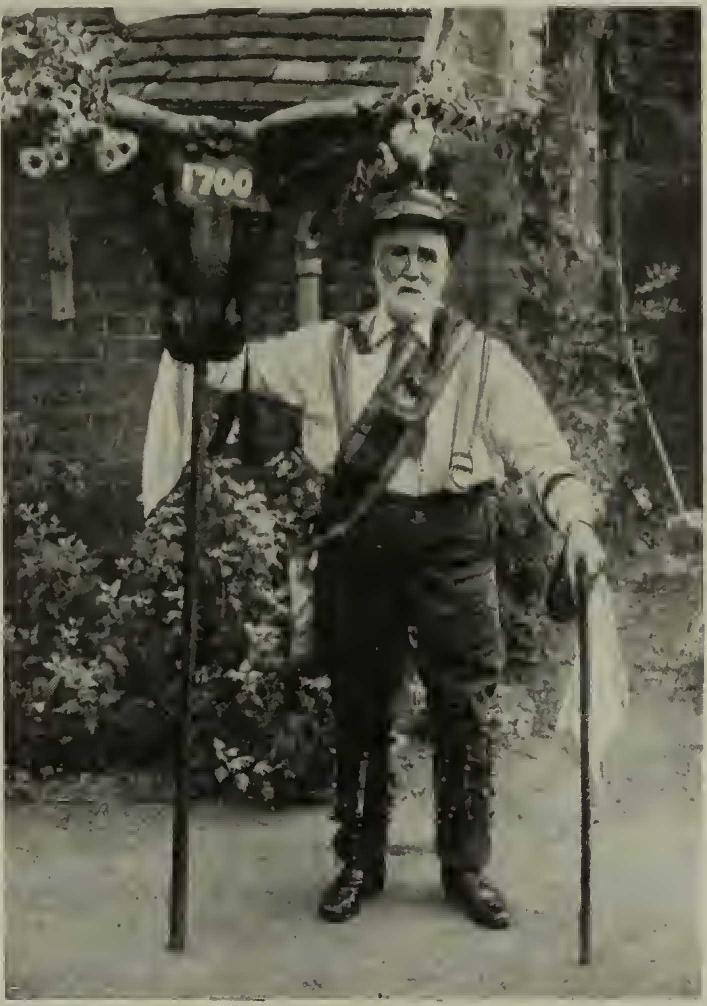
CLUB-WALKING still goes on in the West Country, but there is no ceremonial dancing attached to it now. Our nearest thing to the old custom which made villagers celebrate the coming-in of warm, bright weather after the cold gloom of winter is the Furry Dance at Helston in Cornwall. Here the mayor leads a procession of couples dressed in their best all through the little town—through houses and gardens as well as through the streets, so that everyone may be sure of good fortune throughout the year. As they make their progress they sing:

We are up as soon as the day
  To fetch the summer home-o,
The summer and the May,
  Now the winter is a gone-o!

Here is a plain allusion to the purpose of the festival in ancient times, calling the attention of the Earth god to the fact that the fields now required his attention.

In modern clothes—top-hats and morning-coats for the men, smart summer frocks for the girls—there is little of the picturesque. The affair is plainly no more than a survival. As the world ceased to hold the beliefs on which these old celebrations were founded, so the celebrations themselves were bound to fall into decay—or to be kept up merely as curiosities. Even the meaning of the name Furry Dance is argued about. Some say it was once Flowery Dance, but there is no certainty to be reached. What is beyond dispute is the infectious gaiety of the tune played for the processionist.

Another village procession can be seen on May 29 at Castleton in the Peak district of Derbyshire. Here the dancers are preceded by a Besom Man, who sweeps a way clear for them with his



Fox Photos

ONE OF ABINGDON'S OLD MORRIS DANCERS

At Abingdon-on-Thames a morris dance has lately been revived which dates back more than 230 years. It is danced round a pole surmounted by a bull's head with gold-tipped, flower-decked horns, showing its sacrificial purpose—a clear association with the Greek bull-dances in honour of Dionysus.

Fox Photos

A STOUP OF HOME-BREWED ALE FOR THE MAYOR OF THE ABINGDON MORRIS

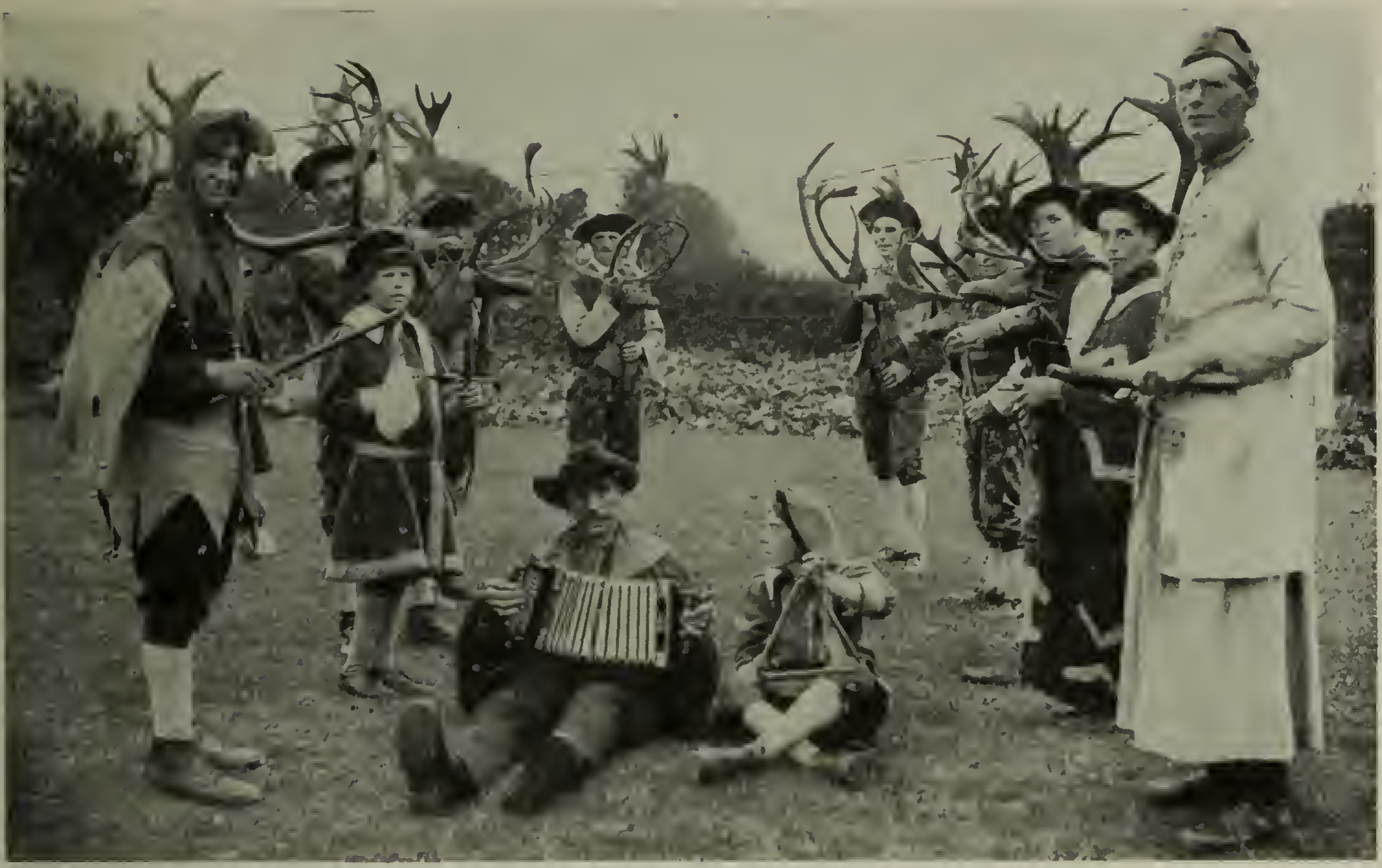
When Mary Neal, an ardent collector of folk songs and dances, lighted upon it, only two men survived who held the tradition and knew the actual steps and figures of the Abingdon morris dance. A feature of it is its culmination in the election of a 'mayor'—vestigial survival of the election of a warrior chief in days of long ago. The position of morris mayor has been held in the same family for over 200 years. Its latest representative is seen here being refreshed after his exertions.

besom or broom ; and a prominent figure in the troop is Jack-in-the-Green. Until towards the end of last century this odd personage used to be seen in the streets of London and other cities, as well as in a great many villages, on May Day (see page 244).

At Castleton the procession dances to the church, after it has been through the village, and deposits in the tower the green casing which the Jack has worn and which stays there until it has withered. This aspect of the event illustrates the readiness of the medieval church to take over pagan customs and christianise them. Very prudently the clergy refrained from trying to break people of their old habits. They themselves headed the processions, saw that they included a visit to the church, gave them an ecclesiatical flavour. The festival of the Ascension was especially marked by solemn processions, chanting litanies and listening to the reading of the gospel for the day. This had to be read under the finest oak in the parish. Hence the name Gospel Oak, found in several parts of England, including London. 'Beating the bounds,' an observance still kept up in several places, as described in pages 217 to 236, appears to be a relic of these Ascension perambulations. It was not really instituted in order to mark the parish limits every year and prevent them from being altered. The procession went all round and all through the parish in order that no part of it should lose the favour of the Almighty.

Some dances appear to have formed part once of a mystery play. At Bampton-in-the-Bush (Oxfordshire) there is kept up at Whitsuntide a morris of immemorial antiquity, danced by local men, who have had the steps and movements passed on to them from numberless generations of dancers. Once a Christmas play was acted here every December. The character who accompanies the dancers, the Cake-and-Sword bearer, may be a relic of the ancient drama. He holds the cake on the end of the sword and offers to sell slices of it to any who will buy. This points to some sacrificial ceremony. The cake, too, is supposed to have magic qualities. The seller recommends purchasers to put it (like wedding-cake) under their pillows, when they go to bed, 'for luck.' A troop of little girls also accompanies the Bampton morris men, carrying hoops intertwined and covered with flowers.

At Abbots Bromley, in Staffordshire, there hang in the church, to the mystification of casual visitors, several pairs of reindeer horns. For centuries these reindeer horns have been worn in a strange unexplainable folk dance. Whence they came nobody knows nor what they signify. The lamentable state of our acquaintance with English dancing customs is illustrated by the remark of Violet Alford in the book already mentioned that 'unfortunately the festival at Abbots Bromley can no longer be called



Fox Photos

ABBOTS BROMLEY'S HORN DANCE SANCTIONED BY THE CHURCH

At Abbots Bromley in Staffordshire a folk dance has been performed annually for at least four centuries. Neither a morris dance nor a processional, it may have been a very early nature festival, originally celebrated on Twelfth Day. The dancers—all men—wear great reindeer horns, explained by some as representing sacrificial animals, and breeches patterned with oak leaves and acorns, while one wears woman's dress, perhaps representing the robes of the primitive king-priest. The antlers and costumes are kept in the parish church.

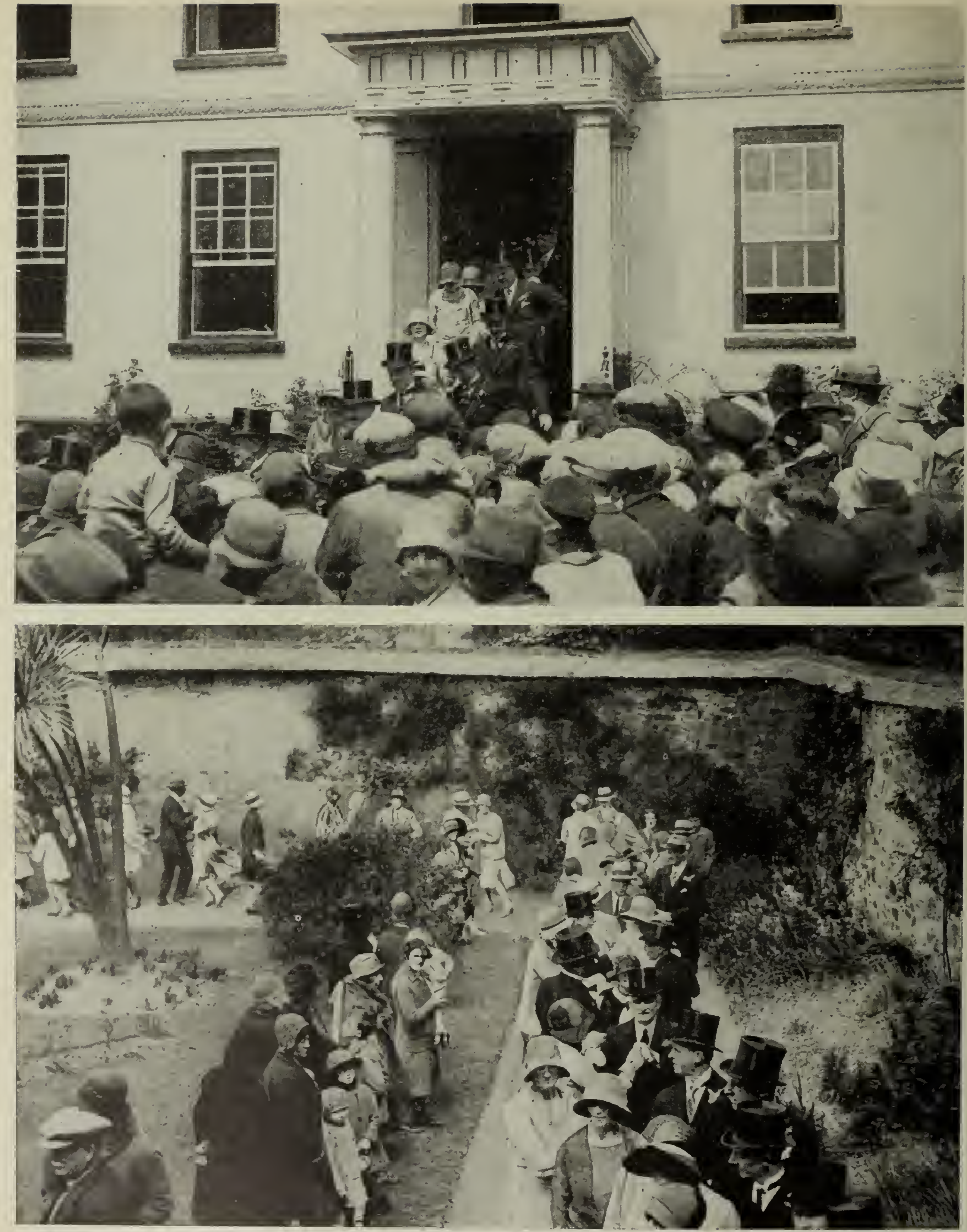
a spring festival,' because it takes place at any time the villagers find convenient. But it never was a spring festival, according to old records. It was celebrated at Christmas, New Year's Day or Twelfth Night. Whatever its original meaning was, it became in the course of years an expedient for collecting money. At first the hobby-horse and the dancer with the reindeer horns on their heads carried a large pot containing cakes and ale. These were provided by the reeve (chief inhabitant). Then there grew up a custom of asking for money to pay for the cakes and ale, and so liberally was money given that, not only were the refreshments purchased with it, but it sufficed to repair the church and maintain the poor.

The horns were painted with the arms of the principal landowning families in the neighbourhood. That was clearly an afterthought, and it may be that the other villages in Staffordshire which have ' hobby-horse money ' mentioned in their parish accounts imitated Abbots Bromley's method of raising funds. It may be, on the other hand, that this ritual dance was once of general observance. There are hobby-horse dances still at Padstow and Minehead (see page 242). Certainly the hobby-horse was familiar in many parts of England, especially, perhaps, in the Midlands.

Farther north, especially in Yorkshire and Northumberland, the sword dance was in favour. This seems to have originated in the very ancient drama of the Conquest of the Old Year by the New. A sword dance always includes a mock murder. The figure danced is very elaborate and difficult. In and out the swordsmen wind and unwind, now holding their swords (sticks) above their heads to form an arch, now putting them on the ground and jumping over them. Finally, all the swords are locked together, forming a ' rose ' or ' star,' until at the captain's command each man sharply withdraws his sword and the dance ends. This is not at all like the sword dance of the Scottish Highlands, which consists of a number of elaborate steps among crossed swords. This was a war dance, either to stir up combatants beforehand or to celebrate a triumph won.

With all the other expressions of simple-hearted gaiety, these dances were suppressed with gloomy fanaticism by the Puritans, and the nation never caught again the care-free spirit of Elizabeth's age and the ages before the Reformation. Yet in numbers of places enough of it remained to keep the old dances alive, and to this day there are some villages which still go through their morris and even rival one another jealously in producing the best teams.

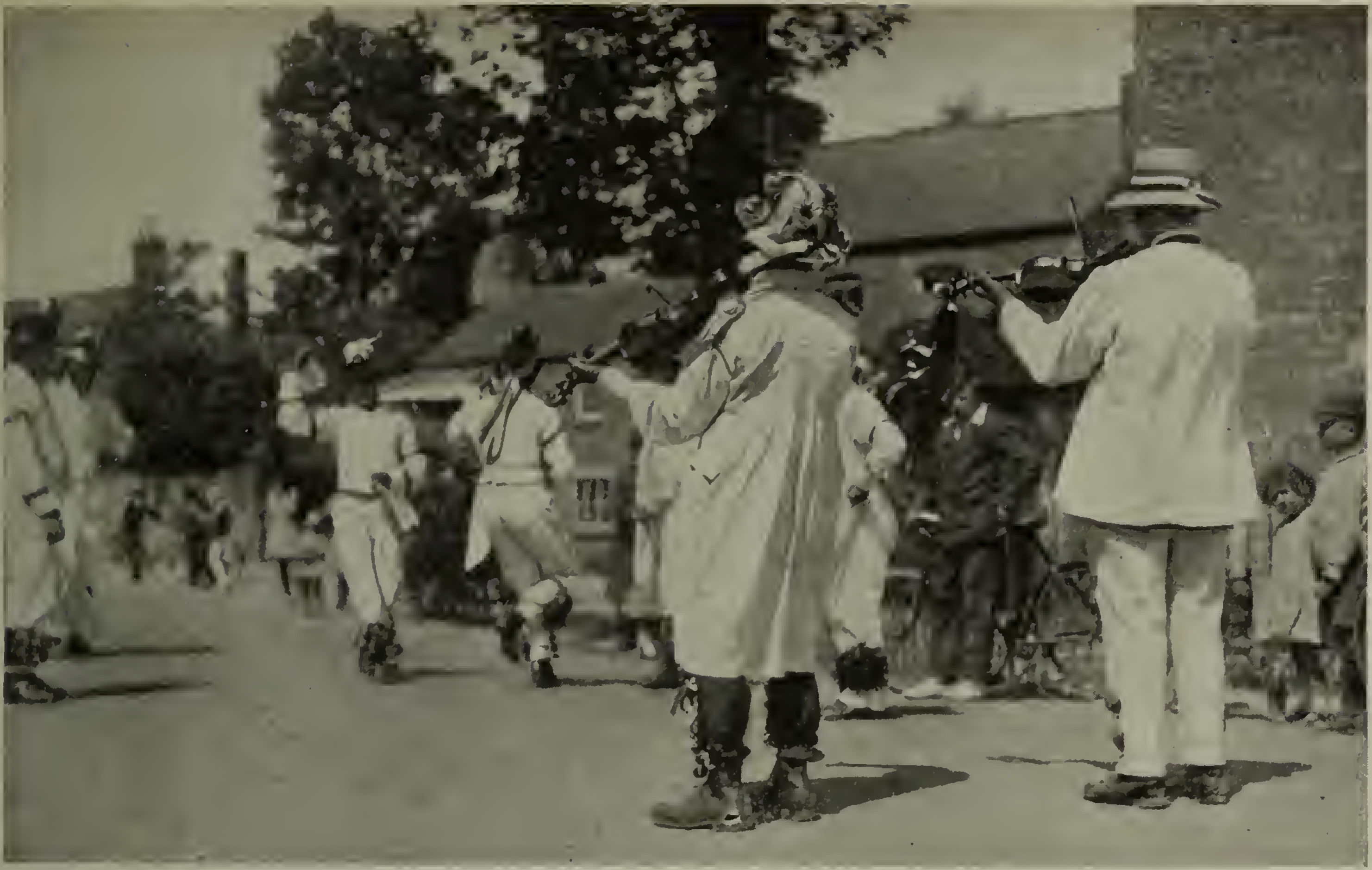
Wherever the morris dance came from, it was soon made over into a thoroughly English institution. This was due to the music written for the morris dancers ; it had a thoroughly English character. ' Shepherd's Hey,' one of the best-known, has. it is

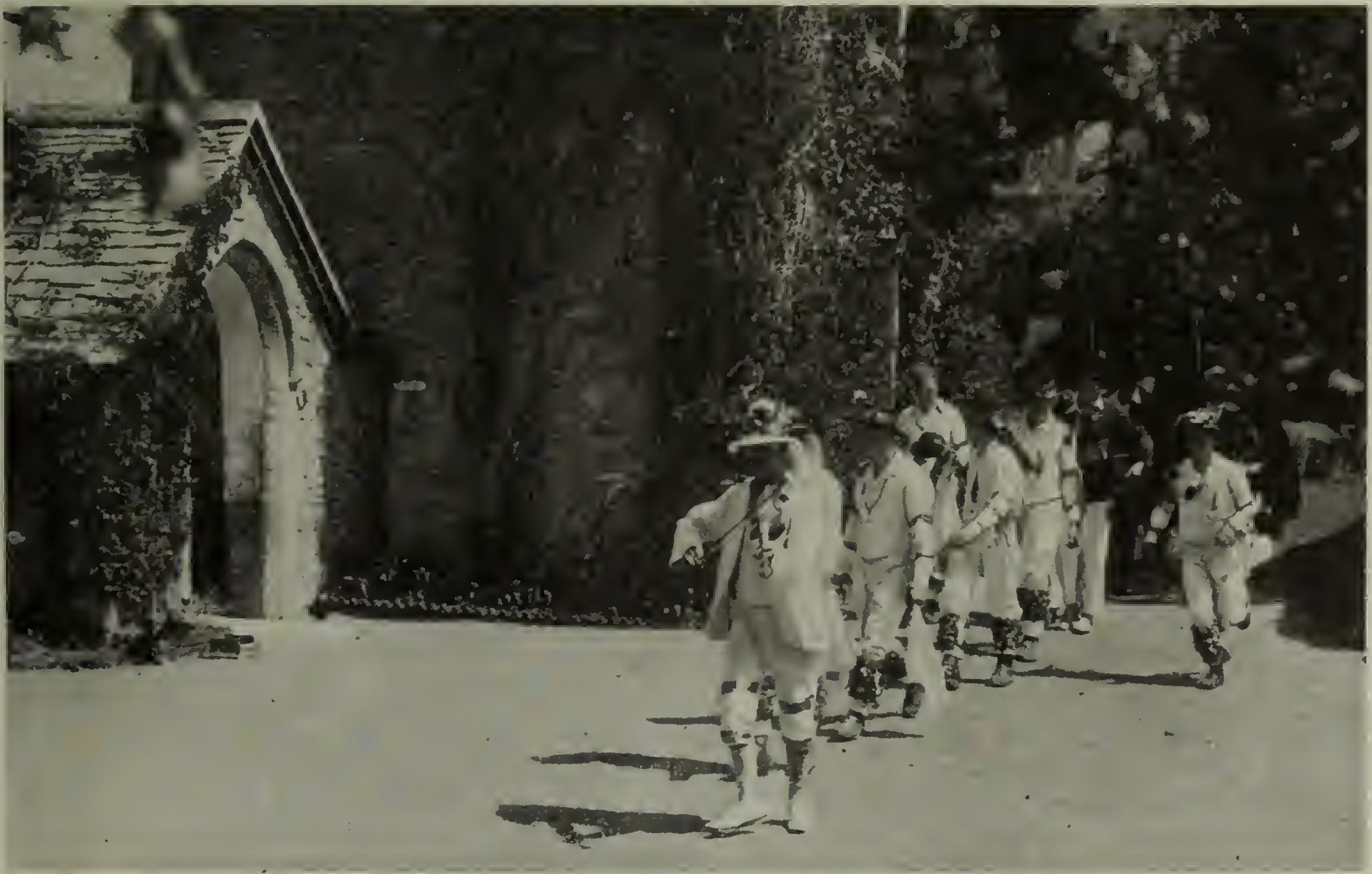


Topical Press

HELSTON FURRY DANCERS FETCHING THE SUMMER HOME

Helston Furry, or Flurry, Dance is a survival of the procession made by villagers in primitive times as part of the vernal ceremonial to awaken and propitiate the old god of spring and vegetation. It is led by the mayor, as the village chief, and he is followed by all the people in couples, all wearing their best clothes, as their primitive forebears donned their best for the religious rites. The ritual requires that every house stand open so that the dancers may dance right through the premises.

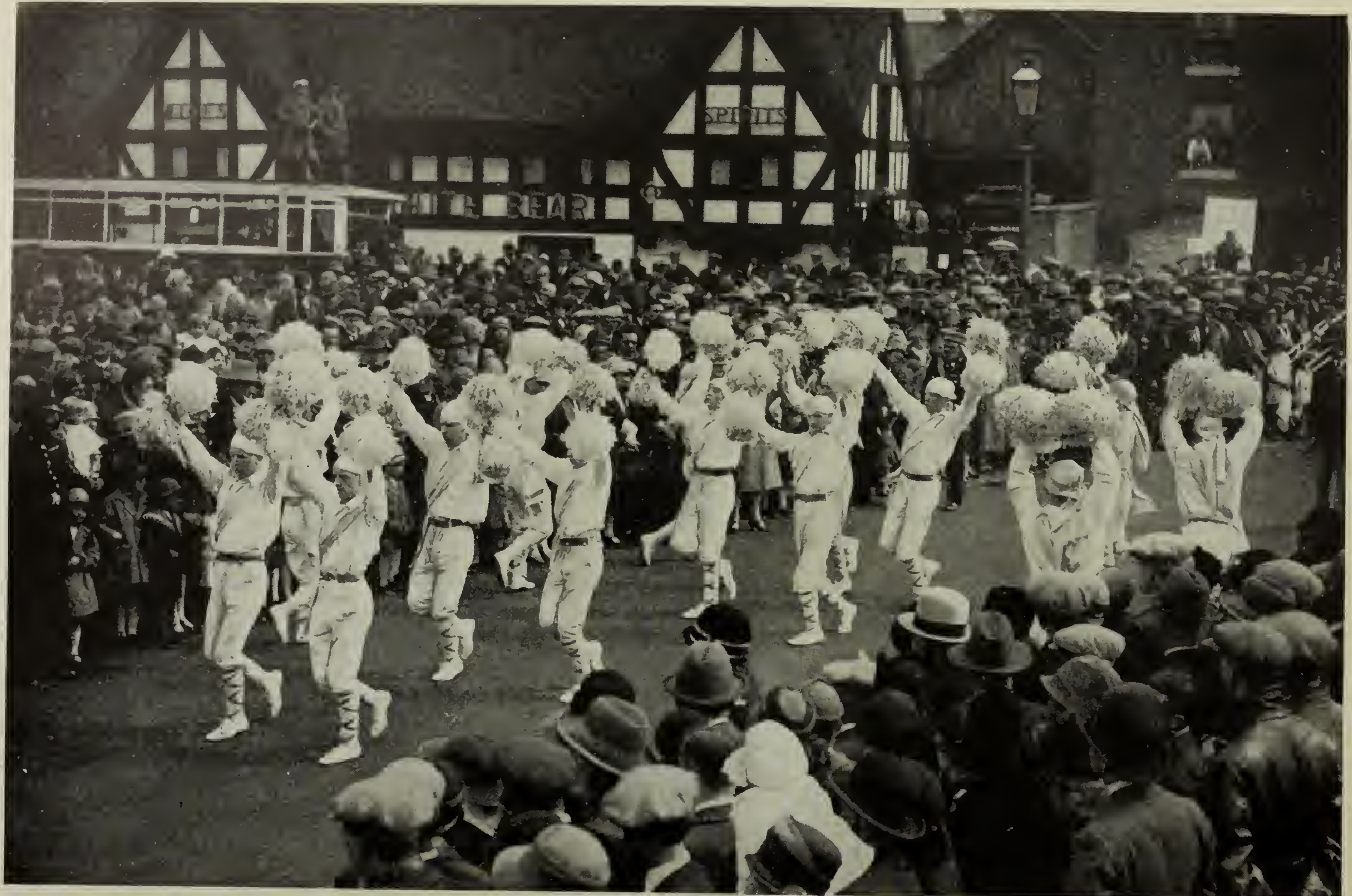




George Long

'BRINGING IN THE MAY' AT BAMPTON-IN-THE-BUSH

Pipe and tabor, technically known as 'whittle and dub,' were the instruments that originally supplied the music for the morris dance, but these have long been replaced by the violin, with sometimes a drum to stress the rhythm. The upper photograph shows two veterans conducting the morris dancers in the market place of Bampton, Oxfordshire, where the custom has been kept up for many centuries with faithful adherence to tradition. Below, the dancers are seen leaving a country house, led by the fiddler, fiddling as he goes.



Topical Press

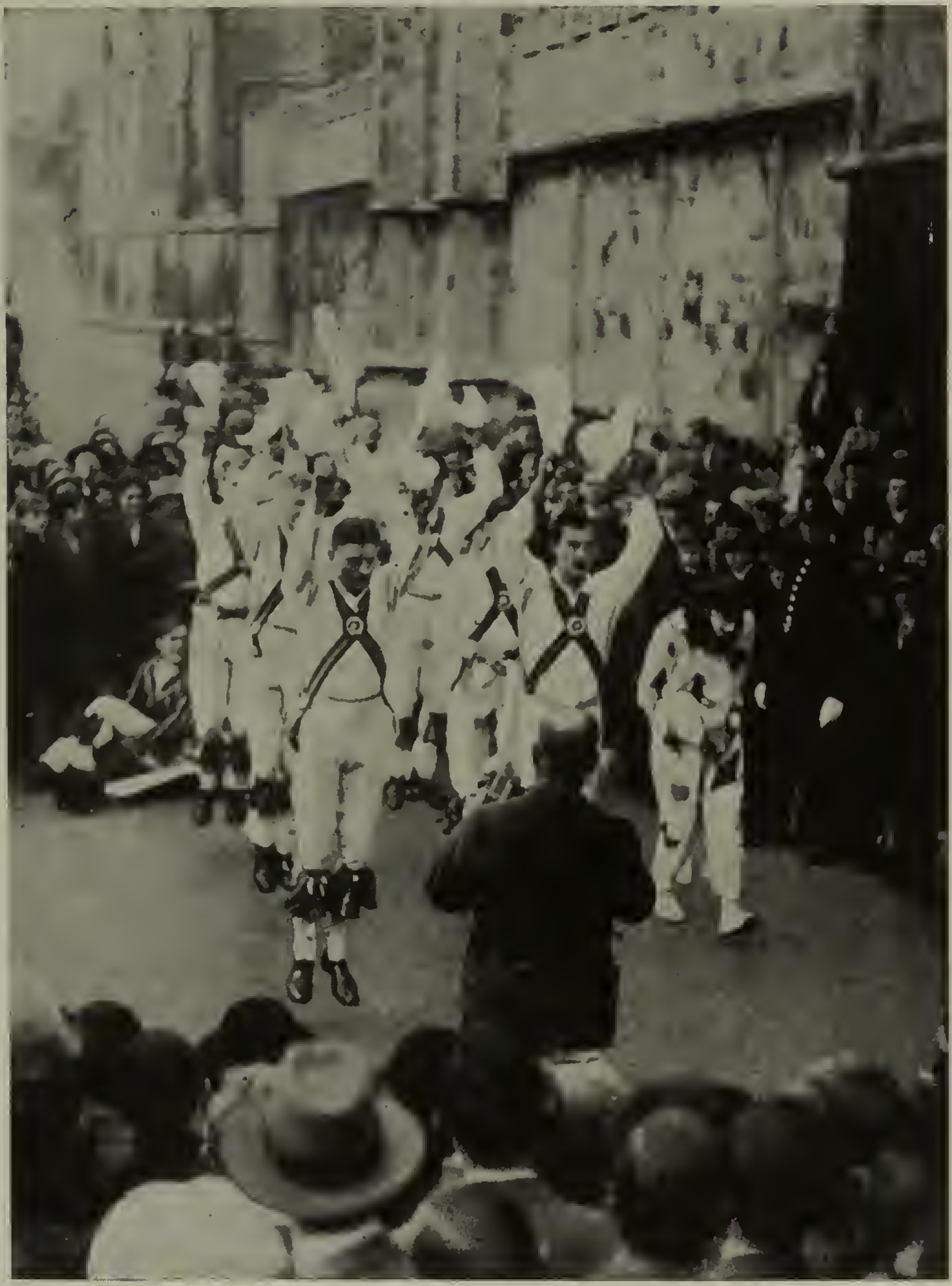
SOLEMN PROCESSIONAL MORRIS AT KNUTSFORD MAY QUEEN FESTIVAL

Knutsford is one of many places in England where folk-dancing has enjoyed active revival, and the May Queen Festival there is now an annual event. Both country and morris dances are performed in the streets. One of the latter, a processional dance, is here shown in progress. The morris 'side' of six men begin in two columns and form into rings, serpentine figures of eight and other simple patterns as they move forward, the somewhat intricate steps being accompanied by movements of the arms, with handkerchiefs waving from each hand or bunched up as in the morris called 'Country Gardens.' In the processional morris the movement is slow and dignified, in contrast to the livelier twirling, leaping, hand-clapping and handkerchief-waving of the set dances.

true, something suggestive of a Spanish dance about it—especially in its sudden stops, at which the dancers must all stop, too, as if turned to stone. But few of the morrises owe anything at all to foreign inspiration. Many of them have a dramatic element. Either the dancers sing a conversation, as in the one which begins:

'Jackie, boy!'
'Master!'
'Can you sing?'
'Very well;'

or else they go through actions such as those in 'Bean-setting.' Here the dancers, who ought always to be men if tradition is strictly followed, first bend down and beat the ground with their sticks. Next they poke at the ground with the sticks as if they were making holes. This represents the preparation of the soil and the setting of the beans. The origin of it is clear enough. So is that of the figure in which one of the dancers is hoisted on to the shoulders of the rest. (This can still be seen at Witney in Oxfordshire.) It symbolises the choosing of a chieftain, who was carried shoulder high on the shields of his followers as a sign that their choice had fallen upon him.



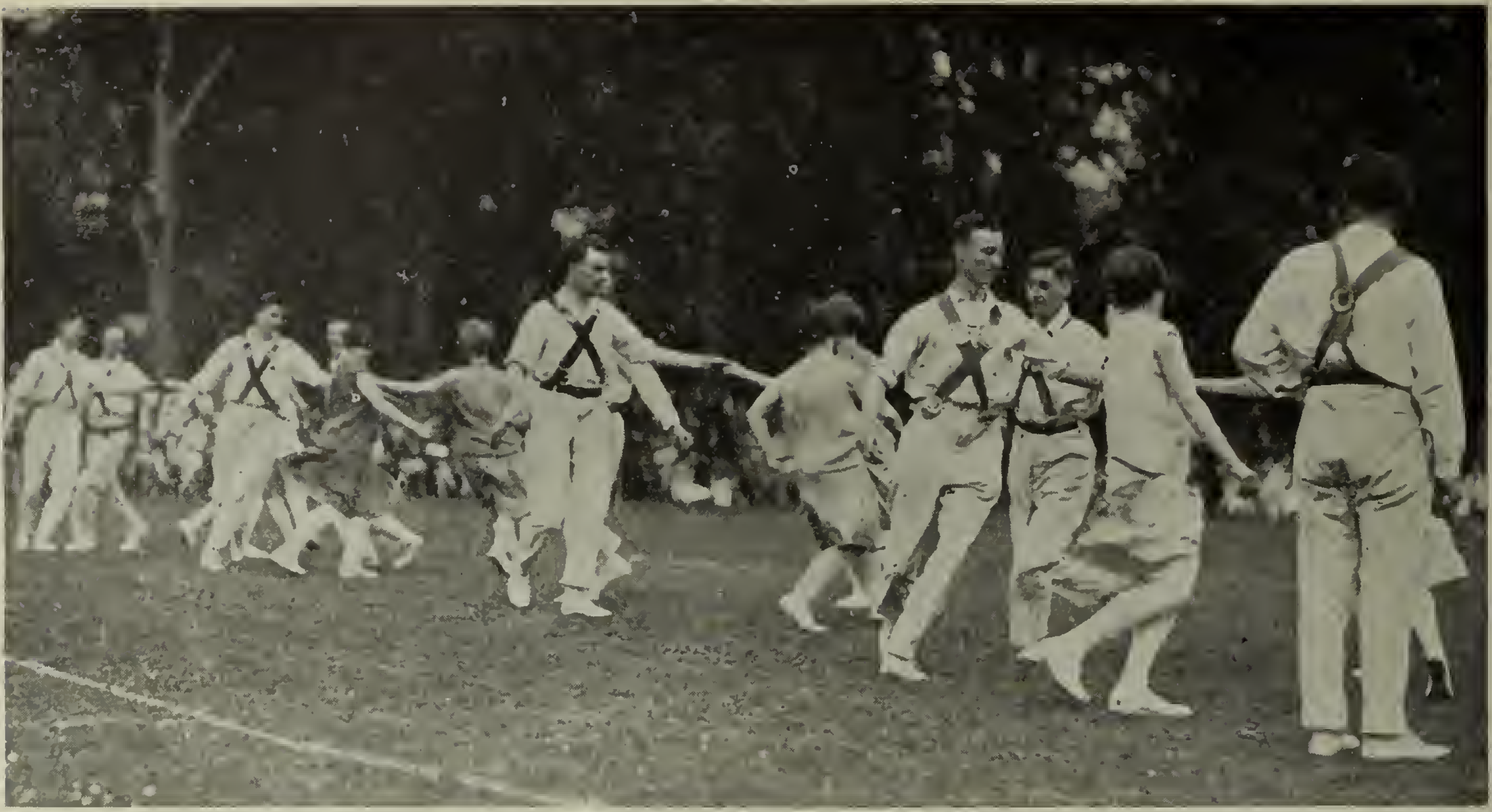
Topical Press

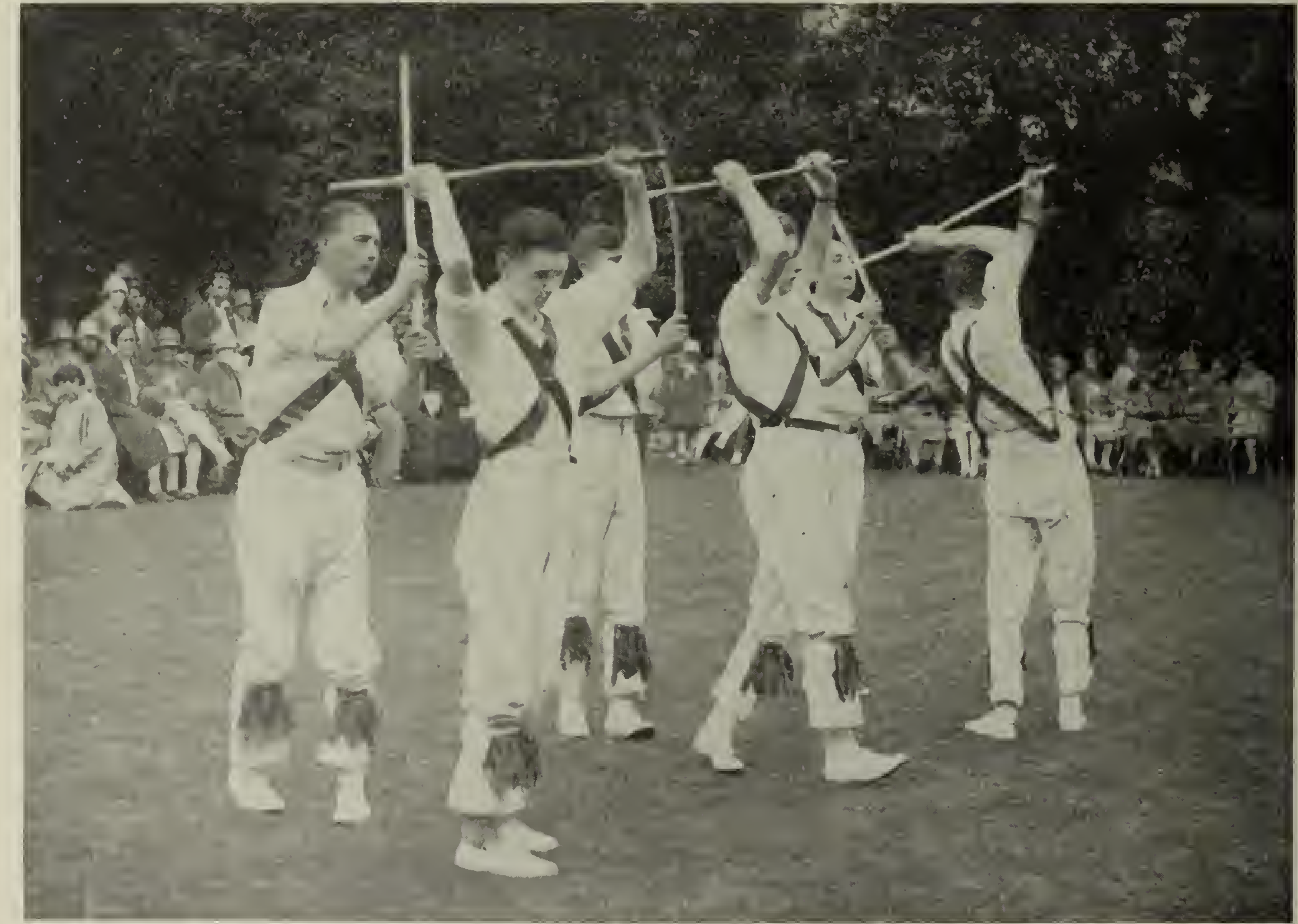
MAY MORNING MORRIS IN AN OXFORD STREET

Correct costume for a morris dance comprises pleated shirts with coloured ribbons across back and front, knee breeches, and pads of bells with ribbons tied below the knees. The bells are carefully chosen for their variety in tone. A team of morris dancers is attended by a Tom-fool, and sometimes by a man dressed as a woman, the Moll or She-Male, to supply comic relief.

The morris dances are lively and gay. The dancers wear small bells sewn to their leg garments. They carry handkerchiefs to wave or sticks to be flourished. The correct dress is usually a white shirt, white trousers and a bowler hat decorated with bunches of flowers and knots of ribbon. The morris has in it no love element, as Spanish dances have. According to Cecil Sharp, the greatest authority on the subject, it is clearly derived from the 'primitive nature ceremonies of the early village communities.' That is to say, it once formed part of what was probably a religious ceremony. This view is strengthened by the characters which appear in so many morris dances. There is the hobby-horse, for one. There are Maid Marian and Friar Tuck, there is a Fool or Jester. Then there is a character called the Queen (in some places the Moll), a man dressed as a woman, wearing a crown and a veil and riding a horse; no one knows what this is derived from. Also there is sometimes a witch. All this gives the morris dances a variety and a vigour which they have never lost. Mr. Sharp wrote in the introduction to his 'Country Dance Book' as if it still flourished over large areas. He described how the morris-men, few in number, carefully chosen and trained, formed a close society or guild.

> It is not enough that the probationer should be a good dancer, lissome and agile; he must, in addition, undergo a course of six weeks' daily instruction at the hands of the elder dancers. Upon election he will be required to subscribe to sundry rules and regulations and to provide himself with a special and elaborate dancing dress, every detail of which, though varying from village to village, is prescribed by tradition.

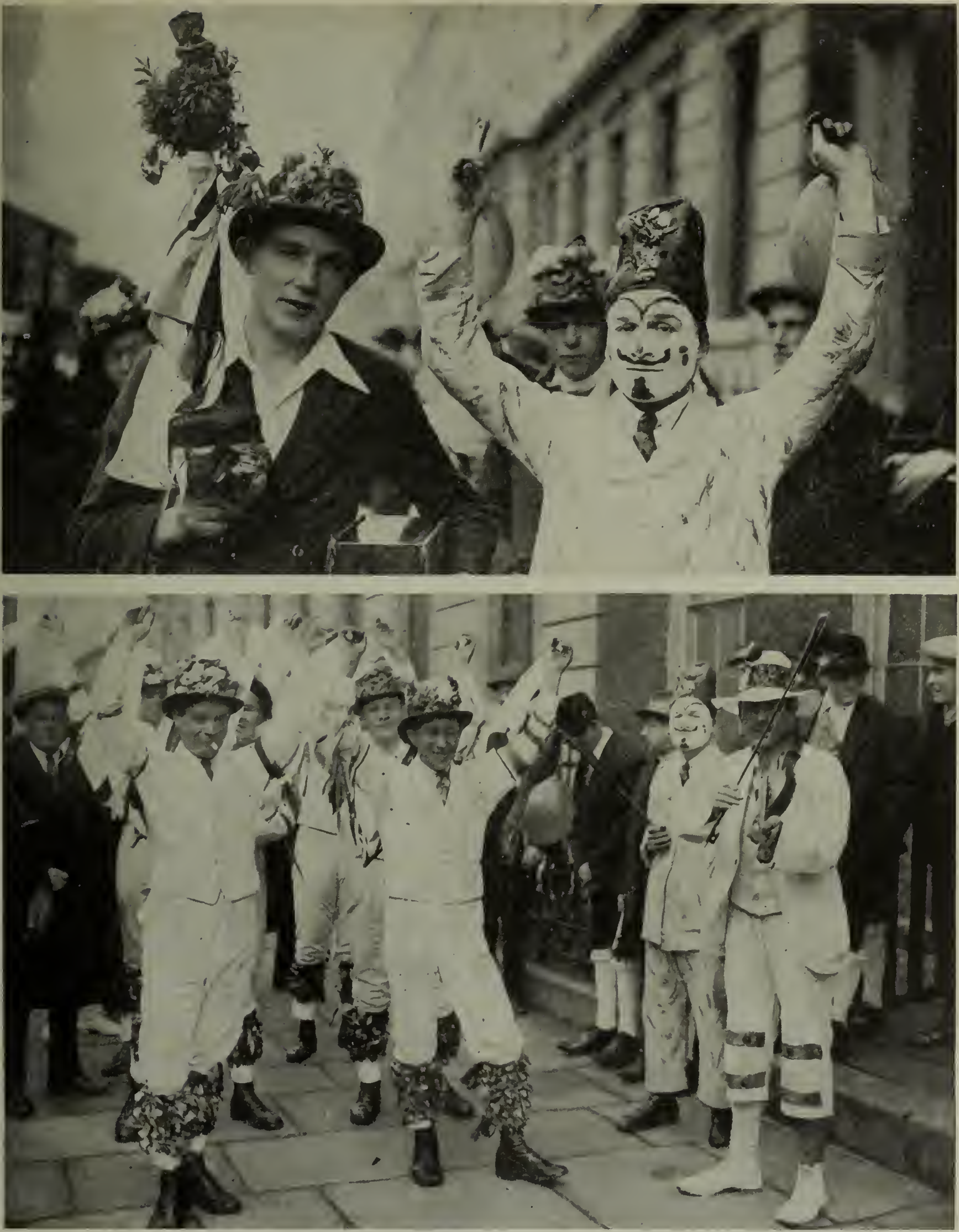




Topical Press

EXAMPLES OF THE TWO TYPES OF NATIONAL DANCE—SOCIAL AND RITUAL

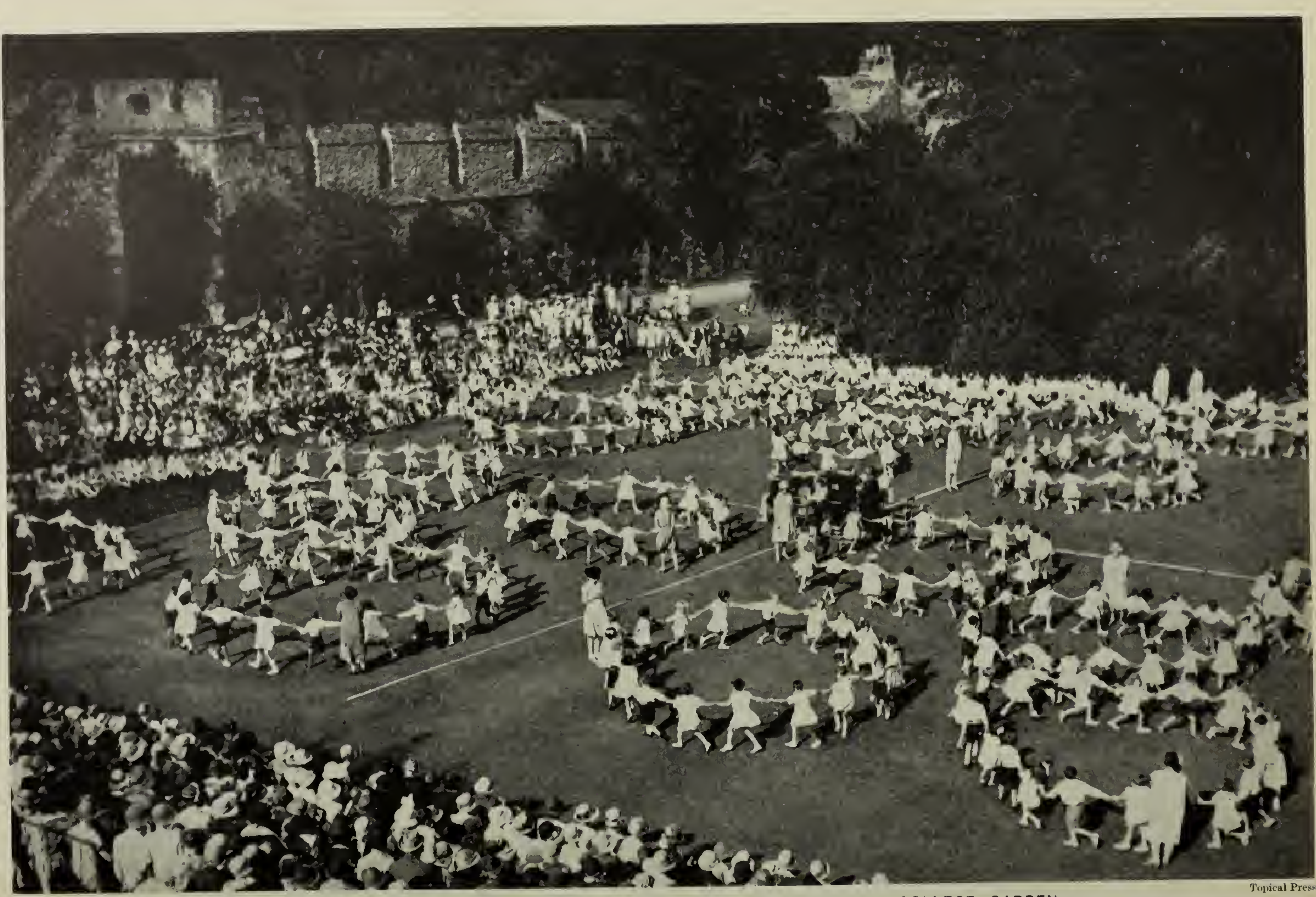
While both the morris and the country dance are folk dances, there is an essential difference between the two; the former being strictly for men with as its object the performance of a rite, while the latter is for men and women and its object is the dancers' own enjoyment. Here are seen (top) a demonstration of a country dance, 'Indian Queen,' by the Liverpool branch of the English Folk Dance Society, and, below, a performance of a morris, 'Lads a-Bunching,' by the Essex branch.



Keystone

TRACES OF A MUMMING PLAY IN THE BAMPTON MORRIS

In the ancient morris dance perpetuated at Bampton (see also opposite page) there are vestiges of a mumming play that used to be acted there at Christmas. The morris 'side' of six men, who dance in two files of three a side (bottom) is accompanied by extraneous figures (top)—a Fool brandishing the jester's bladders and the Cake and Sword Bearer. The cake, carried impaled on the sword blade, is a relic of a wheaten sacrifice and is credited with magic power to bring luck to whomsoever buys a slice.



Topical Press

EXHIBITION OF COUNTRY DANCING BY CHILDREN IN AN OXFORD COLLEGE GARDEN

Many children's games, it has been pointed out, are derived from old folk dances. Oranges and Lemons is an example, with its last line, 'Here comes a chopper to chop off your head,' as a quaint reminder of the old sacrificial victim. So, too, most country dances can be traced to a primitive religious source—the maypole dances, for instance, and other rounds. The religious origin of these is shown by the fact that in all of them the movement of the ring of dancers, representing the 'sacred circle' round the venerated tree, is always clockwise to begin with, following the sun's track. Country dances are especially suitable for children, because while they require grace and deftness the steps are simple and present few technical difficulties.

Thus its aim evidently was to provide a spectacle or pageant as part of the ritual associated with the celebration of popular festivals and holidays.

Entirely different in its origin and character is the English country dance. This requires no difficult preparation; there is in it nothing skilled or professional. It is just a jolly romp, for boys and girls, for men and women. Sometimes it bears traces of having borrowed figures from morris dances: that is perfectly natural. But most country dances are based simply upon the very earliest form of dance the round. 'Sellenger's Round,' one of the earliest of old English tunes and something in the nature of 'Sir Roger de Coverley,' was no doubt among the very earliest of old English amusements. With our usual unreadiness to claim that we have produced anything good ourselves we used to attribute to the French the credit of sending us our country dances. We even said their name was derived from 'contredanse,' whereas the French word 'contredanses' is a corruption of our 'country dances' and they borrowed them from us!

The dancers in these stand commonly in lines facing one another, the men on one side, the women on the other. But the square dance (quadrille or lancers) is also an old form of country dance, and the oldest form of all is the circular, in which all the dancers take hands. This may have been, as some suppose, originally the ring made round the maypole, but there is no need to accept that view, for the round is the most ancient form of dance in all countries. As it developed, it brought in the sex motive, the idea of courtship and of rivalry.

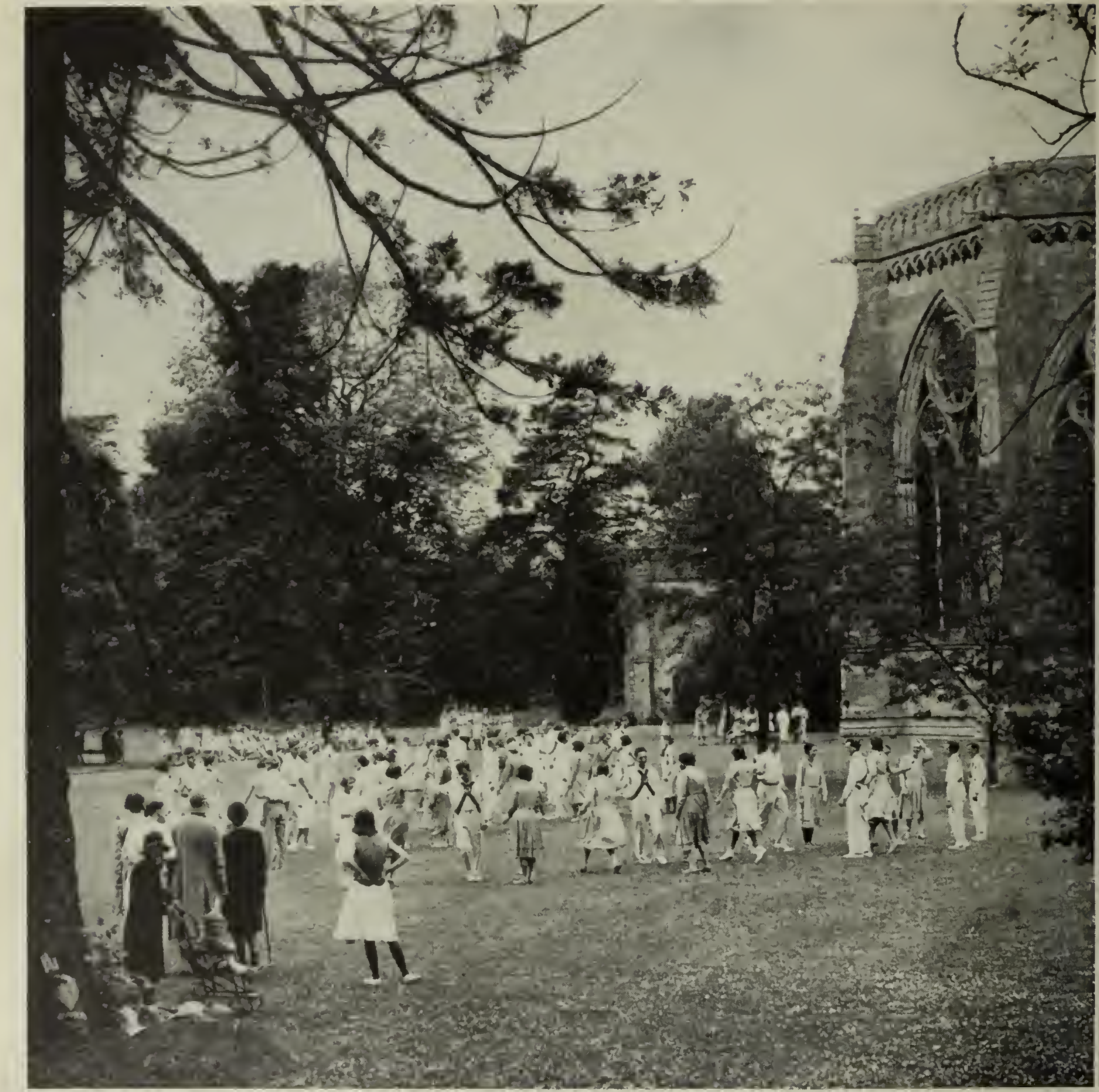
In Hardy's novel Under the Greenwood Tree there is a delightful account of the country dance called The Triumph or Follow My Lover, one which King Edward VII is said to have danced with his tenants on his estate at Sandringham in Norfolk. Fancy Day, the pretty school-teacher, is young Dick Dewy's partner. Mr. Shinar, the churchwarden, has cast a fond eye upon her, too. At one point in the 'figures' the men have to leave their own partners and take for the moment those of others, so Mr. Shinar 'made off down the middle with this fair one of Dick's—the pair appearing like two persons tripping down a lane to be married. Dick trotted behind.' Then the two men form an arch for Miss Day to run under, and so the dance goes on. Later, the rivals have a slight quarrel about the 'casting off,' which Mr. Shinar has omitted when he has Fancy for his partner. Dick twits him with this, and he retorts that 'perhaps he shan't cast off for any man.' But their heat soon cools.

In remote villages of Hardy's Wessex that dance might be still seen, but it would even there be more of a curiosity than a custom, kept up as a survival, not forming part of the regular village life—unless, indeed, there was in the district a branch of the English Folk Dance Society. Then you might see the old recreation of the countryside once more in full swing, then might you look forward hopefully to England becoming 'merry' again. Few movements of our age are more arresting than that which Cecil Sharp set a-going for the revival of the old dances. It is a sign, not merely of increased interest in our past as a nation, not merely of a desire for a new kind of amusement combined with exercise, but also of the revolt against our Machine Age, of a longing to get back to a more wholesome way of living.

Sharp was, to begin with, an enthusiast for folk songs. He collected a very large number of these by getting old country people to sing over to him all they could remember. Then he found that they also remembered old dances, so he set to work to collect these as well. He learned to do the steps himself and at once tried to induce others to join him. Many were glad to put themselves under his tuition, and so large was the response to his urging that in 1911 he established his society. In the next year it had 144 members and five local branches. In 1930 the number of members was 18,546 and the number of branches 53. Sharp died in 1924. As a memorial to him there was opened in 1930 a spacious and beautiful central home for the society. Cecil Sharp House stands on a commanding site close to the boundary between Regent's Park and Primrose Hill. Both for the fun of it and also because it provides the regular exercise which it is difficult for city dwellers to get after their day's work is done, folk dancing has gained a wide popularity in London and other crowded centres of population. In the country it is also winning recruits rapidly, thanks to the energy of Women's Institutes: many of these have taken it up and are spreading knowledge of it more widely every year. There are folk-dance competitions now in large numbers and a huge annual gathering in the Albert Hall, where picked teams from different parts of the country exhibit their skill. Sixty-six festivals and competitions took place during 1929–30.

This may be decried as 'artificial,' as an archaeological fad; but it has, in truth, a very active and genuine life in it. Those who dance do so because they enjoy it, because it gives them a chance to express their joy in being alive and energetic; because they get pleasure out of their skill in dancing well. So neglected were the old measures, so quickly was even the memory of them dying away, that it was necessary to teach them systematically. Once they have been taught, they are handed on without any regular assistance from outside. Year by year more people are learning them. There is no reason why the movement should not result before long in something like that of the Sokols in Czechoslovakia which has a festival every five years in Prague, attended by an enormous number of young people from all over the republic. They do gymnastics and what we call 'physical jerks.' An English festival of folk dancing on the same scale would be more varied and therefore more interesting; it would also give more scope for ability, agility and grace.

Such a festival would, of course, include hornpipe



The Times

MASSED DANCING IN THE SHADOW OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL

Founded by Cecil Sharp in 1911, the English Folk Dance Society has had such success in reviving folk music and dance as to prove that its work meets a fundamental racial need. In 1930 it had established 53 branches, practically covering the whole of this country and carrying the movement into the Colonies and the United States. Besides furnishing material for national opera and other musical and dramatic forms, these traditional songs and dances provide the general population with a delightful means for entertaining themselves.

dances, not only the sailor's, but others which are even older. Sailors do not dance hornpipes now ; they are seldom seen even on the stage. Yet they are charming when the different figures are well performed and their music full of infectious gaiety. There were Scottish hornpipes as well as English, but they were never quite as popular as the highland fling or the reels and strathspeys.

Jigs, supposed by most people to be Irish, were common to the three countries which once formed the United Kingdom. They are found all over Europe as well. But in Ireland the jig was elaborated into a dance that may fairly be called national. Originally it was accompanied by the bagpipes, but tunes were written later on for the fiddle and even the harp. Dancing seems still to come naturally to a great many Irishmen, though their village dances on the occasion of wakes or festivities are liable to degenerate into a wild form of revelry. For this reason and because it brings young men and girls together the priests mostly frown upon dancing in Ireland—dancing of any kind ; therefore there is little of it.

MAGIC IN LOVE AND WAR

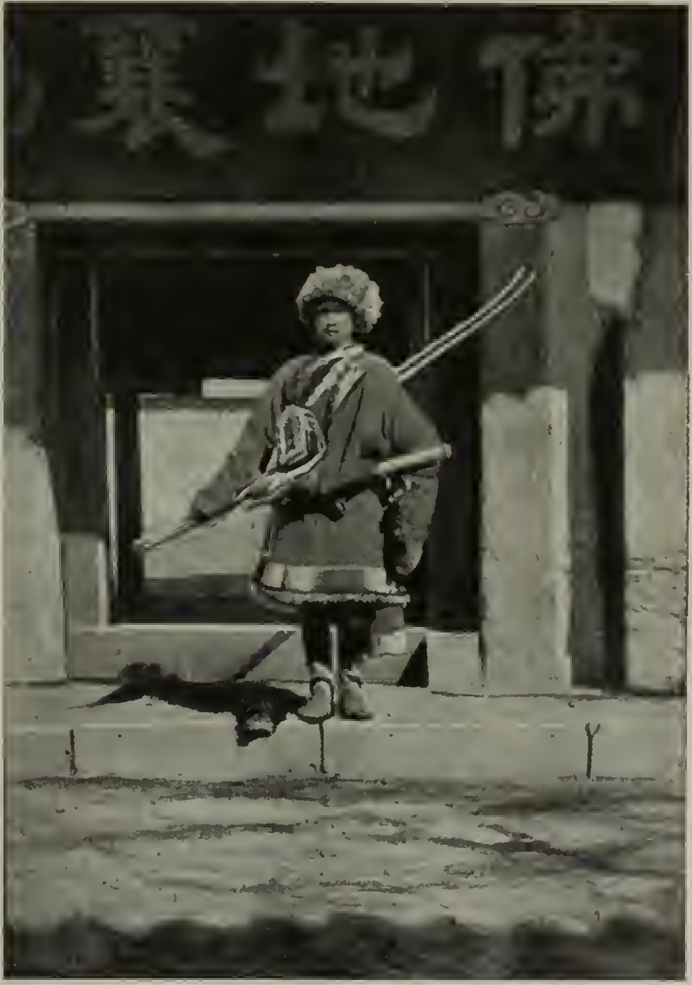
WHEN a savage needs aid in his fighting, love-making, harvest, or other enterprise, he resorts to magic, for magic and primitive religion are largely concerned with the crises of life. Other applications of the power and force of magic are related in Medicine Men and Their Magic, as also in the chapters on Magic and the Means of Life, and Rain-Makers and Rain-Making Ceremonies.

MAKING love and making war have more in common than might at first sight appear—at any rate, in their primitive forms. For normally the savage is exogamous—that is, marries out of his own social group into another which has more or less different customs and entirely distinct obligations. If a quarrel between the two clans arises, as over a matter of blood spilt or a death imputed to sorcery, a man will have to join the avenging party that is going to attack his wife's people, and may actually be obliged to slay someone who is her brother or father, whether by blood or by tribal convention. In any case, short of such occasional hostilities, his intercourse with her relatives will be extremely formal, complicated as it must be by various avoidances, of which the taboo on any sort of intimacy with the mother-in-law is the stock example.

Thus such a marriage might not unfairly be compared to what happens among ourselves when an Englishman weds a foreigner who is likewise of a different religion ; for to belong to a separate totem almost comes to that. The only mitigating circumstance is that everyone has to do the same, the tribe as a whole forming a sort of inter-marrying union such as causes the component elements in the long run to get used to one another's ways. To go right outside the tribe for a wife is unusual, and though it can be done by peaceful arrangement—not, however, without much wagging of elderly beards over the question how a matrilineal system is going to be adapted to a patrilineal one, and so on—it is more often a simple case of making off with the captive of one's victorious spear.

MOREOVER, in addition to this more or less casual mating with a stranger group a man is necessarily brought likewise into contact with a stranger sex. Crawley may have made rather too much of what he terms the ' sex taboo ' when he tries to show that the main object of marriage ceremonies is to neutralise this mystic horror instinctively felt by each sex for the other. Certain it is, however, that sex solidarity under conditions of primitive culture tends to be very great ; and it is only a step, emotionally, from want of sympathy to active fear and dislike. The men and the women have each their own industrial pursuits, their own initiations and other mysteries. No wonder, then, that they are divided in soul, even if the imperious urge of the life-force drives them into union as concerns the body.

It needed, then, a long process of development in order to vindicate the cause of peace, whether domestic or political ; nor are the results thereby attained even at this time of day altogether satisfactory. There can be little doubt that under civilization moral has lagged behind material progress. Nevertheless, as contrasted with the rude beginnings of culture, both the family and society at large involve today in far greater measure an effective recognition of the claims of individuality, alike personal and ethnic ; and on such a basis only can mutual toleration, and as its outcome equal love, be solidly established. Here, however, no attempt can be made to review this evolution of charity in its entirety, or even to estimate the part—the very important part—which has been played therein by religion. Distinguishing religion from magic by the motive underlying the one or the other, we may class as magical those influences which on the whole have been reactionary and bad—attempts to exploit supernatural means for unworthy ends as dictated by anti-social feelings such as lust and hate.



F. Kingdon Ward

CHARM TO KEEP A WARRIOR SAFE

This Mantzu warrior does not rely entirely upon his weapons. As an additional protection he has taken the precaution to hang an amulet on his breast. The Mantzu are an aboriginal Caucasoid people of the Tibetan marches, chiefly engaged in hunting and raising cattle.

HOW WOMEN OF DELHI SEEK TO WIN BACK LOVE THAT IS LOST

On starry nights this ancient structure in Old Delhi, called Junter Munter, is a resort of women who have lost the love of a husband or who have offended a husband's parents, for it is a place of magic. A woman in such plight takes a jar of drinking water to Junter Munter, and, holding the receptacle in her hands, 'counts the stars thrice.' Then she carries back the jar and administers the water to her angry parents-in-law, or wayward husband, to recover the lost love.

In applying this test, however, we are faced by the difficulty that moral standards for the purpose of history must be treated as relative to the stage of culture under consideration. Thus, as regards marriage, for instance, a savage moralist who saw no harm in wife-lending, but rather a duty incumbent on the hospitable, might nevertheless condemn wife-stealing as the blackest of sins. Or, again, in the matter of war, in all ages the patriot has been apt to vociferate hymns of hate against the public enemy; while so long as the vendetta ranks as a more or less legitimate method of redress it will seem perfectly proper to vow vengeance on one's next-door neighbour. Difficult, however, as it may be to draw an exact line in all cases, the magical practices which will be here noticed are in general those that, not only for us onlookers but for the people concerned, count as hardly respectable, and, however dimly, are felt to militate against the natural kindliness of human relations.

To illustrate how utterly different are the ways of savagery from ours, and at the same time how diversified and confused are the institutions of the so-called simple life, let us glance at the love-making of the Kurnai, a tribe belonging to the most primitive stratum distinguishable among that very primitive race, the Australian aborigines. To begin with, it must be mentioned, even if it is not strictly relevant to the present topic, that each sex has its own peculiar totem or guardian animal, the 'woman's sister' being Djiitgun, the superb warbler, and the 'man's brother' Yiirung, the emu-wren. Such an arrangement made flirtation easy. A young man, meeting a comely maiden, merely had to call out 'Djiitgun,' and she would reply 'Yiirung,' perhaps following it up with a question that amounted to a proposal, 'What does the Yiirung eat?'; after which, if he coyly responded 'He eats kangaroo,' or whatever it might be, they both would laugh, and the outcome might well be a match. The lady's form of proposal, by the way, is usually interpreted as an offer to act as housekeeper, but it has been suggested that the real point is to ascertain whether his food taboo differs from her own, so that there should be no totemic bar to marriage between them.

It may be, however, that the eligible bachelors are for some reason backward, whereupon the women are moved to take up the matter and stir up love by way of strife. So they sally forth and slay an emu-wren or two and casually exhibit the little corpses to the young men. They, in their indignation, seize sticks, the girls do the same, and heads are broken. Moreover, next day the indignant males go forth in their turn and kill some superb warblers, the women's 'sisters.' An even worse fight follows, so that the wounds are sore for a week. Nevertheless, after having thus broken the ice the young people become decidedly more aware of each other, and individual flirtations and proposals of the kind already described are sure to follow.

At this point, however, might occur considerable difficulty in winning the consent of the girl's father to the plan so spiritedly conceived by the lovers.

Negotiations, involving possibly some exchange of women, would prove tedious, and, one may guess, might mean that a young man must wait until his elders and betters had been served. In any case, too, violent means of obtaining a wife were not unknown among the Kurnai; for we hear of one clan raiding another and despoiling it of all its womenfolk at one fell swoop, a regular battle resulting. In such a moral atmosphere, then, it is no wonder that our pair of lovers should think of a solution of the practical problem confronting them by way of Gretna Green, with a magician to take the place of the obliging blacksmith. This worthy was known as the Bunjil-yenjin, 'professor of love-spells,' and his speciality was to cause elopements, whether the object of desire was maid or wife.

One native whose spouse was thus induced to desert him could repeat the very charm that was her undoing, one so powerful that it 'made the women run in all directions' when they heard it. The translation is as follows: 'Roll up the twine, little sweetheart. I go first to the hollow before you.' The reference to the twine suggests some accompanying act of mimic snaring or tying a knot. Another spell of no less efficacy is of even obscurer import: 'Why did Yiirung cut off his beard? Djiitgun sleeps in her mother's camp.'

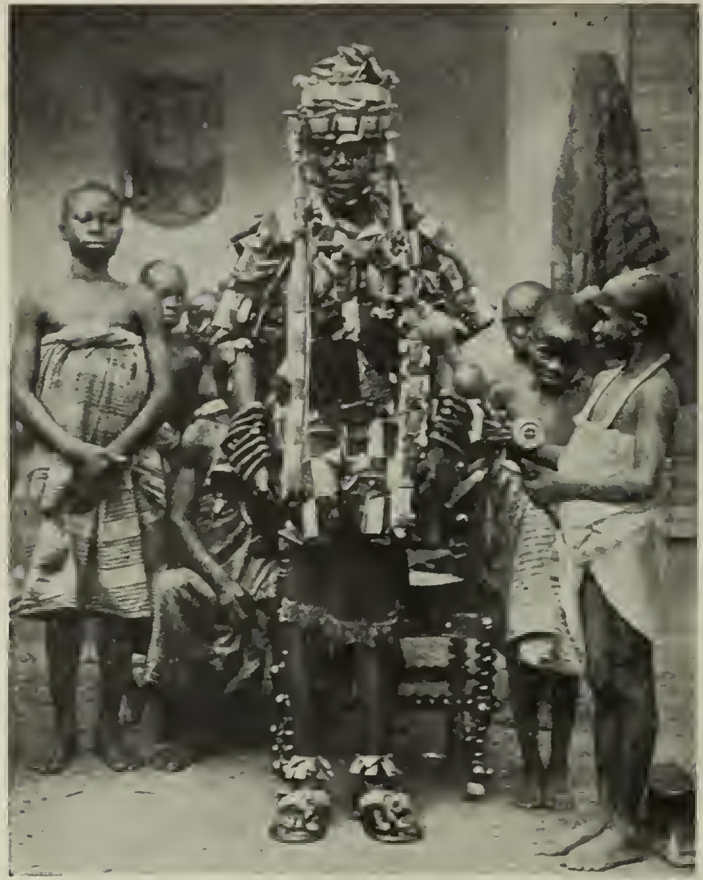
There is no attempt made to conceal the fact that the magician is at work, and some female friend is sure to inform the girl that the words of power have been launched against her. Moreover, such is their force that her parents feel compelled for the time being to cover themselves up as if asleep. As soon as the couple are well away, however, etiquette demands that an avenging party should start on their trail, and if they are caught, the girl might be speared in the leg, while the young man must undergo an ordeal by combat with the relatives. These would even sometimes employ a rival magician to direct their pursuit. If, however, the pair got away, and turned up later on with a baby, all was forgiven. Altogether, the proceeding was irregular, but winked at; and magic was made the excuse for getting round the law—never a reputable proceeding, but still at times convenient.

AGAIN, another Australian tribe, the Arunta, who also indulge in runaway marriages, which, we are told, are more irregular in appearance than in reality, have charms wherewith to wile a woman away, and it is found in practice that there is no such opportunity for this as a dance, when the handsome young men are prancing about in all their bravery, with the women looking admiringly on. One has only

TRAFFICKING IN LOVE PHILTRES AT A VILLAGE FAIR IN INDIA

Among the common people of India there is a very widespread belief in the efficacy of magic. Girls have recourse to magic if their love affairs go awry, and at the village fairs the seller of love potions is a familiar figure. This functionary is here seen at a hillside village fair, distinguished by a hat surmounted with peacock feathers, which in India are considered lucky (see page 726). Only the women know him for what he is; the men regard him merely as a holy man.

COUNTY FREE LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA



Clarendon Press

MAGIC CHARMS FOR A WAR LORD OF ASHANTI

Although the Ashanti are not themselves Moslems, they set great store by the amulets that they purchase from the Mahomedan Hausas. This chief of Bantama (taken from Captain R. S. Rattray's 'Religion and Art in Ashanti') has covered himself with such charms, which possibly contain extracts from the Koran.

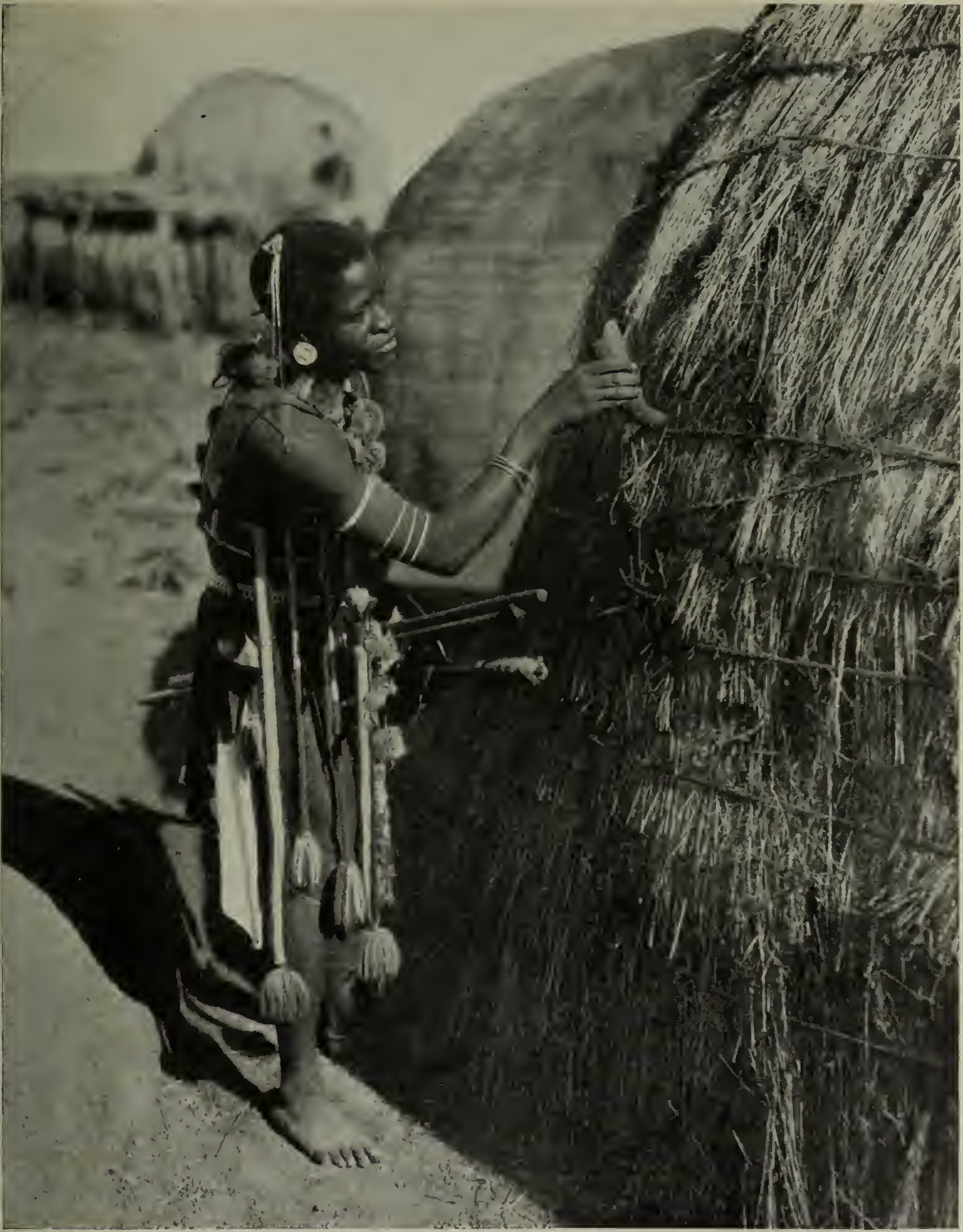
to possess a shell ornament called a 'lonka-lonka,' which flashes in the dancer's waist-belt, more especially if he has sung over it beforehand to charm the lightning into it. When a woman sees it glitter 'all at once her internal organs shake with emotion.' A headband that has been sung over, called 'chilara,' is also most effective, or, again, the sounding of an 'ulpirra' or conch. The woman thereupon becomes, in native parlance, 'much infatuated,' and, even if another man's wife, is ready to bolt with her charmer, although at considerable risk of sudden death ahead for either or both.

Passing on from these very savage folk whose love affairs are so unintelligible to us, we may note that even relatively civilized people such as the Malays do not disdain to employ a medicine man to decoy the object, or, perhaps one should say, the victims of their passion. The charms have a strong Arabic cast, and mostly consist in requests to jinns or angels to bring off the affair, their most striking feature being the ideal of beauty therein revealed. A desirable male is one who, in addition to a voice like that of the Prophet David, and a countenance like that of the Prophet Joseph, has a tongue like a magic serpent, teeth like a herd of (black) elephants, and lips like a procession of ants. Female loveliness, on the other hand, involves eyebrows that resemble pictured clouds and arched over like a fighting-cock's spur; a nose like an opening jasmine bud, a neck with a triple row of dimples, a head like a bird's egg, and lips like the fissure of a pomegranate. It may be added that whenever such personal attractions were likely to wane, the medicine man could provide spells that would enable his client to restore them by 'living backwards.'

In ancient Greece a Thracian witch, whose spells were potent enough to draw down the moon, might well make light of such a simple matter as recovering a strayed lover. All that was necessary would be to catch a wryneck and spread-eagle it (if the Irishism be allowed) to a wheel, which was spun round while the wretched bird, still alive, emitted its magic cry, 'Iu, Iu.' This penetrated to the very heart of the swain. The modern Greek maiden prefers a bat for the purpose. She roasts it to cinders on a fire of sticks gathered by a witch at midnight, and buries the remains where cross-roads meet. It is also just as well to burn incense over the ashes for forty days, before the powder is slipped into the drink of the reluctant youth. It may be doubted, however, whether any young man is worth that amount of trouble.

In the island of Guernsey the same result may be obtained more simply by baking a cake of flour, salt and soot, eating half of it, and wrapping the other half in a garter taken from the left leg, after which it is placed under the pillow; whereupon at midnight the double of the adored one will stand by the bedside. That this is really devil's work, however, is proved by the story that when this had been tried on a young officer the wraith left a real sword behind it; and later on, when the marriage had taken place, the bridegroom came upon the sword in turning out the contents of a chest, and was instantly moved to plunge it into the bosom of his lady. The moral is that love can be trusted to work spells of itself without the aid of magic, which in motive is always selfish and therefore cruel. To make a waxen image, paint a heart thereon, and transfix it with a pin is alike potent to enamour or to slay, as if in either case there was a like brutality of purpose behind the act.

Turning to the subject of war magic, one must presumably class under the separate head of religion appeals to a god of battles which, even when they have ceased to be bloodthirsty in tone, are apt to remain almost as one-sided as they were in the days when one tribal deity frankly went forth to overthrow another. Verging on magic, however, are those more or less private explosions of suspicion and hate that are exemplified by an Australian avenging-party. Here the medicine man assists from first to last; for to begin with he uses divination to detect the guilty person, and later on may be required to accompany the expedition and do impossible things—in which nevertheless the natives firmly believe—such as mending up the victim after he has been speared, so that he does not know that he has been attacked, though he languishes away and dies none the less. For some obscure reason everyone, including the medicine man, must have previously undergone the ordeal of



Ewing Galloway

WORKING A MAGIC TO PUT LOVE INTO THE HEART OF A MAIDEN

The everyday life of the Zulus, as of other savage peoples, is girt about with magic. When a Zulu hunter kills an animal he ties a knot in its tail, to prevent the meat from disagreeing with him. To recover cattle that have strayed a Zulu goes through a magical performance with earth from the animal's footprints. This Zulu youth is sticking a horn into the hut of a girl he loves with a view to enchanting her, so that she will return his affection.

Wide World Photos

LEAVES THAT ARE CARRIED TO DEFLECT THE WEAPONS OF THE ENEMY

That certain magical virtues inhere in leaves and in wreaths made of leaves is an old-established and widely held belief. Indeed, wreaths may have been amulets before they were ornaments. Among the Melanesians of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain a warrior will wear a bunch of red dracaena leaves round his neck, to make him invulnerable. Some fighting men of the Guere, a cannibal tribe of the Ivory Coast, are here seen carrying green leaves in their mouths to bring about the same result.

dislocating a toe ; and if their subsequent doings remain enwrapped in clouds of myth, certain it is that such dislocated toes abound and are treated as badges of honour. Nay, a woman will occasionally go on such an avenging mission when someone of her own sex has offended against the proprieties by not cutting herself properly at a funeral. She carries a charmed stick which is supposed, when thrown from behind, to enter her enemy's body in small pieces which only a most expert medicine man could extract by sucking.

Usually deemed magical because 'sympathetic,' or, one might almost say, telepathic, in their imputed action are those ceremonial observances that, all over the savage world, are incumbent on wives whose husbands are away collecting heads or otherwise engaged in warlike pursuits. The almost universal requirement that the women should observe strict chastity might seem to have more than a purely ritual reason behind it, though in theory it is a means of keeping the vigour of the absent husband unimpaired. On the other hand his womenfolk are free to dance their fill, as he will thereby be rendered the more active The dance may itself be symbolic, as when African wives, with an ancient sorceress at their head, ply brushes in order that the men may sweep away their foes, or, more gracefully, fans are agitated in the Kei Islands so that the enemy's bullets may be waved aside. Sometimes an opposite effect is ascribed to the same prescription ; for in Malaya the husband's sleeping-mat must be rolled up, presumably that the suggestion of an interloper should be excluded, whereas in Celebes this very thing is taboo, because it would imply that it would be long before the man could be back. For the rest, it is obvious to the primitive mind that if the wife dozes during the day, her lord will be drowsy, if she oils her hair, he will slip, and so on.

MEANWHILE, the combatant himself must arm himself with magical aids, both offensive and defensive. Thus a fighting man's ghost is known in Melanesia as a 'keramo,' or ghost of killing. Hence the relic of such a man, such as a tooth or a tuft of his hair, is worn in a bag hung round the warrior's neck for luck, and the relic itself is called the 'keramo,' and in its name he curses the enemy, crying 'So-and so eats thee!' Another Malay spell combines offence with defence, namely, 'I apply the charm of the Line called the Swollen Corpse,' where the reference is to a line drawn with the foot, beyond which the foe is unable to pass by force of this dread formula, which likewise indicates his fate after reaching it.

Finally, the well-worn device of the wax figure is not to be despised in this connexion. Thus an Egyptian king defeated his foes at sea by placing wax models of the ships and men in a bowl of water and duly consigning them by his spells to perdition. So, too, an Arab writer of the thirteenth century accounts for the victories of Alexander the Great by declaring that Aristotle had furnished him with wax images of his enemies nailed face downwards in a box that must never leave his hand. Such a tale, however, sheds more light on Arab than on Greek mentality ; for it needed but a breath of Greek rationalism to blow all such nonsense to the four winds of heaven.

MAN-MADE GODS: THE FETISH AND THE IDOL

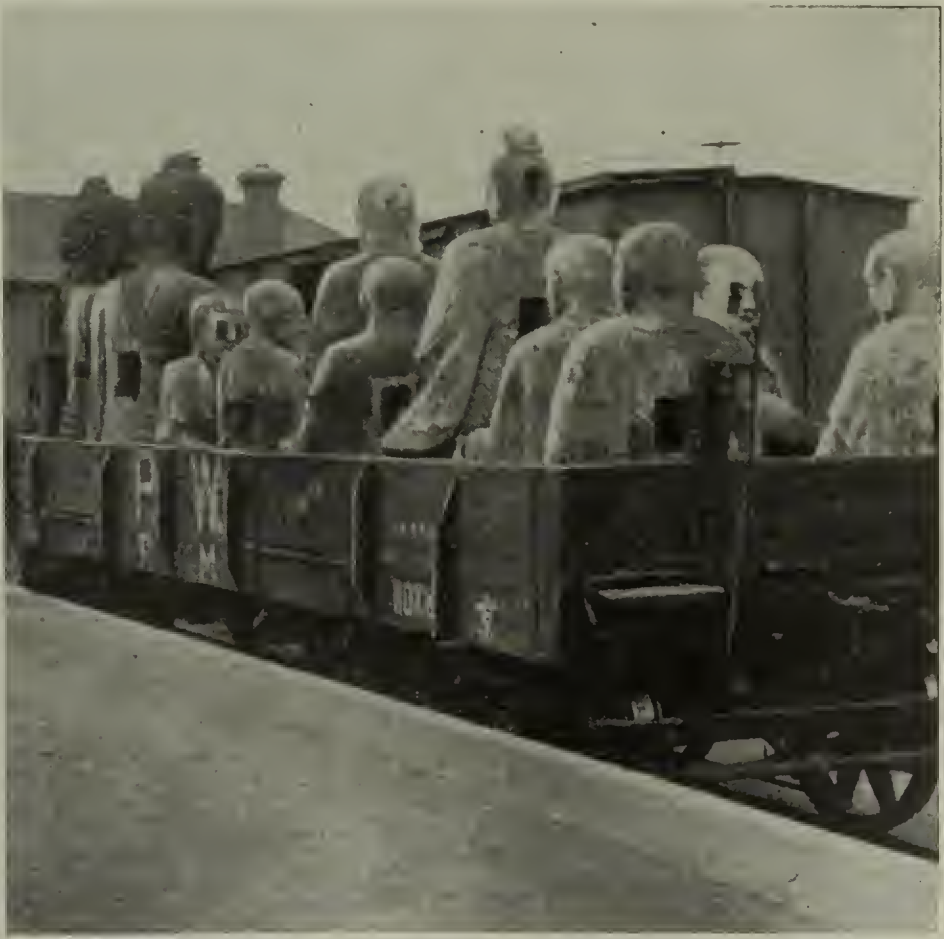
However strongly official theology may insist that images are only symbols, to simple minds they become objects of worship and supplication, and it is as such that idols are considered here. The more practical use of fetishes is discussed in the chapter on Medicine Men and Their Magic, and sidelights on the general subject are given in the chapter on Prayer in its Many Forms

It is not an easy thing to say with precision what exactly is an idol. The word in itself means an image, a presentation ; yet clearly not all men who make or set up images are idolaters in the usual sense of the term. As commonly it has been the case throughout many centuries that idolatry has been set in opposition to Christianity and its forerunner, the Hebrew religion as set forth in the Bible, it will perhaps give definition to any interpretation of the term if we consult the theologian, say the greatest of the Christian Fathers, Saint Augustine.

In his treatise 'De Civitate Dei' S. Augustine says : 'to unite . . . by a certain art those invisible spirits to visible and material things, so as to make, as it were, animated bodies, dedicated and given over to those spirits who inhabit them—that is to make gods.' Now Saint Augustine had himself been a pagan in his youthful days, and it may, therefore, safely be concluded that he was here drawing upon the memory of his own conceptions. We thus arrive at the idea of an idol as something material united with an indwelling spirit to which, as is implied by the term 'god,' worship is paid.

Of the great religions of the world, Christianity, the Hebrew religion, Mahomedanism and Buddhism have been aniconic : in their tenets as originally framed there is no place for the 'graven image.' Christians, Mahomedans and Hebrews have specifically abjured its use. Mahomedanism alone has remained consistent by not admitting the use of representations of living objects in its art, perhaps because its adherents have so often been but lately, or so little, removed from a form of belief in which reverence for a material object is familiar. Among the Hebrews, on the other hand, although the Bible specifically records only the worship of the Golden Calf and the Brazen Serpent, with the possible incident of Jacob and the stone of Bethel after his wonderful dream, it is more than probable that the revisions to which the Hebrew scriptures were subjected at various times have eliminated references to the Semitic worship of the holy stone in sacred and high places which would have brought their early beliefs into question.

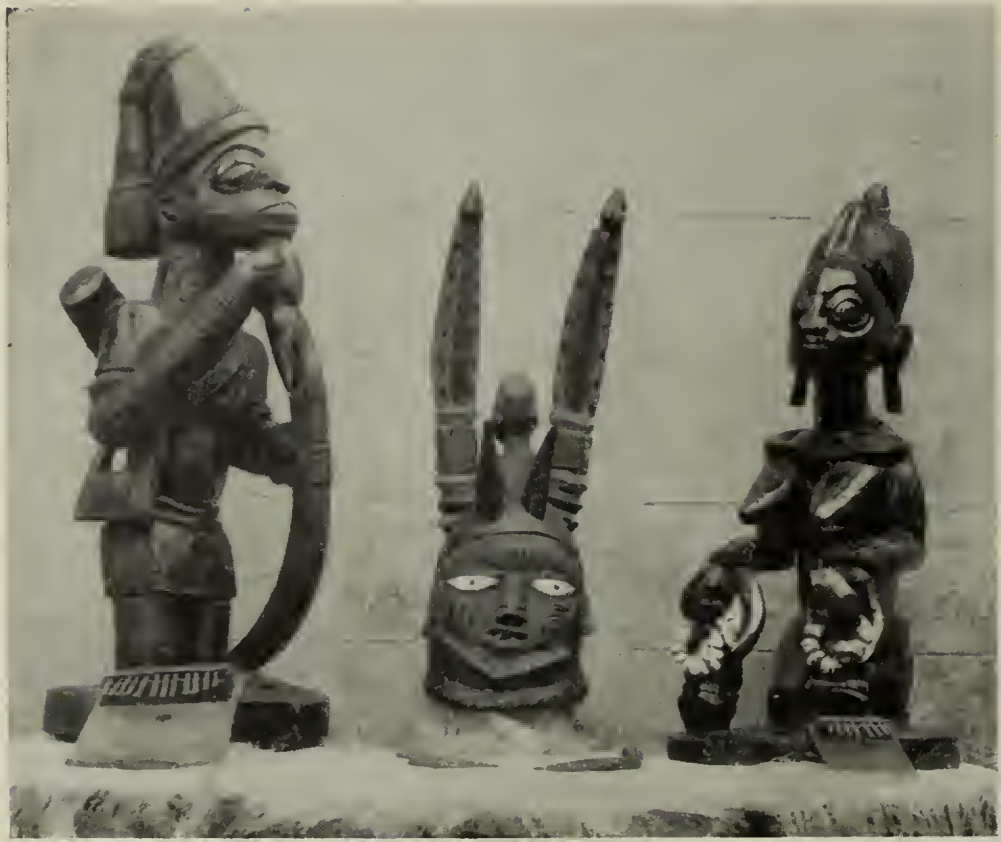
The practice of the early Christian Church is of perennial interest, but particularly in connexion with the cult of images. The Christian religion was born and grew up amid civilizations in which statuary and artistic representations of the divine in human form were a common feature of everyday life ; and it was in the closest contact with the great religion of the Mediterranean and near East, the cult of the Mother Goddess, from whose devotees many of the early converts to Christianity came to be drawn. Hence



McCormack

CHINESE IDOLS BY THE TRUCK LOAD

Mass production of idols in no way diminishes their makers' reverence for them as embodiments of divinity. Here, for example, is a truck load of idols being consigned by goods train as if they were so many carcasses ; but over the eyes of each red paper has been stuck to protect the idol from seeing anything that might defile it while in transit.



W. F. Taylor

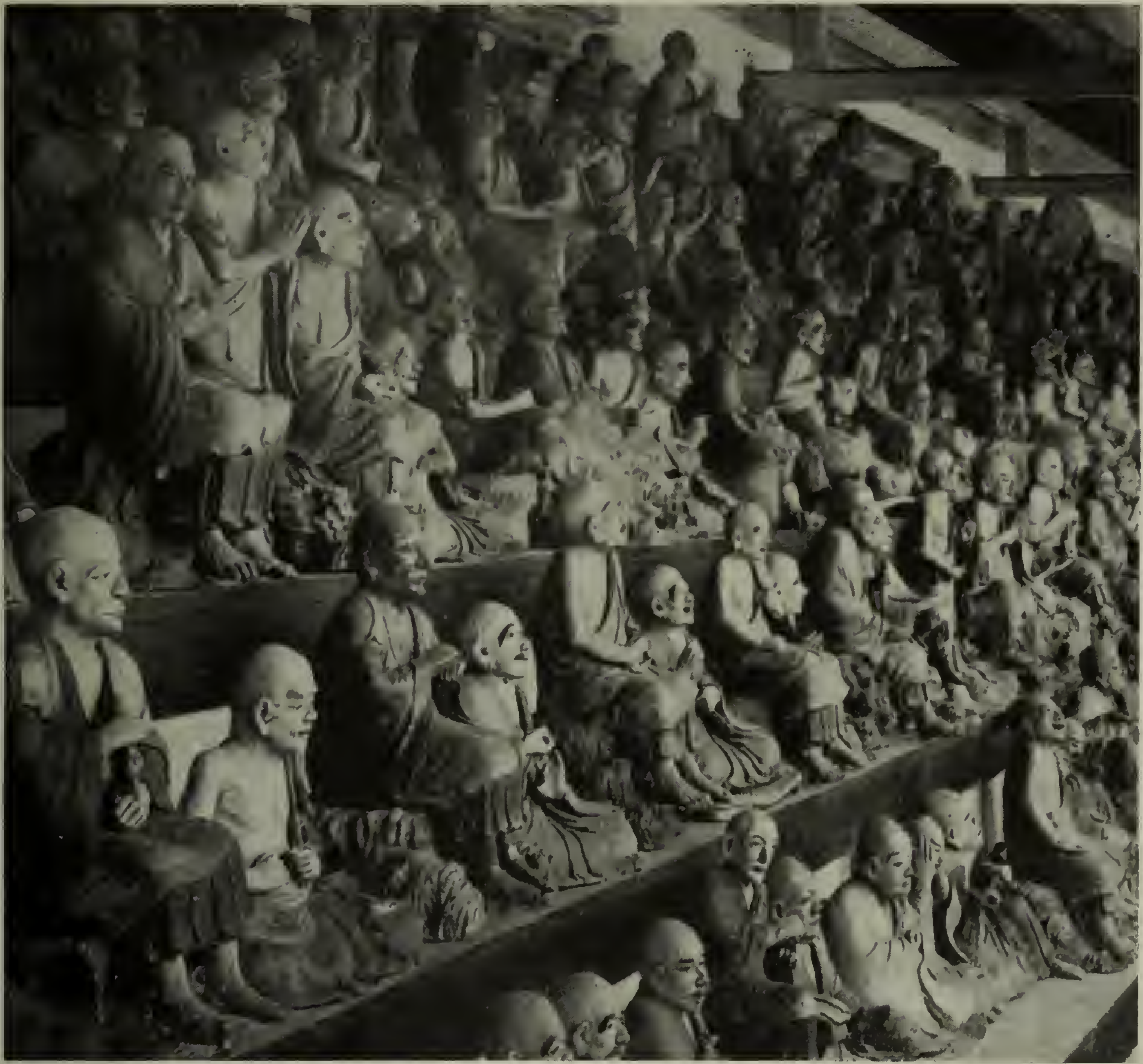
the prevalence of the cult of the Virgin Mary, to which they were traditionally and emotionally predisposed. This cult, thus tracing its descent from the female goddess represented in the grossly-fashioned figurines of the Mediterranean bronze and neolithic ages and the corpulent ivory statuettes of palaeolithic man, yet chose as its material symbol the gracious figure of the veiled Artemis, the Diana of the Ephesians, who appears with but little change as the Madonna of Raphael and the Old Masters.

However much it may have been regarded as a symbol by theologians, what the image of the Virgin meant to the humble worshipper of the Middle Ages has nowhere been expressed with more tender devotion and understanding than in the

Keystone

IDOL MASS PRODUCTION CONSISTENT WITH SINCERE WORSHIP

Manufacture of idols and fetishes is a regular business in West Africa and many of the former are admirable examples of native handicraft. The group of specimens shown here was collected for consignment to German museums. Of the three specimens in the upper photograph that on the left belonged to a native hunter. That on the right represents the goddess of fertility: two children kneel before her and one is strapped to her back The mask in the centre is worn by members of a secret society.



Underwood

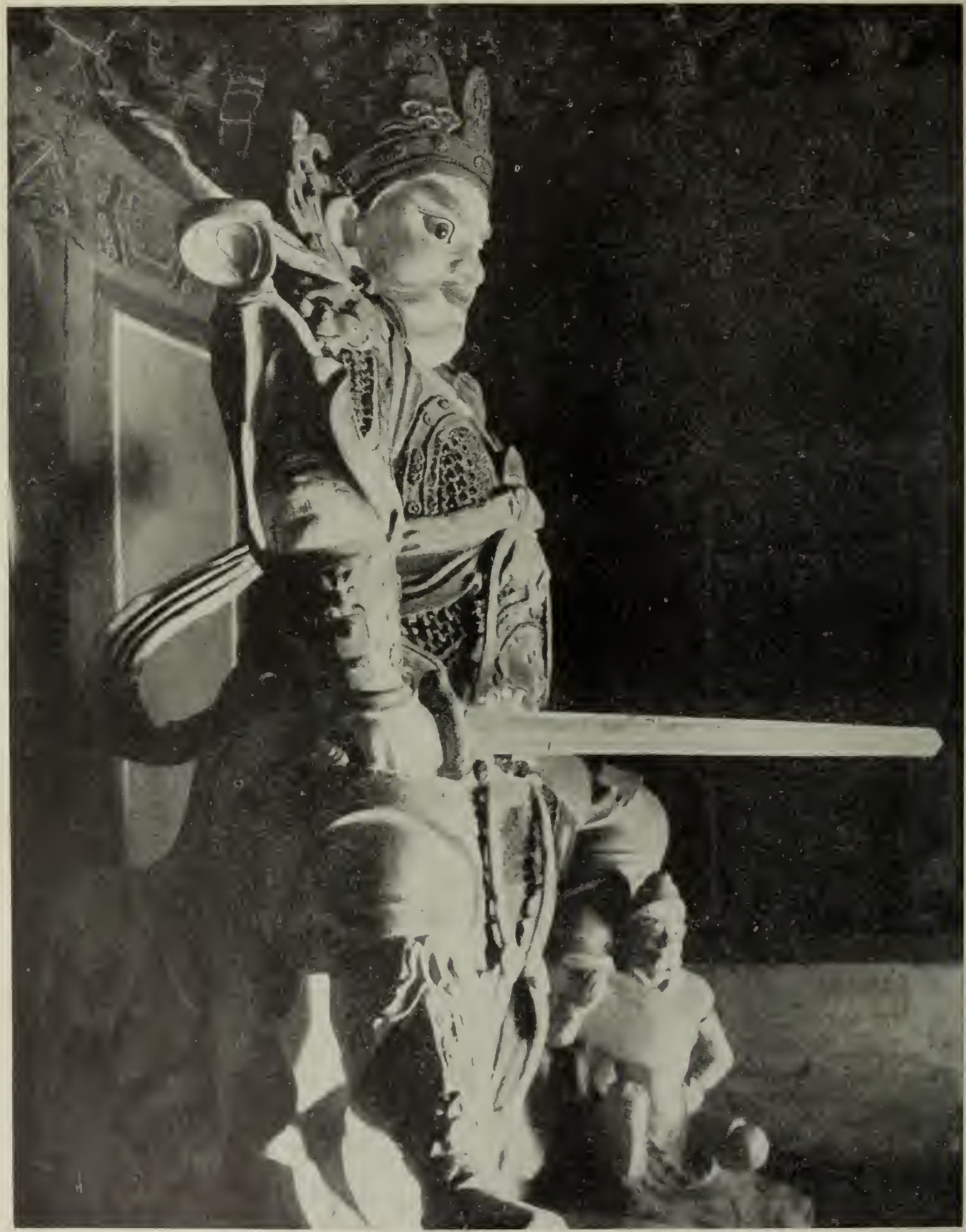
'GODS IN THE GALLERY': BUDDHA'S 500 DISCIPLES IN A TOKYO SHRINE

In Akasaka Park, Tokyo, are several temples and religious structures, the principal one being that dedicated to Kwanon. Its history goes back to the early seventh century, but the present structure was built in 1651. Besides images of Kwanon in her thirty-three terrestrial embodiments and images of other divinities it contains an assemblage of figures of 500 disciples of Buddha, rendered with wonderful realism and more than a little humour, and presenting the appearance of an amused and interested audience in the upper seats of a theatre.

prayer which Villon, the French vagabond poet of the fifteenth century, made for his mother : as she prays before the image of the Virgin she stands in the presence of the Mother of God herself. To such a pitch did the cult of the image rise that by the Middle Ages the statue of the saint in its niche had become one of the most important features in Gothic architecture, and a cathedral such as Chartres numbers its images by the thousand. In the Orthodox Church, especially in Russia before the revolution, the icon was all-pervasive in the life of the community. Only with the coming of the Reformation did the symbolism of the image lose much of its influence and, in part of the Church at least, Christianity again become aniconic.

Buddhism, as a way of life, indeed had no place for material symbols ; but in a country in which the need for material manifestation of divinity apparently is more strongly felt than anywhere else in the world, if judgement may be based upon the innumerable images of the gods to be seen on every side, the influence of environment and the ways of thought of the people were bound to prevail. Accordingly, in India and in the countries to which Buddhism spread—especially China and Japan, its present strongholds—to an outside view the figures of the Buddha, his satellites and saints have become the most striking feature in the cult.

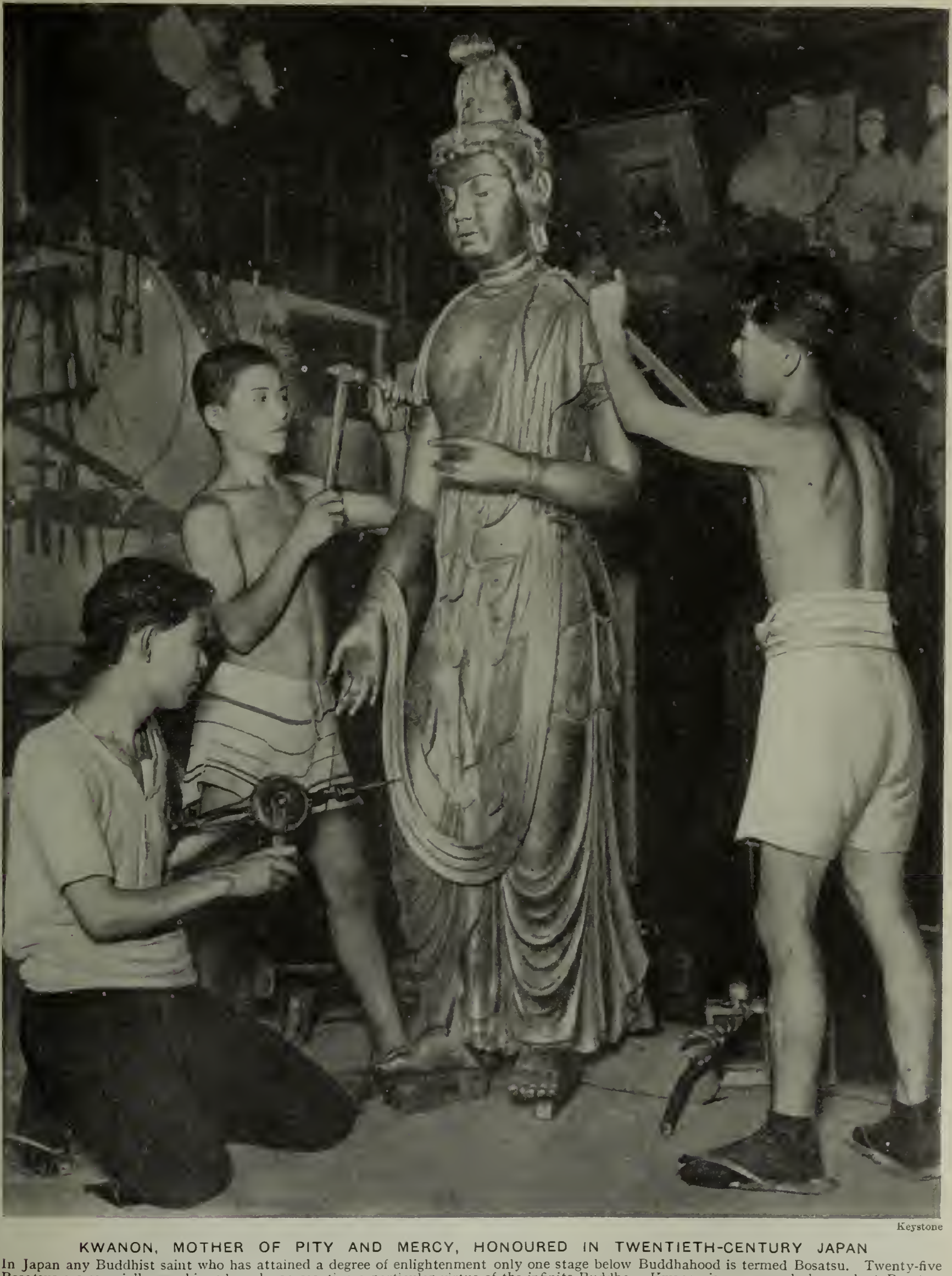
It has been worth while, at the risk of a seeming irrelevance, to dwell upon the relations of these four



Ewing Galloway

TERRIBLE IN HIS MAJESTY: THE CHINESE GOD OF WRATH

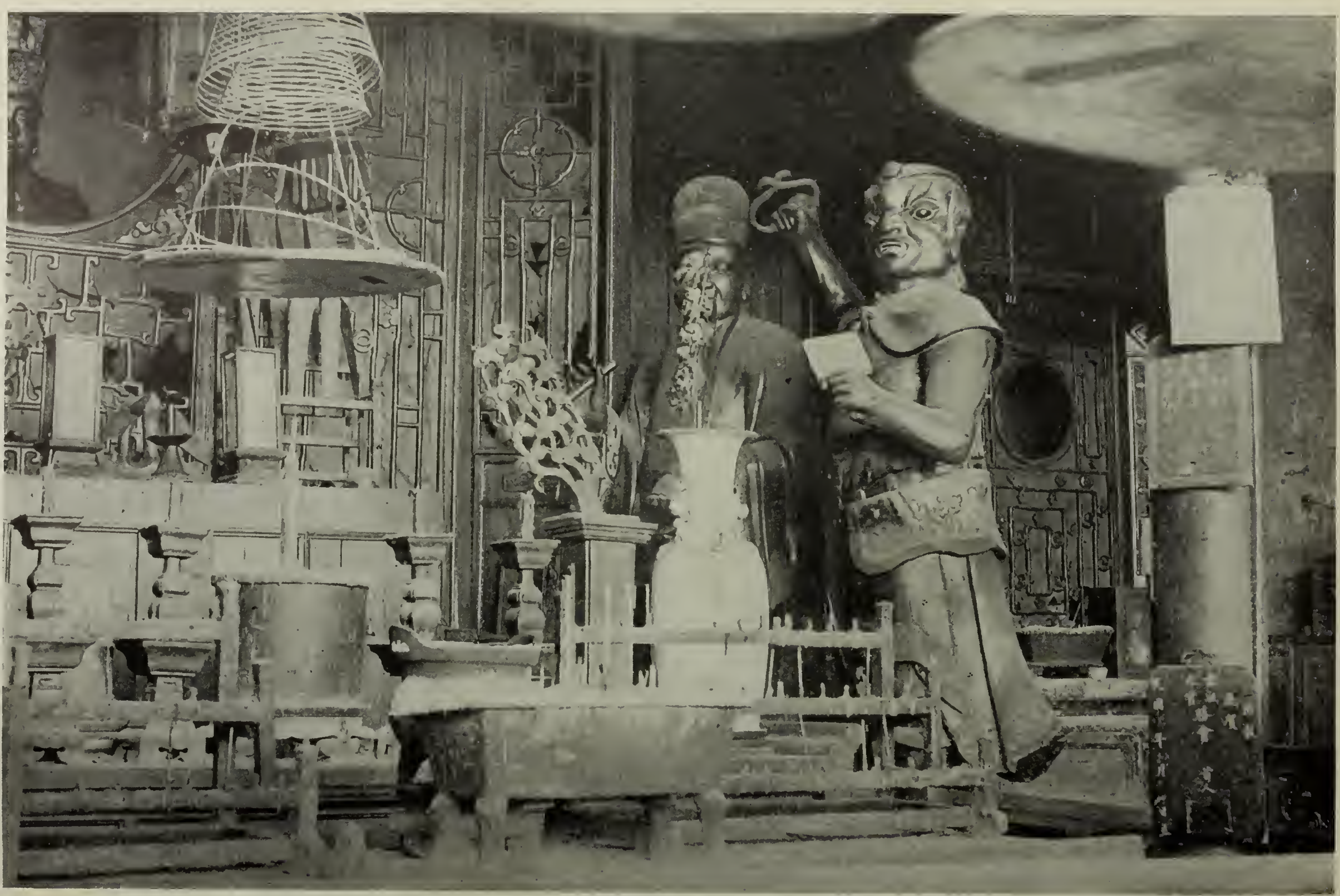
One consequence of the gradual decline of Buddhism in China is that many of the temples are being allowed to fall into a bad state of disrepair. This is true of the famous Lama Temple in Peking (see also pages 712 and 713), and it is the more regrettable because the temple and its statuary, its fixtures and its decoration represent Chinese Buddhist art at its best. This image of the god of wrath remains a fine example of imaginative sculpture, but its power to inspire awe and terror in its worshippers is definitely waning.



Keystone

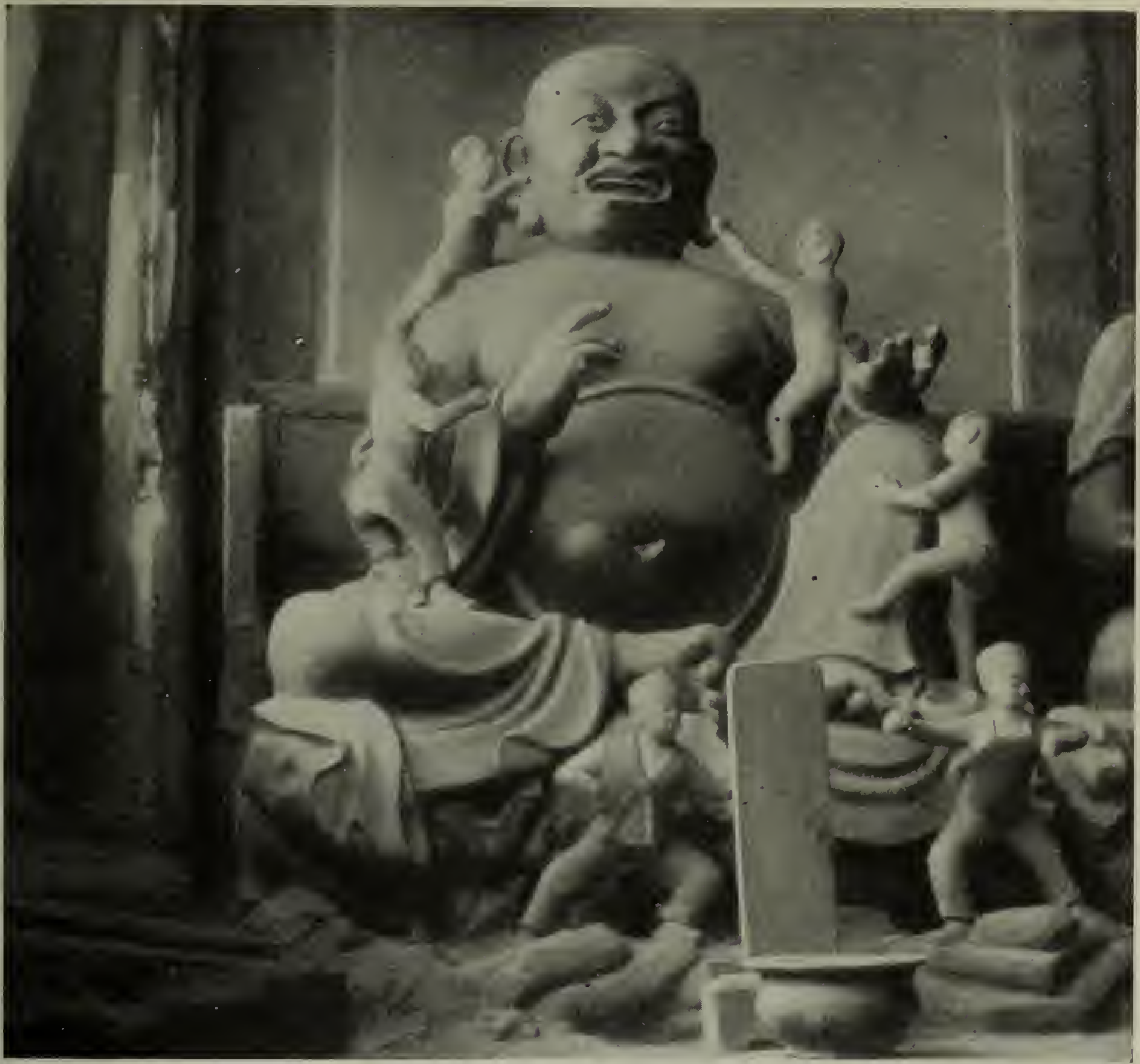
KWANON, MOTHER OF PITY AND MERCY, HONOURED IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY JAPAN

In Japan any Buddhist saint who has attained a degree of enlightenment only one stage below Buddhahood is termed Bosatsu. Twenty-five Bosatsus are especially worshipped, each representing a particular virtue of the infinite Buddha. Kwanon is a supremely benevolent Bosatsu, the ideal god of mercy, represented either as a male or as a female. Kwanon worship almost corresponds to Mariolatry in Roman Catholic countries. The statue of her here shown in process of completion was erected in Tokyo to commemorate the great earthquake and fire in 1923.



HIDEOUS REPRESENTATIONS OF CRUELTY AND EVIL CONCEIVED BY ORIENTAL IMAGINATION

At a certain low stage of intellectual and religious development men's minds are more preoccupied with the terrible than the beautiful, more apt to picture the torments and tortures of hell than the bliss and the angels of heaven. In Europe the phase is commemorated in many grotesque carvings and mural paintings in Gothic churches. Oriental imagination, always fertile in invention, has run riot in the devising of hideous and terrifying forms in which to present the invisible agents credited with maleficent power and desire to spread trouble and disease in this world and torment departed spirits after death. Chinese temples in particular contain many carefully finished images like the two shown here, cruel and repellent demons of the Chinese hell.



H. von Perckhammer

HUMOUR AND HUMANITY IN THE CHINESE PANTHEON

Buddhist art frequently displays a strong element of humour, sometimes approaching the comic, as may be seen in the photograph of Buddha's Disciples in page 897. The note is not excluded from representations of actual divinities. Here, for example, is an image of the Chinese god of children, a fat and jolly fellow with a Puckish smile who lends himself to the gambols of frolicsome children, letting them scramble up his knees, tickle and pull his ears and dance at his feet as their high spirits prompt them.

great religions to the cult of the image, as they illustrate the difficulties in dealing with the question of the idol. It is apparent that while official theology may regard the image as a symbol, to a simpler and more primitive mind it meets a need for a material manifestation of divinity which may be worshipped and to which supplication may be made. Hence the difficulty in attempting a precise definition of an idol. This becomes the more apparent when the earlier forms of the concept are sought among the peoples of simpler or backward cultures.

It is natural that we should look first to the Australian aborigines as the people most nearly approaching a primitive state with whom we are acquainted. Here in the sacred object of their totemic cults, the churinga, the cigar-shaped wooden object, decorated with concentric circles and lines, we have a spiritual force embodied in material form which, if not actually worshipped, is an object of reverence and awe and is customarily buried at the sacred place at which ceremonies are performed. Again, it is the custom among certain of the tribes to draw designs similar to those of the churinga on rocks and to perform their ceremonies before them. The conception is vague and nebulous ; but it is sufficient to suggest that here is a spiritual force regarded as actually embodied in certain material forms which may be influenced in some mysterious way by the performance of a ritual to benefit the members of the group. This is the germ of the fundamental idea which underlies the fully developed conception of the idol, to which approach is made through the magical ideas embodied in the charm, the amulet and the fetish.

It is a well-attested principle of primitive magic that the production or possession of a representation of an object or person gives the maker or owner power over the person or thing represented. It is in accordance with this principle that a magical interpretation has been placed upon the paintings and drawings found in the caves in France and Spain once inhabited by palaeolithic man. The darts shown piercing the heart and flanks of the bison in the cave at Ariège in France were a pictorial forecast, which, it was hoped, would by its magical influence secure the hunter's success in like form.

Now, while at this and similar primitive levels of thought it is believed that all material objects are in some degree indued with a certain spiritual force which can be turned to account, some are more potent than others, especially when they are marked out by some singularity of form. Especially strong is the influence of one object on another when there is a resemblance between the two, whether this be natural or artificial. Herein lies the whole principle of primitive magic. For instance, in Burma a certain root is a charm against snake bite. Its efficacy lies in the fact that it resembles a snake in appearance. But this resemblance may be artificially produced. On the Congo and in West Africa the negro produces models of crocodiles, snakes, and other noxious beasts with the idea that he may thus control them. The belief would appear to have been held strongly in the Antilles when they were first visited by the Spaniards. The monks in the train of Columbus record that they destroyed no fewer than 170,000 figures of fish, turtles, serpents, and the like. Among them were even figures of men.

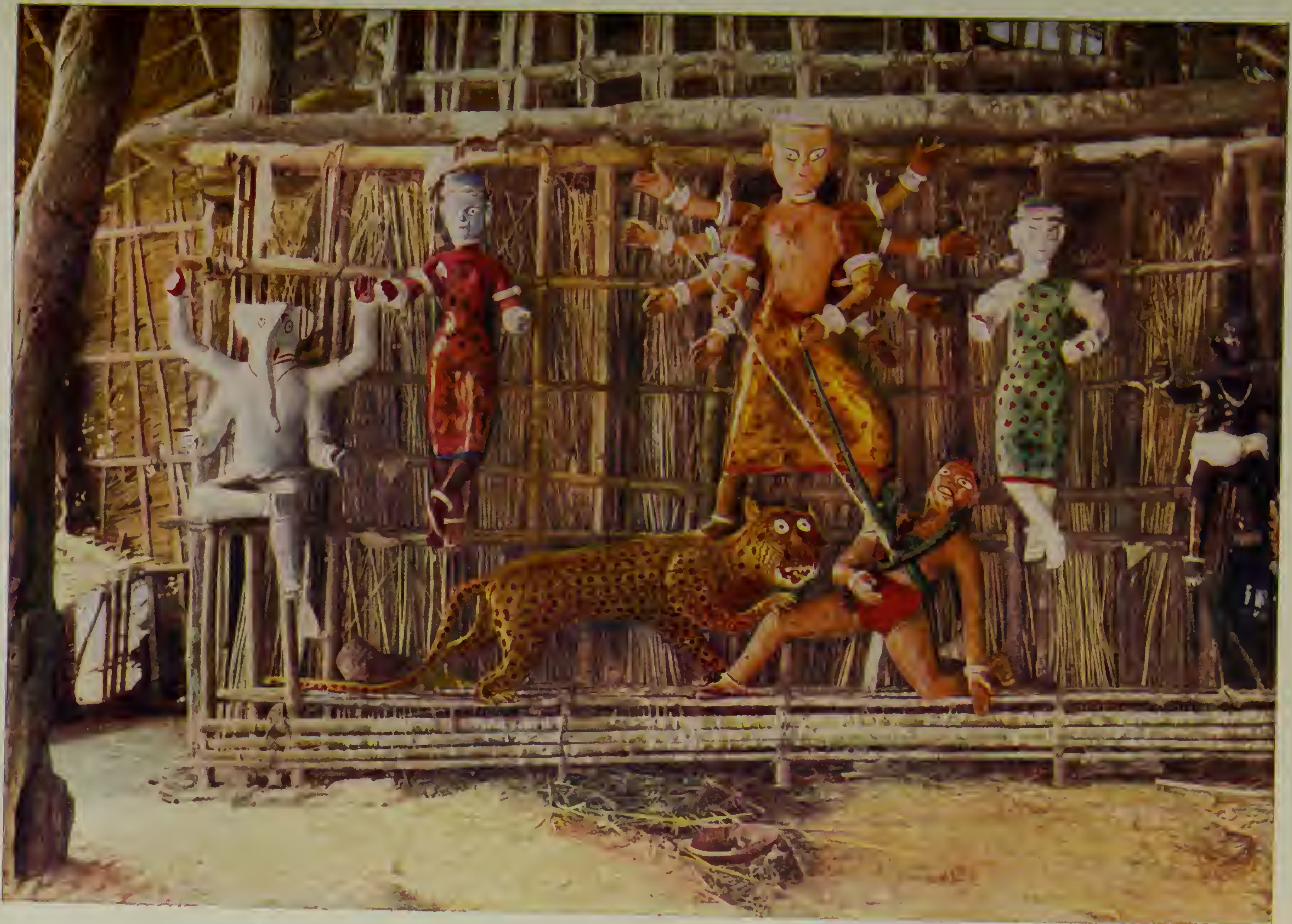
W. F. Taylor

CALM AND DEEP PEACE WITHIN THE SANCTUARY

In many respects the internal arrangement and decoration of Buddhist shrines bear resemblance to those of Roman Catholic churches. The high altar of such a church is brought to mind by this view of the east end of a Buddhist temple with its colossal figure of Buddha, lighted by a skylight while the butter lamps of the faithful burn in the gloom before it.

West Africa is the home of the fetish, a term not now much in favour, but convenient for the present purpose to cover a group of practices which would appear to lead up to the conception of the idol. The fetish is a material object which confers upon the owner the protection and assistance of the spirit which is conceived to dwell within it. It differs from the charm or amulet, in that its magical power depends not upon its form or material, but upon the spirit which has been introduced into it. The material may be almost anything—antelope's hoofs, animals' teeth, bits of metal, and the like. One of the most famous, which was the cause of litigation, was a brass pan in which there was a lump of clay.

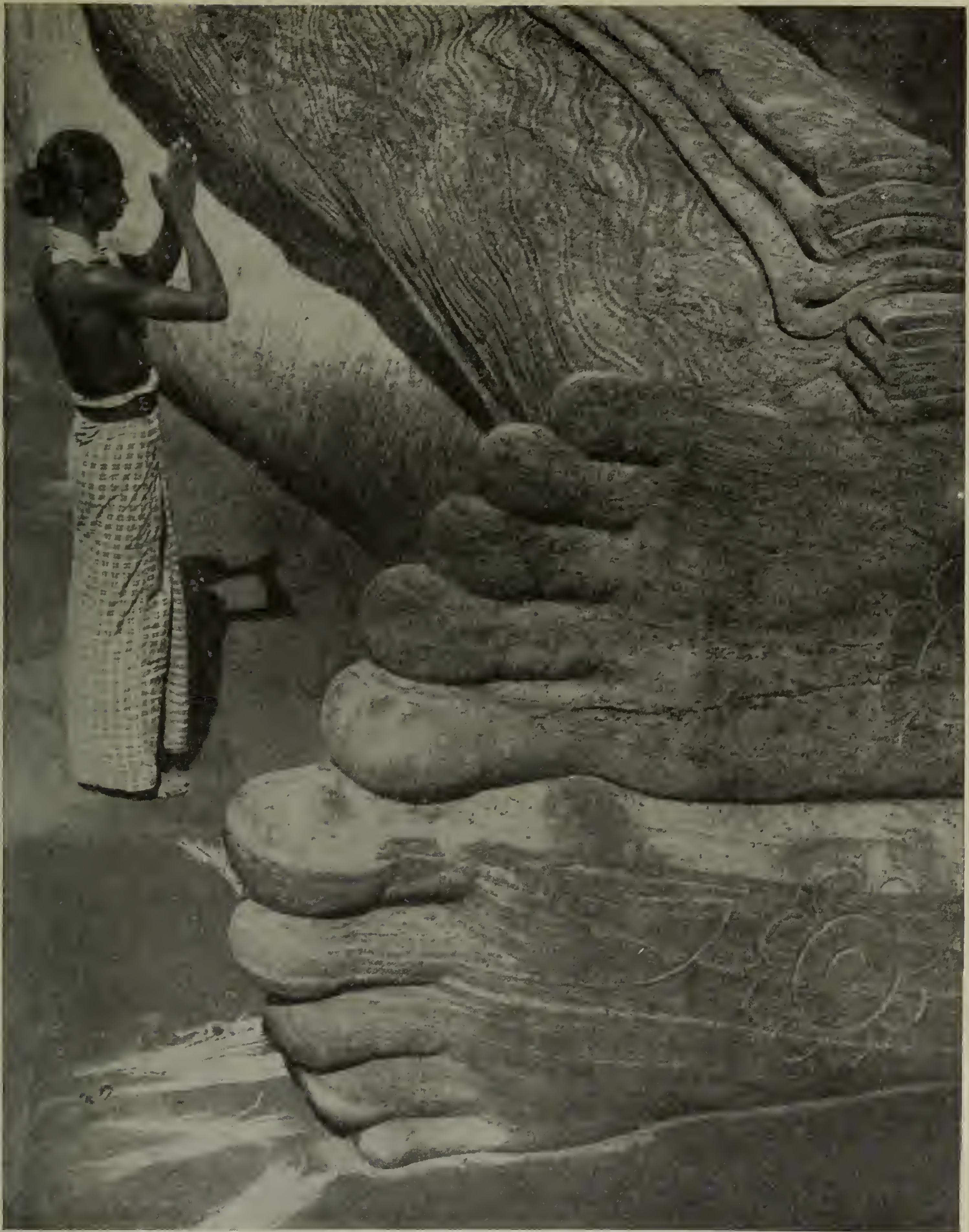
The manufacture of fetishes is a regular business. They can



GODS MADE BY HAND THAT COMMAND THE ADORATION OF MILLIONS

Ewing Galloway

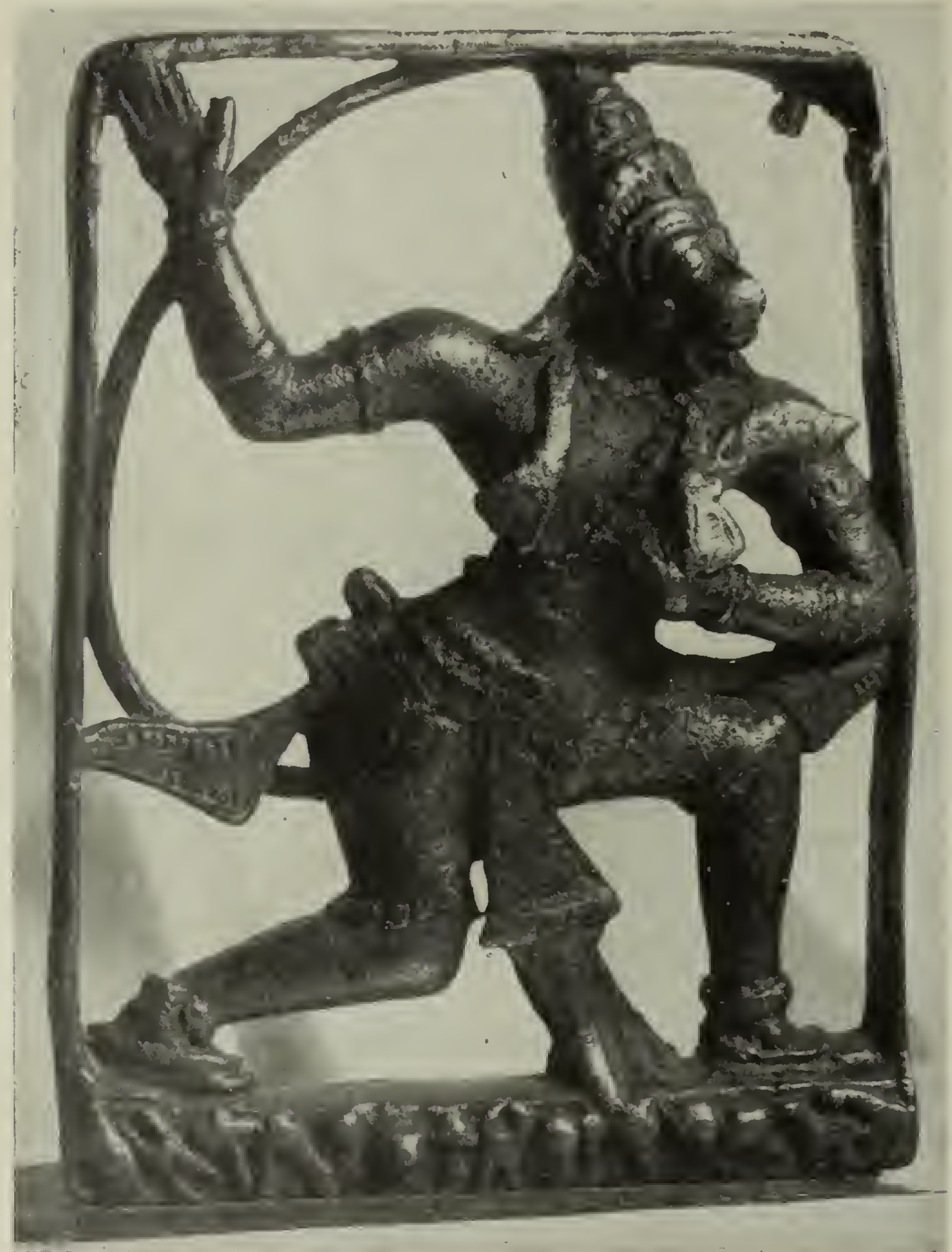
Durga, the 'inaccessible,' is the name given to Kali, wife of Siva, in commemoration of her victory over the buffalo demon Mahishasura. She is represented as a ten-armed goddess, usually with a weapon in each hand, and with attendant giants and lions grouped on each side of her. Despite her ferocious nature she is usually given a gentle face. This curious decoration in a simple Gurkha shrine in Nepal depicts her in the act of killing the demon, whom one of the goddess's lions is mauling savagely. The grotesque figure on the left with four arms and two legs is Ganesha, the elephant god. At the autumnal equinox a festival, the Durga-puja, is held in Durga's honour, when her image is worshipped for nine days, and on the tenth cast into the water.



Ewing Galloway

THOUGH SLEEPING, STILL THE MASTER INSPIRES FAITH AND PRAYER

Outside the entrance to an old cave temple in the jungle-overgrown, long-lost city of Polonnaruwa in the south of Ceylon is a recumbent figure of Buddha wrapped in sleep. It is forty-six feet in length, hewn from solid rock, and on the soles of the feet are carved the outlines of the sacred lotus. On this image pilgrims scatter flowers and sprinkle water, and often a slender Cingalese woman may be seen standing beside its enormous limbs with her hands upraised in prayer.



Maurice Beck

AN IMPORTANT INDIAN GOD IN ANIMAL FORM

Among idols made in animal form Hanuman, the Hindu monkey god, is noteworthy. He is a survival from primitive pre-Hindu animistic worship and figures largely in Hindu literature and drama. Bronze plaques like this fine specimen, but more commonly with solid panels, representing the god, are placed over doorways and in prominent places in houses.

be purchased in shops for the purpose, and when the purchaser has made his choice the sorcerer, who owns the shop, proceeds to charm the spirit into it. Each has its special function, the cure of a specific disease, and so forth. When it has passed into the possession of an owner, he talks to it and lays his troubles before it. The most solemn oath, never broken, is taken when a man swears by his fetish. The fetish is not worshipped, yet we may see the germ of an idea of ceremonial offering in the requirement that the fetish should be rubbed periodically with palm oil and wine. In addition to the private fetish there is the public fetish, of which a number are in the custody of the chief: others may be the charge of the medicine man (see page 782).

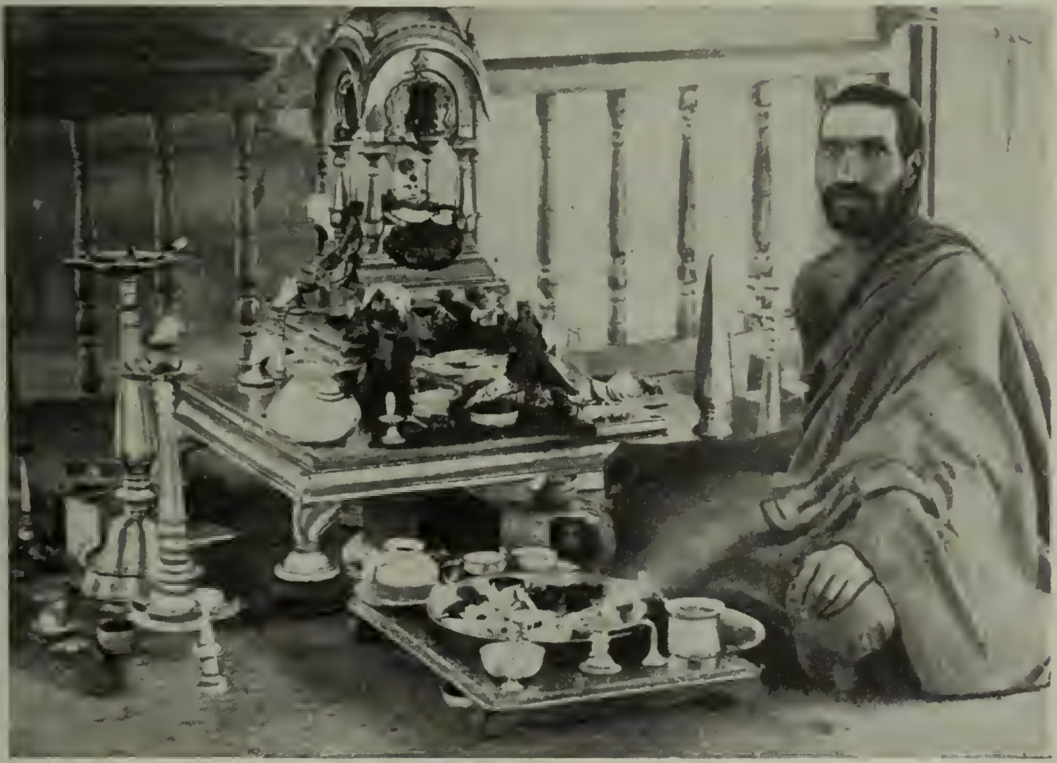
A peculiar custom in connexion with certain of these fetishes, often wooden figures of grotesque animal form, is that for the attainment of a wish or to obtain the assistance of the fetish a nail is inserted in the figure. It is only slightly hammered in for a short distance, so that some of these figures have the appearance of a more than fretful porcupine. The custom of inserting a nail in a tree, sometimes in conjunction with a lock of hair, exists among the negroes of America. Curiously enough, it survives also in Europe. At Louvain is a figure of the Virgin Mary in whose robes it was customary to insert pins for the attainment of a wish. Now pincushions are provided at the foot of the figure, with a request that devotees will abstain from inserting pins in the robes. A still more curious instance occurred in the Great War, when the Germans found a vent for their feelings by hammering nails into the famous wooden statue of Hindenberg—a most extraordinary reversion to the primitive, consciously fostered by the authorities.

BEFORE passing on to what would appear to be the logical progression in thought from the fetish to the idol, it may not be out of place to pause for a moment to emphasise the distinction which may be drawn between the two conceptions. In the case of the charm and the fetish the aim of the owner is to secure his purpose through the control involved in his ownership of the object containing the magical power or spirit; in the case of the idol, the aid of the spirit is to be attained only by service—offering or worship. The difference between a fetish and an idol lies in the attitude of mind of the votary. In the one case the idea of control or direction is prominent, in the other that of supplication.

It may be worth while to contrast two cases which superficially appear little removed from one another. In the Malay Peninsula when the natives wish to deal effectively with a superabundance of centipedes they carve the figure of a centipede on a strip of bamboo, and as the pheasant is the natural enemy of the centipede they carve by its side the figure of a pheasant, in the belief that the pheasant will thereby be constrained or aided to carry out its natural function. This is a piece of magic of the ordinary primitive pattern. It is hardly necessary to point out that if the figure of the pheasant were made permanent and not designed solely for a special occasion, and if offerings were made to induce it to carry out its function, it would be on the way to becoming, if it had not already become, an idol. This would be beyond question if it were conceived as being a manifestation of the pheasant-spirit.

A FURTHER stage in such a transition appears to have been reached in a case recently brought to notice in Tanganyika territory. There, near the village of one of the tribes, are some rock paintings of which the origin and use are unknown to the tribe. They, however, have a legend that the paintings were made by a chief and his wife when an earlier tribe was conquered and driven out by the ancestors of the present tribe many generations ago. When an elder, and an elder only, dies, they bury him near these rocks. They then repeat the actions of those who first carved the rocks. For as part of the ceremonial they sacrifice, and then with the fat of the victim go over the lines of the drawings. This is done to ensure rain. The absence of any meaning so far as the tribe is concerned—the drawings are probably of Bushman origin—and the fact that there is no logical connexion between the action of the ceremonial and rain-making such as is usually to be discerned in magical operations, however illogical they may seem superficially. suggests that here the rubbing of the fat over the lines of the drawings is well on the way to becoming an act of worship. It is an offering to strengthen the spirits, as is every act of sacrifice, and such as is the requirement that the West African fetish should be rubbed periodically with oil and wine—a rudimentary act of worship such as at a later stage of thought would be appropriate as an offering to the spirit immanent in the idol.

E. Watts

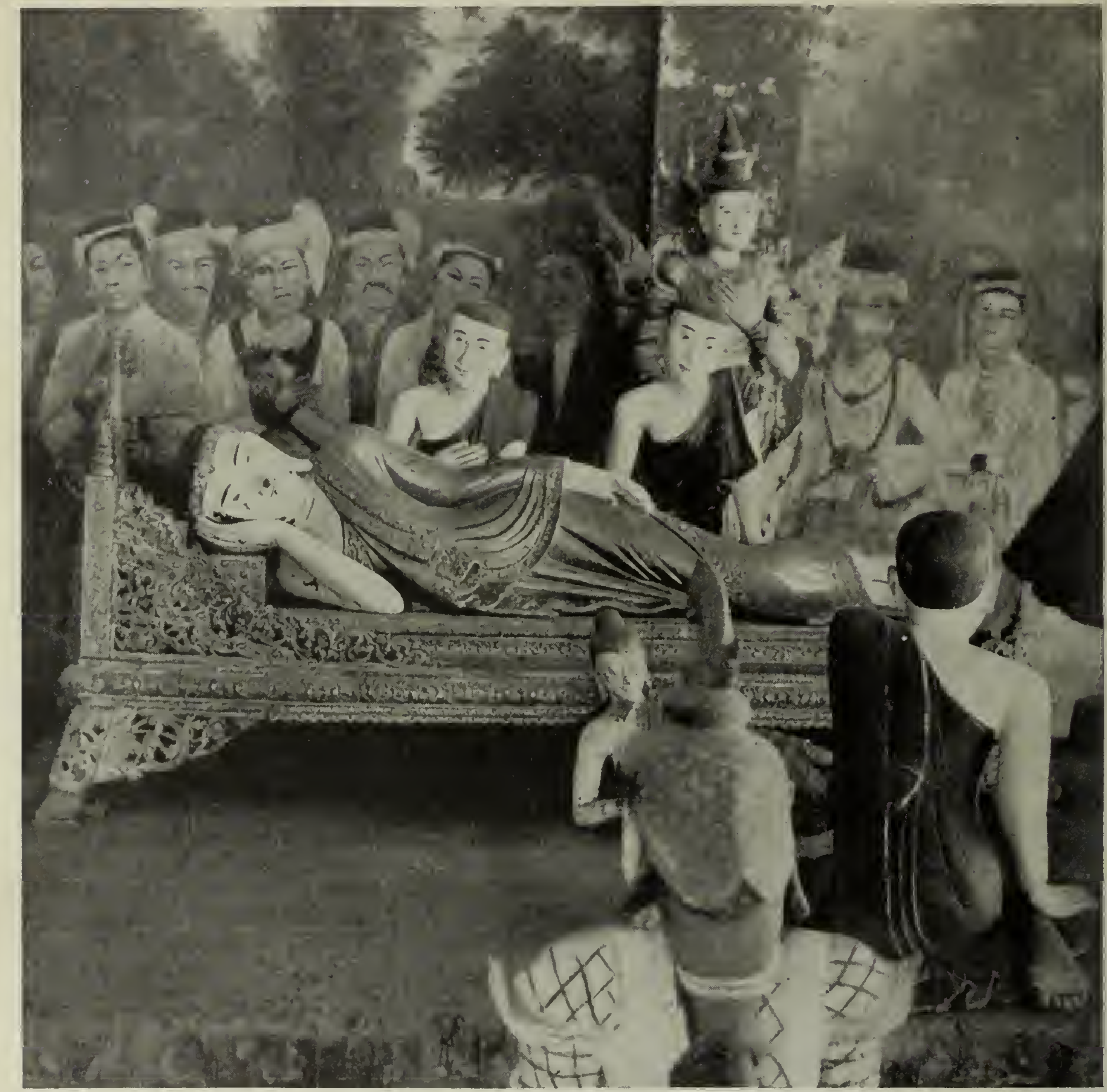


A. R. Slater

GODS OF THE INDIAN HEARTH AND HOME

In every Indian home will be found an assortment of idols kept for domestic worship. The shrine is often a beautiful structure, lavishly adorned, and before it, after worshipping, the Hindu takes his meals. The same custom obtained among the Romans in classical times with regard to their Lares The upper photograph shows a Hindu worshipping a stone image of Hanuman set up out of doors.

The prolonged development of religions along anthropomorphic lines has made it difficult for the modern mind to accept any representation of the deity on other than the human model. Man has made god in his own image. Animal gods, such as those of ancient Egypt, monstrous



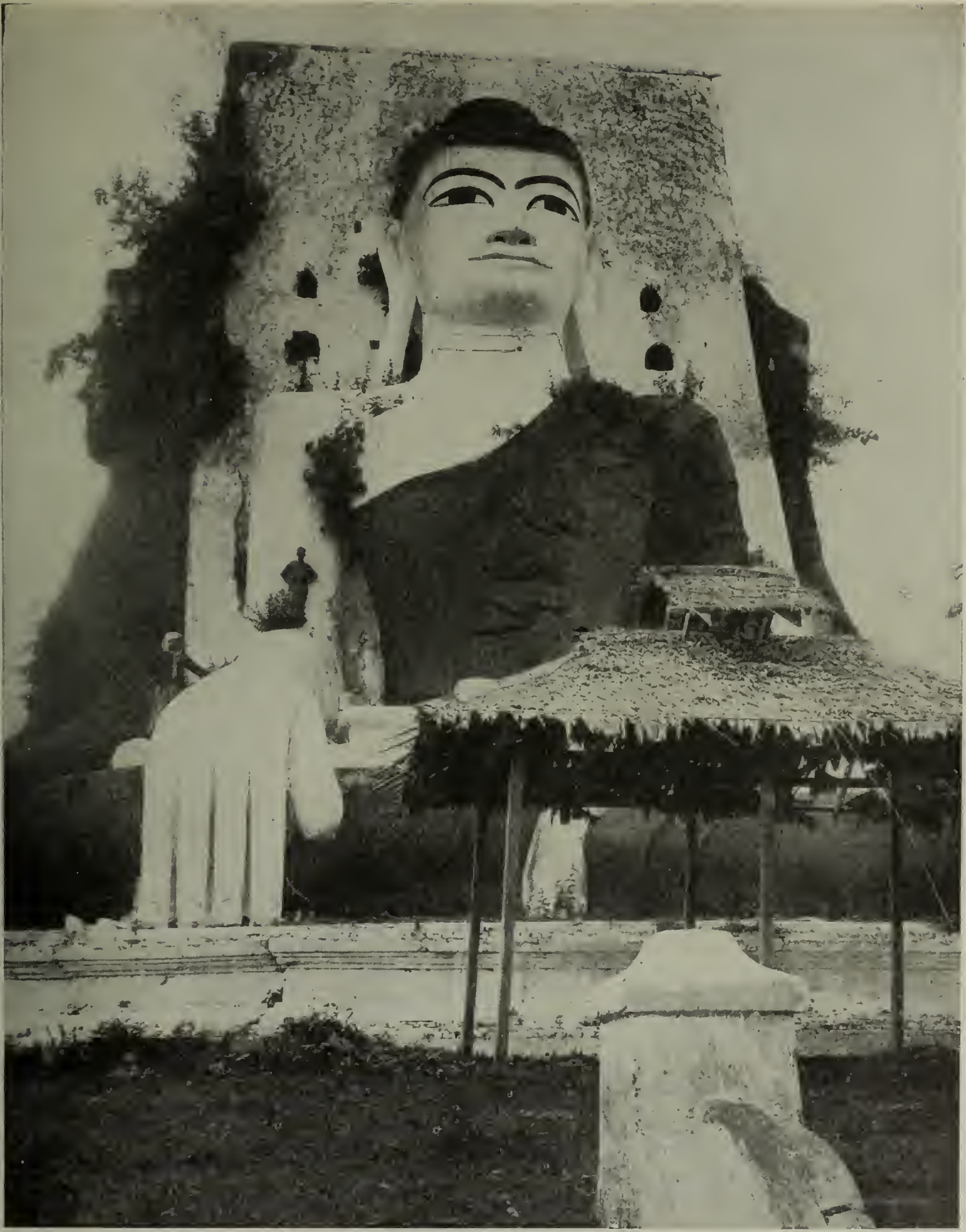
Ewing Galloway

'BEHOLD, O BRETHREN, ALL EXISTING THINGS ARE TRANSITORY!'

Gautama Buddha never claimed divinity, and it was not until after his death that people began to pay him divine honours, and several centuries before images of him were made. Thereafter every incident in his life was represented, though the Master himself is only shown in one of three attitudes—reclining, teaching or meditating. This realistic sculptural group showing him on his deathbed surrounded by watching disciples is in a temple at Pegu. It portrays the dying master as a young man. Actually he was about eighty when he died.

forms such as the winged demons of Assyria, the many-limbed figures of India and the grotesque images of Africa and Polynesia are apt to be regarded as aberrations of the human mind rather than a logical presentation of the conceptions of their worshippers. Form, however, is no criterion of divinity, and the idol may present innumerable variations in shape.

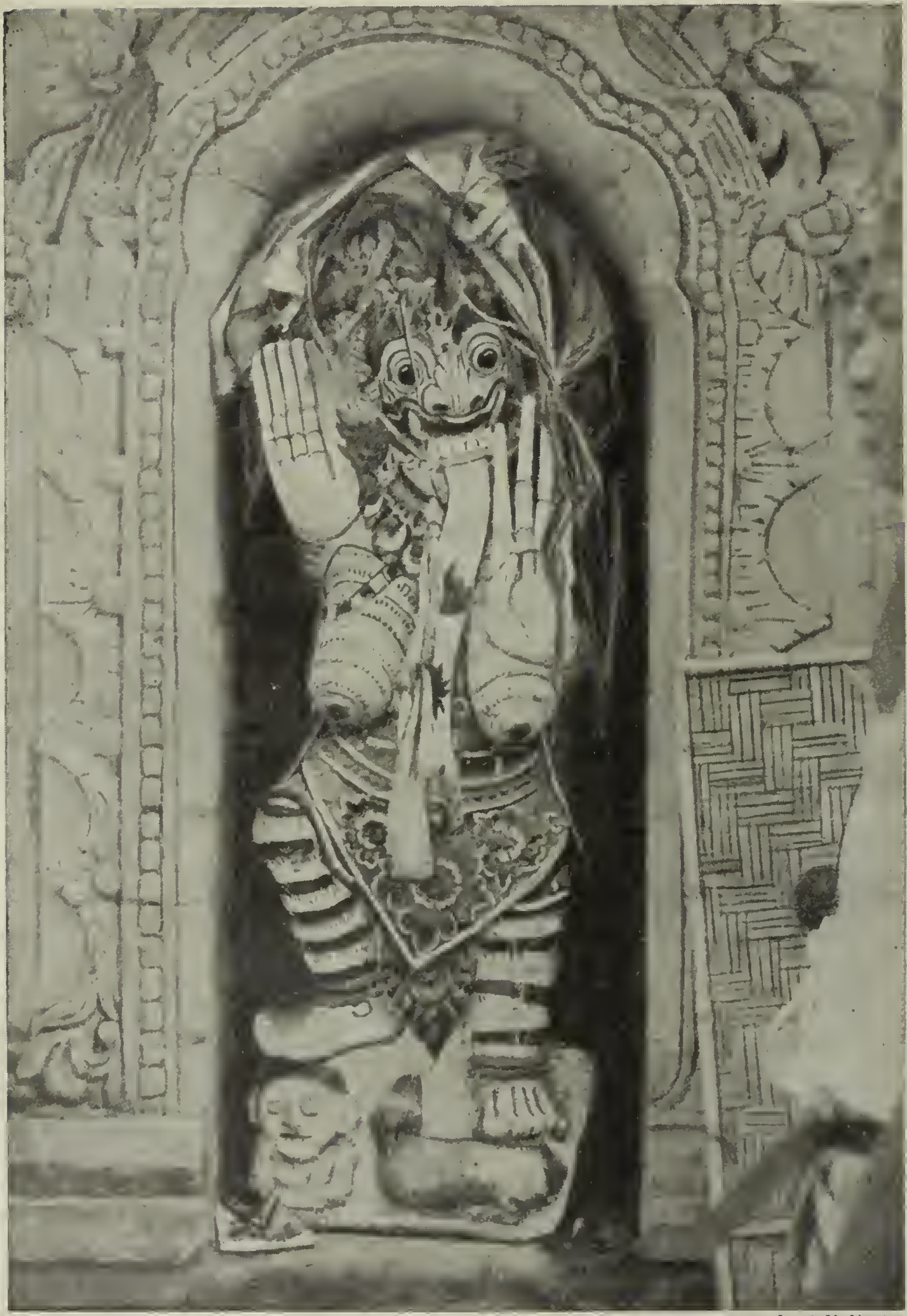
In India the idol ranges from a shapeless mass of stone or a post to the highest development of Graeco-Buddhist art. Primitive idols are, in fact, quite commonly a stone, sometimes presenting some peculiarity of form which has attracted the first worshipper. In many parts of Melanesia reverence is habitually paid to certain stones which are kept near the dwelling-house; while in Samoa the deity is actually identified with a stone which is kept wrapped in a cloth. Some stones are decked in a girdle and a sex attributed to them. Notwithstanding the Mahomedan prohibition of idol worship, the central object of the cult at Mecca is the Holy Stone, a relic of primitive Semitic worship in which a usual form of cult object was the pillar stone. In India the phallic cult has deified the 'lingam' and the 'yoni,' stones which are venerated on account of



Ewing Galloway

QUIET CONTEMPLATION THAT EMBRACES ALL THE WORLD

Originating in a spiritual conception that as a teacher Buddha was greater than all the sons of men, an idea developed that physically also he was of abnormal size. The material result of these notions was that many images of him are very large compared with those of other faiths. Some positively colossal figures are found in Burma, among them these four seated figures, each 90 feet high, upon the Kyaikpun pagoda at Pegu. Set against a solid brick structure, they turn their calm eyes over the four points of the compass.



Dr .S. M. Manton

BALINESE PRESENTMENT OF A UNIVERSAL IDEA

From the very beginnings of agriculture all the world over the cult can be traced of a female divinity whose fecundity, usually symbolised by large breasts and full figure, fertilises all creation. Shrines of this earth goddess are found in the rice fields of Bali (see page 483), and here is a grotesque Balinese representation of her which commands reverent adoration.

their supposed resemblance to the male and female organs of generation, while the cult of the post is found in innumerable forms—the sacrificial post, the wedding post, the death post and the like, as well as the fire post of the vernal festival at which the old year is burned.

The idol, however, tends to take on the form of the spirit it represents, just as the charm of the West African, as we have seen, takes the form of the animal its maker wishes to control. Hence we get representations of the gods in animal form. On the totem pole of the Haida Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands appear the bear, the raven, and other animal totems, though, strictly speaking, these are not idols, but in the nature of family or group records. But as the analogy of human causation colours more strongly the conception of god's relation to mundane affairs and anthropomorphism gains ground, the animal gods become the companions and symbols of the gods by whom they have been displaced. Hence in the religion of ancient Greece, for instance, we find the eagle of Zeus, the owl of Athena, the dove of Aphrodite, and the like. The stone pillar, on the other hand, has carved on it the rude semblance of human features and roughly indicated limbs. Again, just as in masked dances the wearer of the dance takes on the identity of the deity or spirit represented by the mask, we find in India a mask is placed either permanently or for special occasions on the stone pillar.

Some interesting speculations have been put forward as to the origin of the human form of the idol. It has been suggested that it arose originally from a portraiture of the ancestors in ancestor worship. Some authorities, indeed, would make this the origin of the whole conception of idolatry, though with too little justification. In Melanesia, where ancestor worship and the cult of the ghost is the whole basis of the social and religious organization, the ancestral ghost has an abiding place in the grotesque statues which are so prominent a feature in the art of the Pacific. Yet it must be noted as significant that among the great ancestor-worshipping peoples of the world, the natives of India and the Chinese, images of the ancestor are not made. In China it is the grave post and the ancestral tablet in which the spirit of the ancestor is present when a sacrificial offering is made.

HALLOWE'EN, ALL SOULS' AND ALL SAINTS' DAYS

THIS chapter, like those on Popular Customs of Christmastide and Eastertide, deals primarily with the associated lay customs of the season. For similar customs outside Europe consult the chapter on Ancestor Worship and the Cult of the Dead. Christian festivals, in which the religious interest is uppermost, are discussed in the chapter on Feast Days and Fast Days of the Christian Church.

A CLUE to the original significance of Hallowe'en is afforded by the Gaelic name, which in Ireland is 'Samhain,' and in Scotland 'Samhuinn,' signifying 'Summer-end,' with the secondary meaning of 'assembly' or 'festival.' There was anciently a great gathering at Tara on November 1, as there was a 'Cet-shamain,' or 'first festival' on May 1. According to the lingering folklore connected with the old Celtic agricultural calendar there were two suns—'the little sun of winter' and 'the big sun of summer.' The winter sun began to shine and exercise control over the elements on the morning after 'summer-end eve,' and the 'big sun' arose, whirling round thrice 'by the right,' on the first morning of May, when the magical 'white fires' (in Irish 'bealteine') were lit and cattle and human beings went through their smoke and over their embers to secure protection from evil influences. Hallowe'en bonfires similarly brought good luck.

At the times of solar change in May and November it was supposed that there was a general flitting of supernatural beings. Fairies and demons, temporarily 'let loose,' wandered hither and thither without restraint, and with predatory intent entered those houses which were not protected by herbs, evergreens, religious symbols, certain colours and iron. Natural forces, believed to be controlled by supernatural beings, were not only given new direction, but the destinies of human beings as well. It was therefore supposed to be possible to peer into the future.

This could be accomplished on the eve before the festal day, for it was customary to begin the day in the night and to count by nights instead of days, a habit surviving in our expressions 'fortnight' (fourteen nights) and 'se'nnight' (seven nights). Julius Caesar found that the Gauls had a similar method of reckoning time, 'not in days, but in nights,' as he says in his account of the war of conquest. 'Similarly,' he adds, 'the first day of a month or year is observed so as to make the preceding night part of the festal day.'

THE Hallowe'en practices still surviving, or on record, have no relation to any dictates of Scripture, or to classical deities. Their explanation must apparently be sought in the folk-life of pagan times in western and northern Europe, including the British Isles. The early Christian teachers appear to have imparted a new significance to the old summer-end festival when they transformed it into Hallowmas or Allhallow even (Hallowe'en). Indeed, there is a record in the ancient calendar of the Roman Catholic Church to the effect that 'the feast of Old Fools

Topical Press

PREPARING A BONFIRE FOR HALLOWE'EN IN SCOTLAND

Although not so common as formerly, Hallowe'en bonfires are still kindled in some parts of the Scottish Highlands. The fuel is usually piled up on some eminence, and is set fire to in the evening. In the past whole districts would be lighted up with the glare of the flames. From stones placed in the ashes of the fires omens are drawn.

is transferred to this day' (November 1). Hallowe'en also became the 'Eve of All Saints,' and thus a religious vigil. In the Scottish Highlands November 13 (November 1, old style) is still remembered as 'Latha nan uile Naomh' (All Saints' Day).

The custom is not yet extinct in the Scottish Highlands of lighting Hallowe'en bonfires. These are placed on hills and opposite houses, and there is much rivalry as to who shall have the largest and most brilliant. These bonfires are lit in the evening and accompanied by merry-making, including dancing to bagpipe music. Ceremonies are performed to ensure good luck and ward off evil influences. When a fire is burning, some men or lads seize flaming faggots and

Topical Press

Keystone

APPLES PLAY THEIR PART IN THE DIVERSIONS AND DIVINATIONS OF HALLOWE'EN

The apple, which figures so prominently in old Celtic legend, is very conspicuous in the ceremonies and pastimes of Hallowe'en. In Wales a common family game on this occasion consists in trying to pick up an apple out of a tub of water with the teeth without using the hands (top). Below, boys of the Royal Caledonian Schools at Bushey are seen attempting the same feat, the belief being that the boy who first succeeds in securing an apple in this fashion will be the first to marry.

run with them around houses, as if to charm these, and around and across fields, apparently with a similar end in view. The ashes of a bonfire are raked into circular form, and each person partaking in the fire ceremony then places a stone in touch with the edge. If next morning it is found that a stone representing an individual has been moved, the belief obtains he or she will be faced during the coming year with some grave crisis in health or fortune. Good luck is assured by carrying fire from the bonfire to the house. A domestic fire kindled by a brand from a Hallowe'en outdoor bonfire is kept burning day and night until May Day.

THE Welsh custom of lighting bonfires still lingers in outlying districts. Rhys has recorded that when the flames die down it is an old custom for some person to raise the shout, 'May the tailless black sow seize the hindmost.' Then everyone present runs away. 'The black sow of All Hallows is the very devil.' Here, apparently, we have evidence that the bonfire was supposed in pagan times to protect mankind against the attacks of demons—that the fire ceremony was really one of riddance. A Welsh stone-divination custom resembles the Scottish. In north Wales each person perpetuating the immemorial rites throws a white stone into the ashes. Next morning the various stones, previously marked or chipped, are examined and omens are drawn. If a stone should be missing, it is feared that its owner may die before another Hallowe'en.

In Ireland peat fires are extinguished and re-lit from the bonfire by those who cling to the practices of the past. Formerly the bonfire itself was lit by fire obtained by friction of hazel sticks, which was called 'fire from heaven.' The early Christians appear to have accepted the belief in the divine origin of fire generated by wood. In the Life of S. Kentigern (S. Mungo), the patron saint of Glasgow, it is told that when this famous missionary was a boy his companions 'secretly extinguished all the fire within the habitations of the monastery and the places in its neighbourhood.' At the time Kentigern was in charge of the lamps and fires. He obtained 'a bough of a growing hazel,' prayed and made the sign of the cross on it. 'Straightway,' the narrative continues, 'fire coming forth from heaven, seizing the bough, as if the boy had exhaled flame for breath, sent forth fire, vomiting rays. . . . God therefore sent forth His light.'

Apples and hazel nuts figure prominently in English, Welsh, Irish and Scottish Hallowe'en festivals. These are in our pagan myths 'fruits of longevity.' In the Otherworld of old Celtic folk-tales and folk-poems the departed eat golden apples and golden hazel nuts. Avalon, the name of that

Keystone

OLD-TIME FANCIES IN MODERN GUISE AT A HALLOWE'EN BALL

Of late years it has become the custom to celebrate Hallowe'en with dinners and balls, at which pageants are staged depicting the various beliefs and superstitions associated with the season. On one side of the ghostly figure here seen stands a witch, with broom and crystal globe, and on the other a girl representing the superstition of crossed knives.

Keystone

PIPING IN THE HAGGIS AT THE HALLOWE'EN DINNER OF THE LONDON SCOTTISH

In spite of the fact that Hallowe'en has always been regarded among the Celtic peasantry as a night of awesomeness and mystery, the popular celebrations of the festival have in modern times become occasions for mirth and good cheer. Every Hallowe'en, at their headquarters, the London Scottish (14th Battalion, London Regiment) hold a dinner, which is one of the most brilliant functions of the year. The great moment arrives when the haggis borne on high by the cook, is piped into the dining hall by members of the regiment.

'land of youth,' indeed, signifies 'apple land,' and the stories connected with it tell that as a piece is bitten from an apple it is immediately replaced, the fruit being inexhaustible. In one of the narratives connected with S. Patrick it is told that there was seen coming from the south a young man carrying 'a double armful of round yellow-headed nuts and of beautiful golden-yellow apples.' The apple is also referred to as a symbol of love, and it is related of an Irish woman in one of the ancient stories that 'she gave an apple of silver to Nede for his love,' that is, to make him love her. The apple was also used for purposes of divination. When a traveller entered unknown country he flung an apple before him, as old tales tell, and followed it.

The hazel, like the apple tree, was sacred, and the fact that it was deified is not only suggested by folklore references, but the plain statement in an old Irish narrative, 'Coll (hazel) indeed was god to Mac Cuil.' Fire-sticks of hazel were used to generate fire by friction for the purpose of lighting bonfires at the Hallowe'en and other festivals. Hazel forked sticks have long been used by water-diviners and metal-diviners.

It is apparent, therefore, that there is a long history reaching back to pre-Christian times behind the Hallowe'en customs of burning hazel nuts and 'dooking' (dipping) for apples. Two nuts are placed on the hot upper bar of a grate, or on burning coal, the one representing a girl and the other an admirer. If they burn well together, it is asserted that the pair will remain faithful in courtship and wedded life; but if one of the nuts should dart sideways, the lad or lass it represents is supposed to have a secret desire 'to look elsewhere.' A girl diviner who is thus forewarned lays down a fresh nut for herself and another representing a different admirer. The poet Gay makes reference to divination by nuts in the lines:

See from the core two kernels now I take,
This on my cheek for Lubberkin is worn,
And Booby clod on t'other side is borne;
But Booby clod soon falls upon the ground,
A certain token that his love's unsound;
While Lubberkin sticks firmly to the last;
Oh, were his lips to mine but joined so fast!

Robert Burns celebrates the Scottish Lowland practice:

The auld guidwife's weel-hoorded nits
Are round an' round divided,
An' monie lads and lasses' fates
Are there that night decided:
Some kindle couthie, side by side,
An' burn thegither trimly;
Some start awa' wi' saucy pride
An' jump out-owre the chimlie,
Fu' high that night.

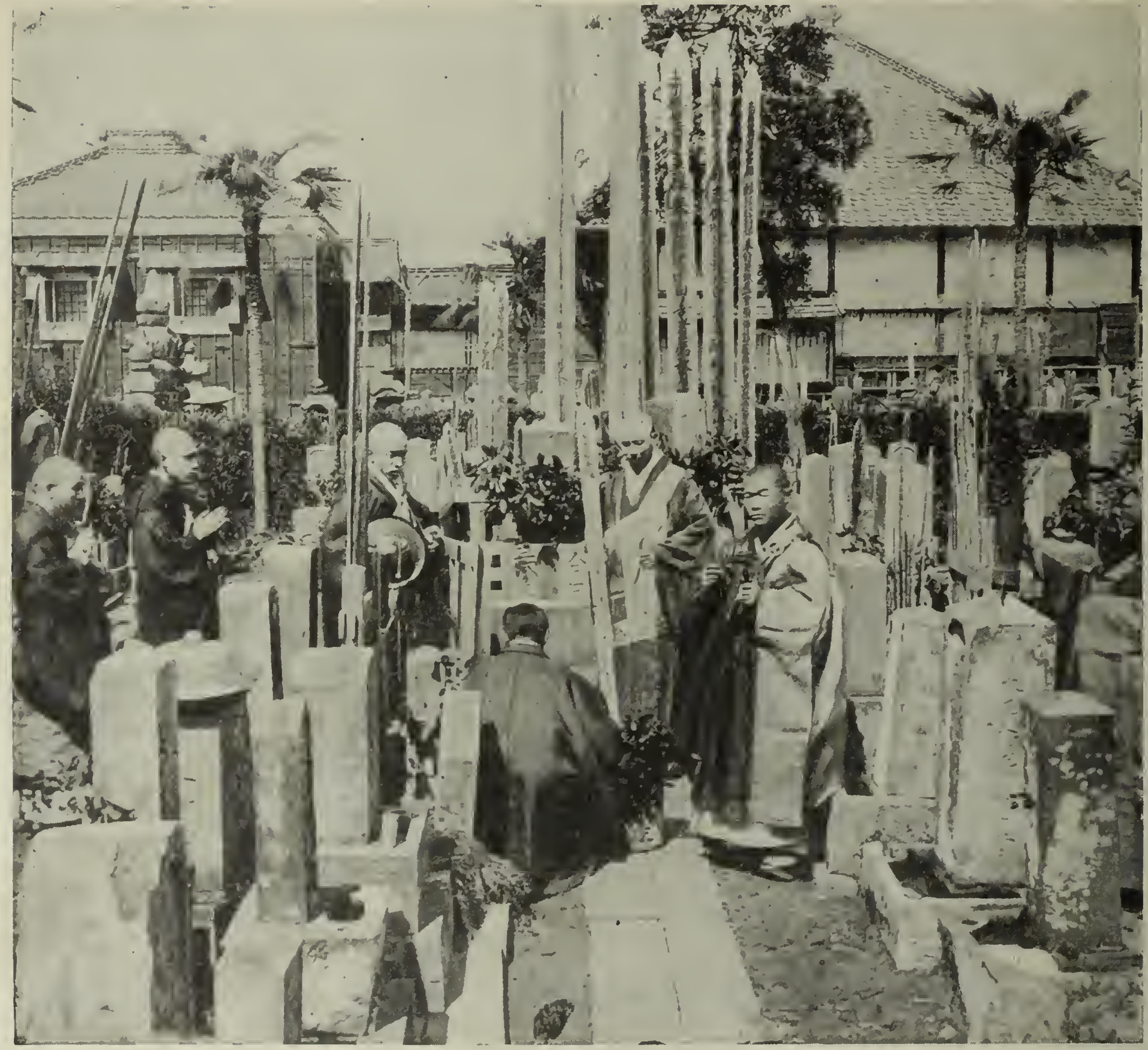
'Couthie' means 'kind, loving'; 'chimlie' is 'chimney.'

Apples, like nuts, are utilised in love-divination ceremonies which are still perpetuated as Hallowe'en amusements, but originally were accorded serious regard. A tub is filled with water into which girls drop apples with secret marks, each representing a young woman anxiously concerned regarding her future. The young men are then called in. One by one they kneel beside the tub, endeavouring to catch an apple by mouth alone, for hands must not be used. A successful competitor is supposed to obtain in this way the apple of the particular young woman whom he should marry. Another custom is to pare an apple and fling the unbroken skin over one's left shoulder. The initial formed or suggested by it when it falls is supposed to be that of the Christian name or surname of the future wife or husband. Still another custom is to suspend a stick with an apple at one end and a lighted candle

Keystone

HALLOWE'EN MASKS IN THE COUNTRY OF THE PUMPKIN

Grotesquely decorated pumpkin heads are a feature of Hallowe'en festivities in the United States. Originally agriculturists, later nomads, the Blackfeet Indians have once more become farmers with pumpkin fields of their own in their reservations. The Blackfeet boy here seen takes as much delight in his pumpkin head as does the smiling American farm lad.



E.N.A.

PRIESTS CELEBRATING THE FESTIVAL OF ALL SOULS IN JAPAN

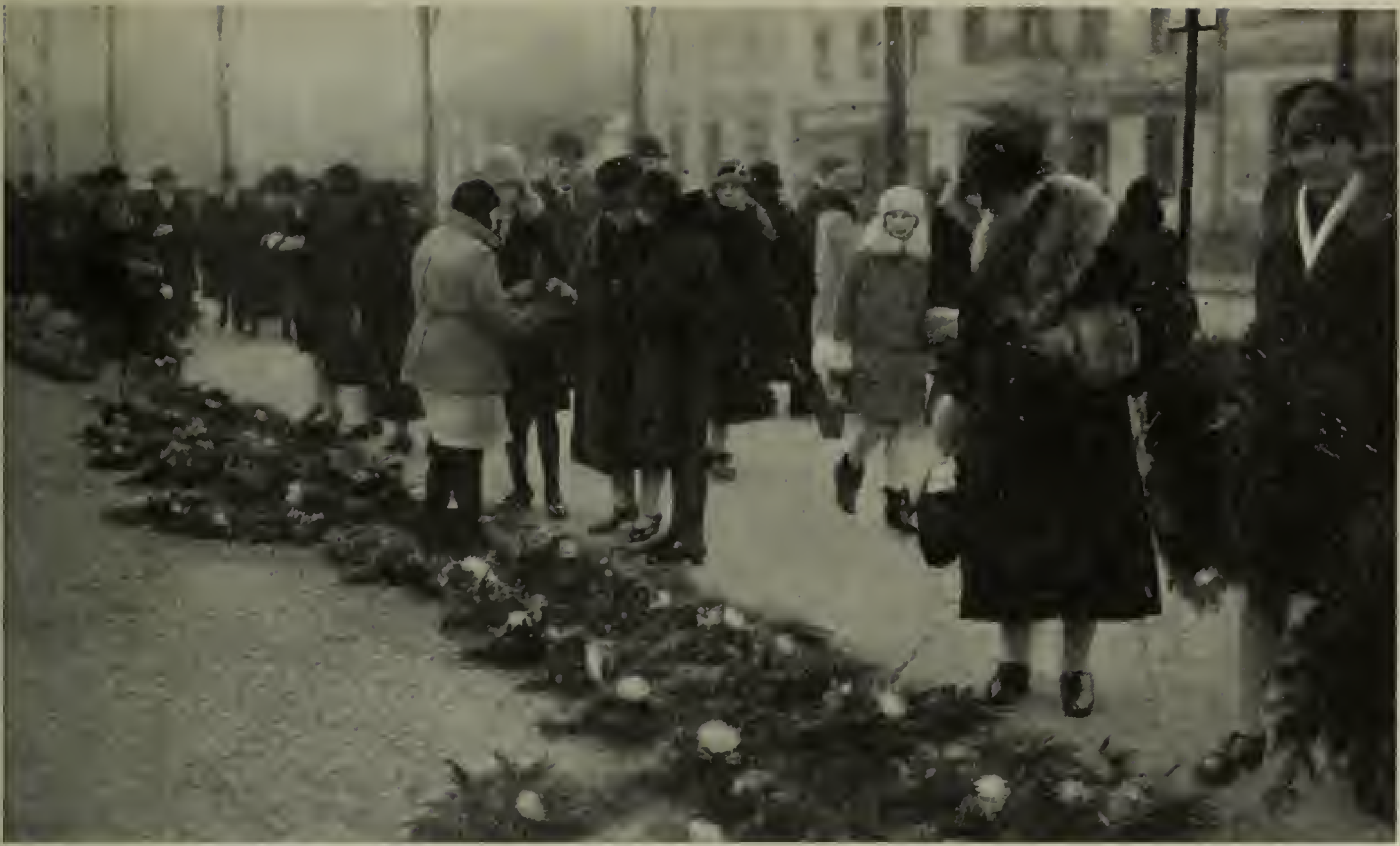
That the dead revisit their old homes for rest and refreshment at a certain season every year is a very old and widespread belief, and feasts of the dead are found in almost every country. Notable features of most of these are the provision of food, which is sometimes served as if for an actual meal, and the lamps and candles to light the spirits on their way The Japanese use so many lights on this occasion that the festival is known as the Feast of Lanterns.

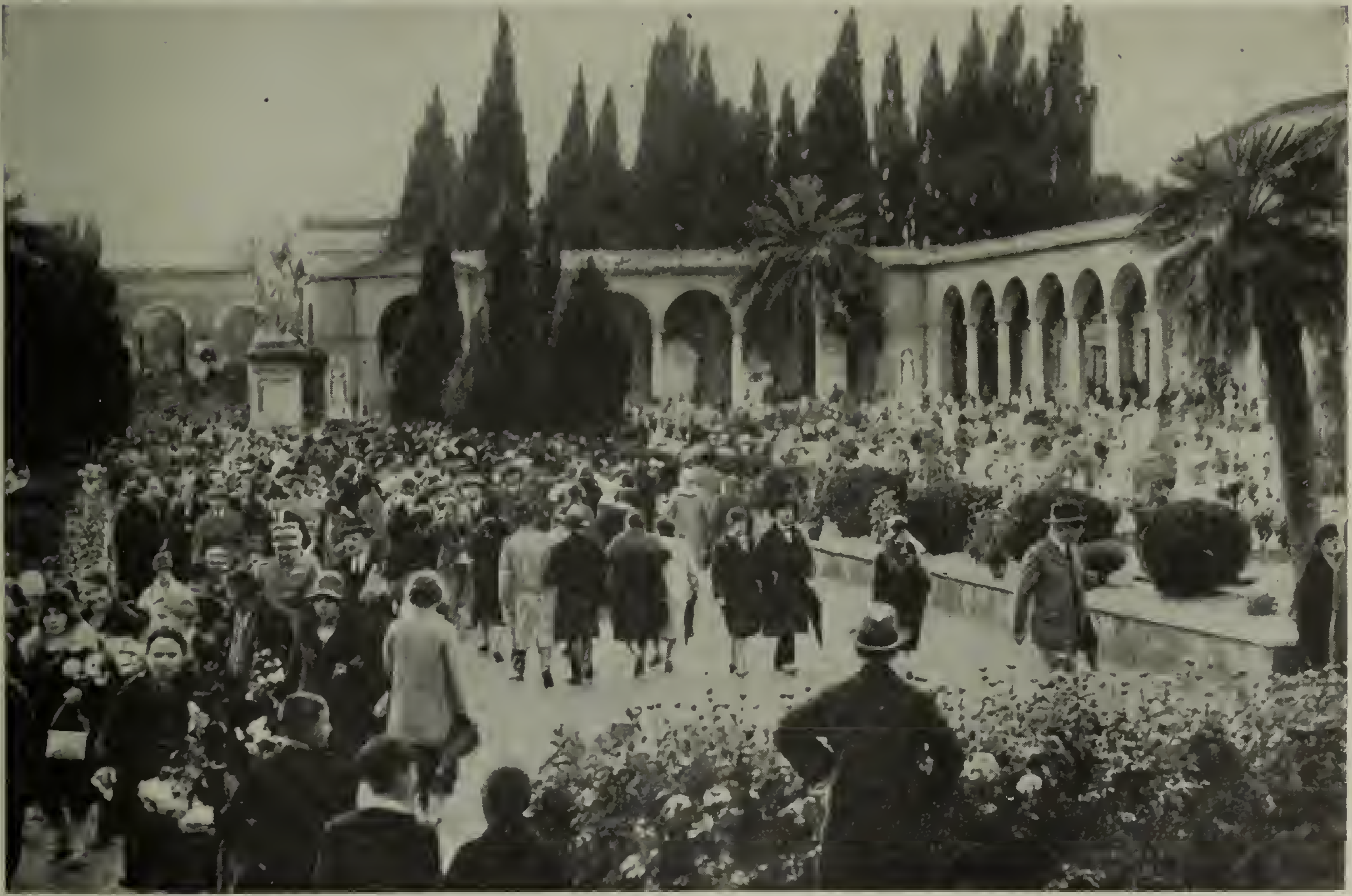
at the other. The stick is then made to spin round and a competitor tries to catch the apple in his mouth. A Cornish practice not yet extinct is to give each child a big apple on ' Allan Day,' a local name for Allhallows. In Scotland the forecasting of the future of young people is accomplished by dropping into a glass of water a small portion of the white of an egg. The diviner is usually an old woman who holds the glass up to a light and, examining the forms in the water, says, You will cross the ocean,' ' You will grow rich,' ' You are not a wanderer,' ' You will be happy and contented,' and so on. Fresh water is used for each reading.'

An English custom is for a girl, before retiring to rest on Hallowe'en, to place her shoes on the bedroom floor in the form of a T. She whispers the lines :

I cross my shoes in the shape of a T,
Hoping this night my true love to see,
Not in the best or worst array,
But in the clothes of every day.

Another custom is to enter bedroom and bed backward and in silence. When the girl dreams, she will see her future husband. A lingering belief in rural areas is that if a girl, when alone, eats an apple and combs her hair while gazing in a mirror, she will catch sight of her future husband peering over her left shoulder. The name of the young man may, according to the lore of the folk, be





E.N.A

FLOWERS AND WREATHS FOR THE GRAVES ON ALL SOULS' DAY IN ITALY AND GERMANY

All Souls' Day originated at Cluny in 998, when, according to the legend, a pilgrim informed the abbot of the efficacy of the prayers of the faithful, and particularly of the monks of Cluny, in comforting the souls in purgatory. Such intercession on this day is widely observed, and not by Roman Catholics alone. In Catholic countries it is the custom to decorate and pray at the graves on All Souls'. The photographs show scenes at the Campo Verano, Milan (bottom), and outside a Berlin cemetery.

obtained by walking out in the darkness towards a kiln, a mill or a barn, unwinding the while a clue of blue yarn. When the girl performing the ceremony feels a tug at the yarn she asks, 'Who holds?' A voice whispers a name. A bashful lover may steal out to make his proposal by impersonating the 'bogie' when the girl he admires gives him an opportunity of this kind.

A cake known as the 'Dumb cake' is prepared between eleven o'clock and midnight by girls who observe strict silence. When it is being 'fired' the girls sit on chairs, waiting and listening. The future husband of the one destined to be married first is expected to appear. Many similar ceremonies are practised in various localities.

While interesting, including somewhat amusing superstitions have been perpetuated by the folk in connexion with summer-end, the solemn Christianising influence of the early Church is emphasised by the existence of the festival of All Saints on November 1 and that of All Souls on the following day. On the eve of All Saints, the real Hallowe'en, as distinguished from the folk festival characterised by a jumble of pagan customs and therefore far from 'hallowed' in the Christian sense, there are vespers, matins and lauds of the dead, and on All Saints' Day a very solemn requiem mass with sublime and beautiful prayers. The early Church had to turn heathen into Christian festivals, 'for,' as Pope Gregory the Great wrote in the year 601 in his instruction for Augustine of Canterbury, 'from obdurate minds it is undoubtedly impossible to cut off everything at once, because he who strives to ascend to the highest places rises by degrees or steps and not by leaps.'

On All Souls' eve the dead are supposed to return to their former homes to rest and partake of a social meal in brief reunion with the living. The imagination of the folk of early Christendom was deeply touched by this arresting belief, and surviving customs are eloquent in their human appeal. Candles are burned to guide and comfort the wandering souls. An Irish custom is to place them in windows so that they may shine a generous welcome through the darkness. In some parts of Europe lighted candles are placed in churchyards as well as in houses. The Belgians have a procession with lighted tapers and a sacred candle which burns all night to welcome and bless. In Brittany church bells toll in the darkness and pious mourners visit churchyards to kneel barefooted, repeating prayers, beside the graves of the remembered dead, while in homes the fires are kept burning and supper is spread. Even in the city of Paris the dead are remembered on this night.

The peasants among the Vosges mountains not only lay food on tables, but uncover beds and open doors and windows to emphasise their invitations to the departed. At this time of year storms are common in Tirol, and the folk think of the dead riding the tempest and voicing in wind-wailings their regrets and longings. According to Esthonian belief the time of the coming of the souls is the first cockcrow and of their going the second. Solemnly the head of the household, on hearing the second cockcrow, walks towards the open door and there, waving a white cloth, invites the souls to return in the following year. A widespread lingering belief is that in the churches on that awesome night congregations of ghosts assemble while mass is celebrated by ghostly priests.

The Italians engage on the sacred eve in feasting and drinking in honour of the dead, and the custom of having skulls formed of sugar is not yet extinct. Some lay out a meal before retiring to rest, leaving a lighted lamp on the table. It is whispered that the dead wander in the streets, some rejoicing to find that they are not forgotten in the old homes, others searching in vain for relatives who have gone away or who have forgotten. A lingering belief in Sicily is that the ghosts bring presents for children. They are supposed to be clad in white robes and to wear silken slippers that enable them to move about silently as they pass from door to door. Sicilian parents place gifts of toys, sweetmeats and clothing on window-ledges and on doorsteps so that the children may think their departed relatives have remembered them, rewarding them for their prayers. 'Soul cakes' are prepared for All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day in various countries, and in some parts of England and Scotland this custom survives in folk-sayings and rhymes.

A Shropshire custom still remembered was to collect from door to door gifts of cakes or materials to make them. The young people repeated to housewives during their solicitations:

Soul! soul! for a soul cake!
I pray, good missis, a soul cake!
An apple or pear, a plum or a cherry,
Any good thing to make us merry.
One for Peter, two for Paul,
Three for Him who made us all.
Up with the kettle and down with the pan,
Give us good alms and we'll be gone.

In some parts of western Europe soul cakes are laid out on temporary street altars or distributed to the poor. Those who eat them repeat prayers for the welfare of the dead. Distribution of bread to the poor on All Souls' Day is a modern form of a touching old custom. Door-to-door begging is recognized and encouraged in some countries, and in Tirol many poor people are seen going round villages with baskets to receive gifts of food and clothing.

Anthropologists have shown that the annual festival of the dead is of ancient origin and widespread prevalence not only in the Old but the New World, for the contemporary Eskimo, like the Aztec of Mexico in former times, are among the observers of the custom of laying out food for ghosts and lighting lamps. The Christian festival, however, has been divested of crude customs and beliefs and made purifying and elevating, retaining only those features which inspire kindly thoughts and foster piety.

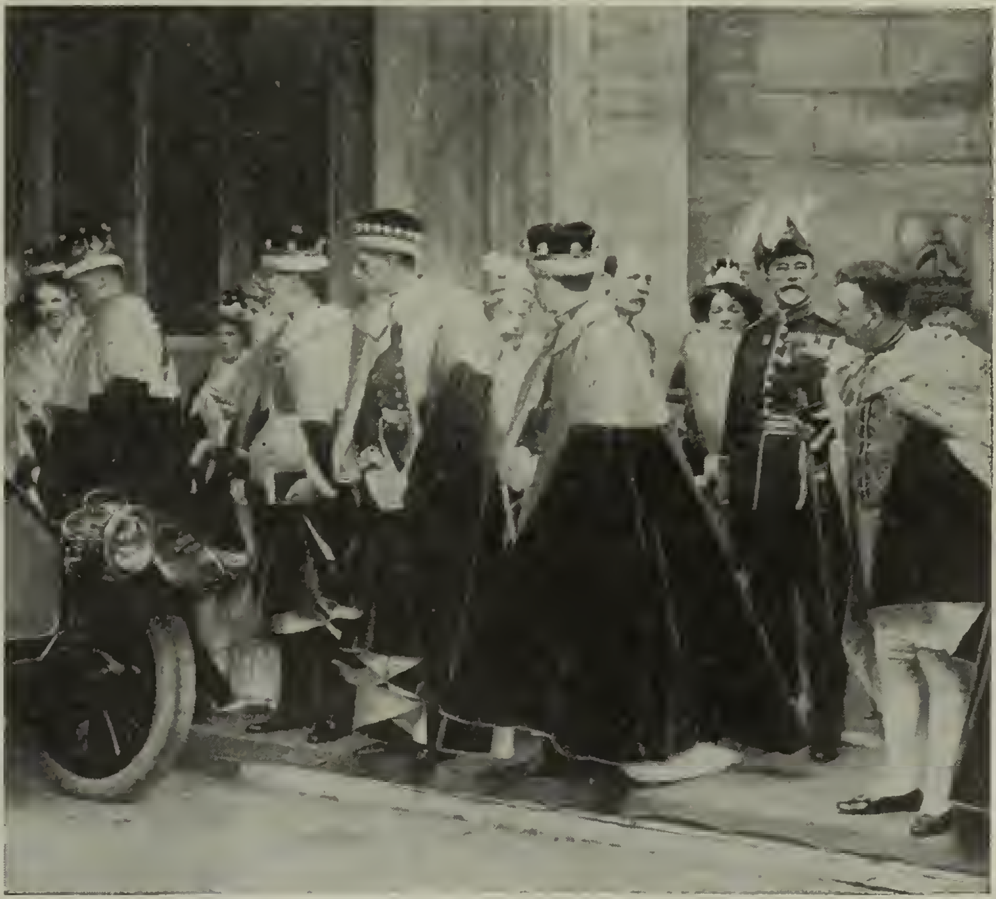
DISTINCTIONS OF RANK

We find classes arranged in varying grades or dignities in all organized societies. In some sections the differentiation is more or less loose; in others the status or authority is very strictly defined, by function, dress and other means as here described. Other aspects of such distinguishing marks are touched upon in the chapters on Tattooing and its Significance, and Head-dresses: Their Variety and Purposes.

Forms of social grouping based upon the hereditary principle are common in our own day not only among highly civilized peoples, but also in communities usually referred to as backward, or even primitive. Everywhere these particular forms have an historical significance, and on that account make a direct appeal to the sentiment of nationality and the fundamental pride of race and country. In a democratic country like England holders of hereditary titles and other representatives of 'old families' are symbolic of the antiquity and steadfastness of the constitution and on that account are invested with social glamour. The kingship represents the supreme majesty of the law, the organized control of human behaviour and the wise guidance based upon accumulated experience and ideals which have fostered the sentiments of communal duty and loyalty. It is an institution of great antiquity. It was in existence at the dawn of history in ancient Egypt and ancient Mesopotamia, and in both areas is found to have been hedged about with divinity. Indeed, a pharaoh was revered as the earthly representative of the king of the gods; he was known and addressed as the 'son of the sun,' and the members of his family partook of his divine nature.

Another fact of importance in the study of some existing social systems is the early appearance of an hereditary priesthood. As far back as the Pyramid Age, some five thousand years ago, Egypt had its hereditary high priest as well as its hereditary high king, the system of succession being however, different from that which obtains in our own time. When Herodotus, the Greek historian, who was born in the latter part of the fifth century B.C., visited Egypt, he found that there were seven distinct classes—the priests, the warriors, the cowherds, the swineherds, the tradesmen, the interpreters and the boatmen. The warrior class had tax-free lands. Among the Thracians, Lydians, Scythians and Persians, warriors and others who kept aloof from handicrafts were held in highest esteem. Similar social ideals prevailed in Greece, except in Corinth, where, according to Herodotus, mechanics were 'least despised.' Occupations were hereditary. In Rome the members of the upper class of warriors and landowners were known as 'patricians' and the commoners as 'plebeians.'

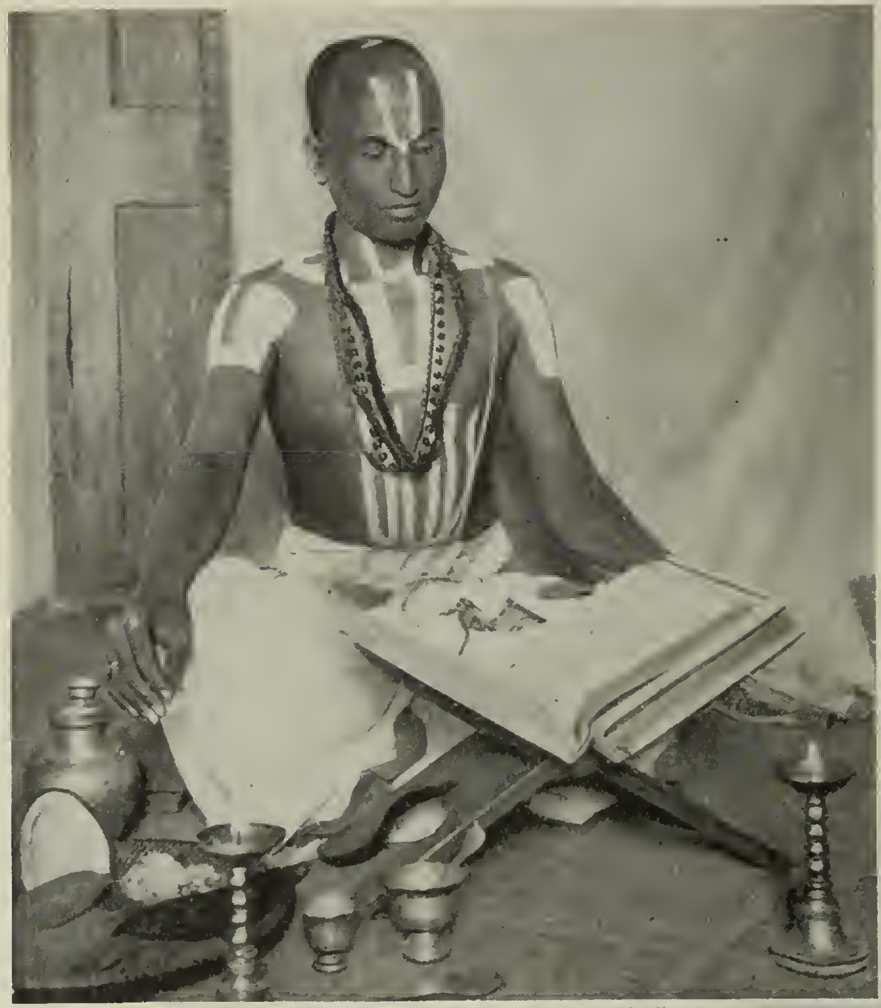
The Celtic social structure, as perpetuated in ancient Ireland, consisted of five main classes—the kings of different grades, the nobles who owned land, the non-noble owners of land, the freemen without property and the non-free. Above all was the priestly class of Druids. A commoner, as we learn from ancient records, could not address a king until the king spoke to him and a king 'could not speak before his Druids.' In Teutonic society the military ruler and his warrior lords were supreme.



Topical Press

RARELY SEEN BADGES OF HIGH CIVIL RANK

In modern democratic society the various members of the social hierarchy are rarely to be recognized; a duke may be indistinguishable from a merchant. Only on occasions of high ceremony, as at Westminster during coronation ceremonies, are coronets of the peerage publicly displayed. The male coroneted figures seen here outside the Abbey are, in order from the left, an earl, a baron, a viscount, and a baron.



A. R. Slater

LEARNED MAN OF THE HIGHEST CASTE

The rigid caste system of India is headed by the learned Brahmans. This scholar displays on his forehead the trident of Siva, the mark of the highest of the three classes of the 'twice born' of Hindu religion. Note the sacred thread over the left shoulder and right hip.

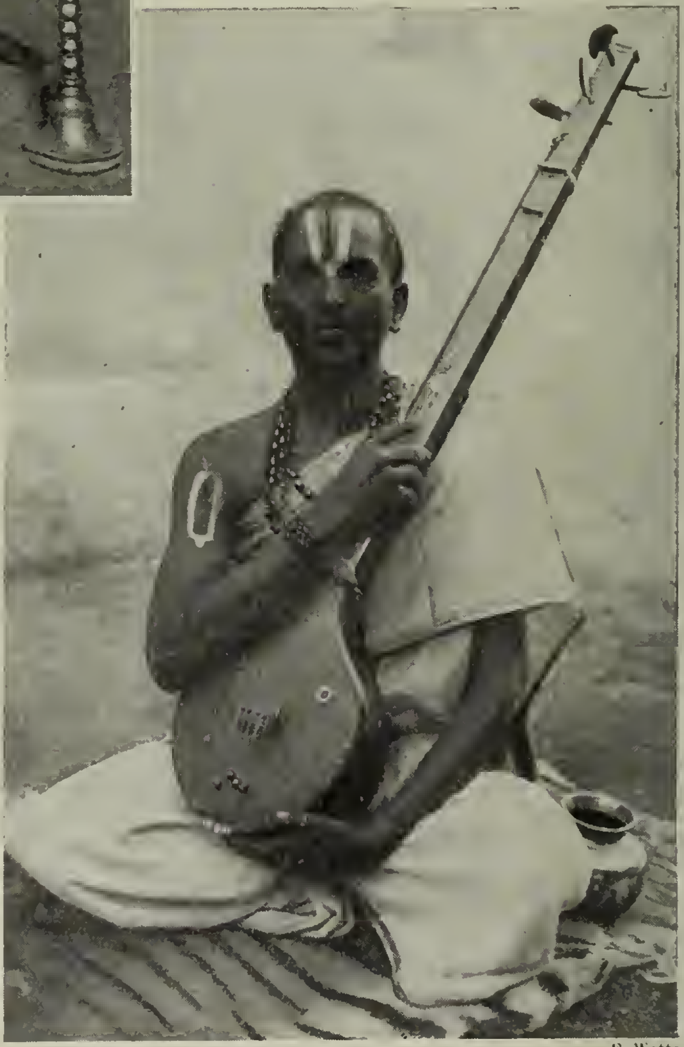
Among peoples with no historical records we find significant social survivals. There are still hereditary priests and hereditary rulers in parts of Indonesia and similar dignitaries were until comparatively recently common in the Pacific islands of Polynesia. The Maoris of New Zealand have not forgotten their hereditary rulers, and there are still representatives of the hereditary priestly class. In their 'school of learning' ('whare wananga') some priests, according to ancient custom, specialise in memorising the pedigrees of aristocratic families.

In Africa, amongst the tribes which remain more or less intact, there are hereditary kings and chiefs and hereditary priests. In addition, the Hamitic or partially Hamitic peoples like the Masai, Gallas, etc. have not only hereditary rulers, but a class of hereditary metal-workers, and marriages are not contracted by them outside this class.

The whole Hindu social structure of modern India, which presents one of the most serious political problems of our time, is based upon the occupational caste system, which has a profound religious significance. A late Bishop of Madras, referring to the connexion between religion and rank, has written :

> The great obstacle to the conversion of the upper ranks of society is the impenetrable barrier of caste: The social system inflicts such tremendous penalties on conversion to Christianity that a convert from the higher castes is truly a miracle.

The past lives in the present in India, and its archaic social system cannot, therefore, be understood without reference to its history. It dates back to the Vedic period, which, according to Professor MacDonell, began not much earlier than 1200 B.C. and came to a close about 500 B.C. Vedic civilization was introduced into India by the Aryans from Central and Western Asia, and in Hindu literature in the Sanskrit language the word for caste is 'Varna,' which means colour. The early Portuguese traders in India used for it the word 'casta' ('race'), which English traders turned into 'caste'; the modern Hindu word is 'jati' ('jat' = 'birth').



E. Watts

CASTE RETAINED IN LOWLY OCCUPATION

Although the Brahmans are a priestly caste they have long been permitted to follow other and more lowly occupations, provided caste purity is maintained, and this travelling musician of the Brahman caste considers himself superior to members of the husbandman and warrior castes.

A. R. Slater

PAINTING THE SYMBOL OF PRIESTLY RANK

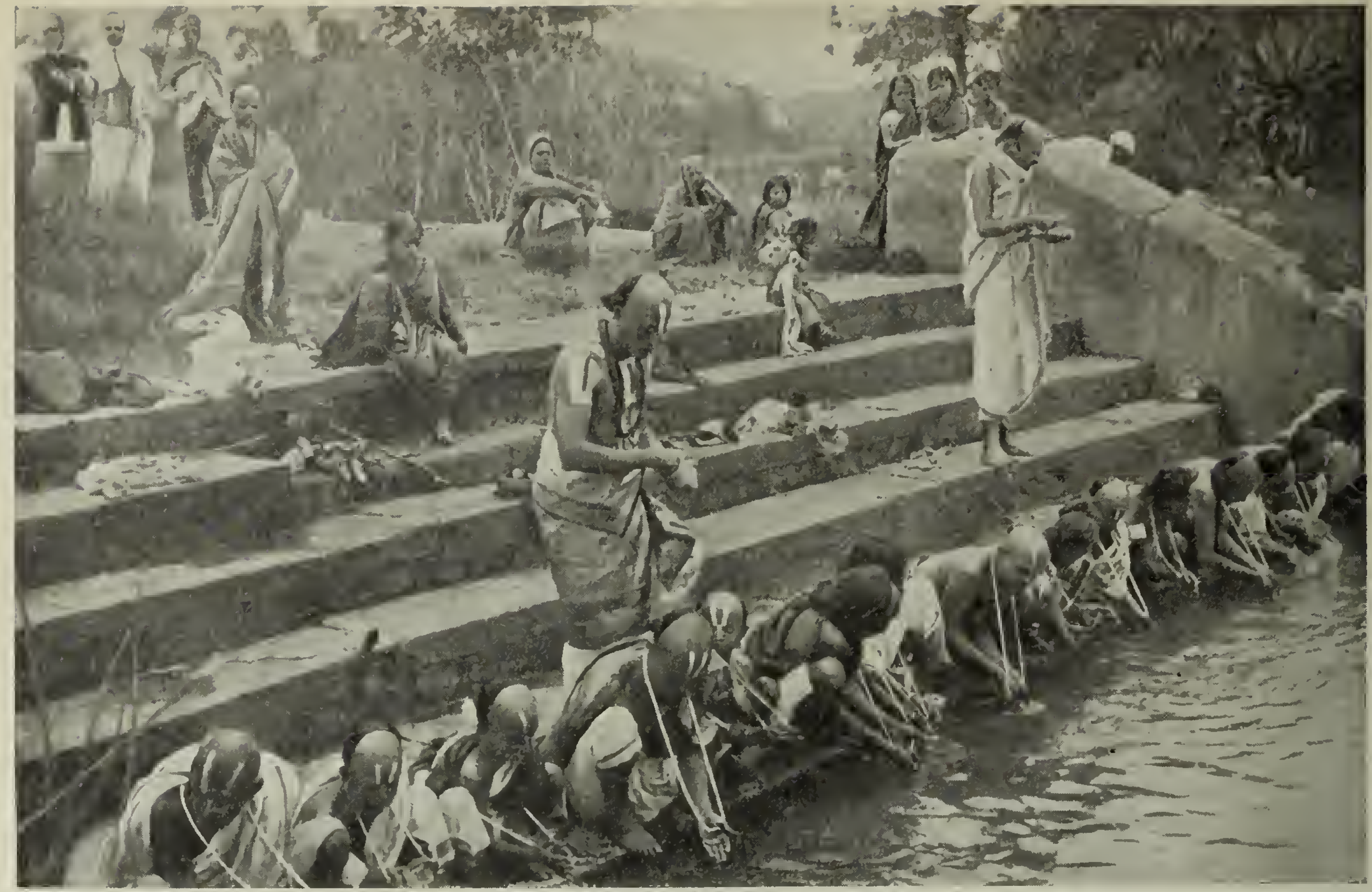
The Brahmans, chief of the three principal castes of the 'twice born,' in earlier years had the monopoly of learning, and even now lose no opportunity of maintaining their hold over the lower castes. The mark of Siva is renewed from time to time, the sacred thread, seen here on the knee of the priest repainting his forehead, being also renewed with ceremonial washings.

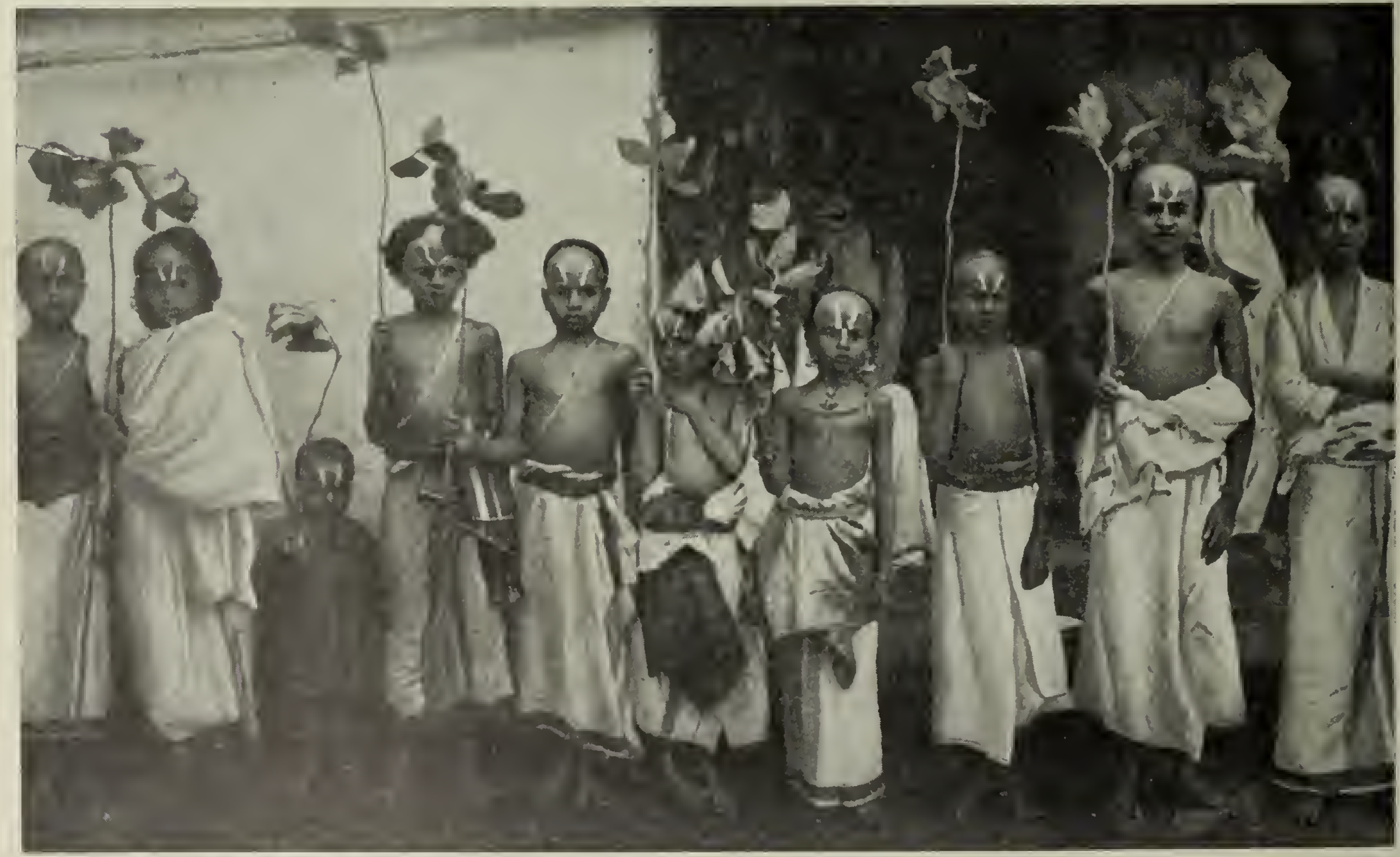
'Varna' was first used in Vedic times to distinguish the light-skinned Aryan invaders from the dusky 'Dāsa,' one of the terms applied to the dark aborigines. Before invading India the Aryans had their hereditary nobles and priests, and in the literature of the Vedic period we find in the folk literature traces of a fourfold division of the people: 1, Brahmans (priests), 2, Kshatriyas (aristocrats), 3, Vaisyas (traders and industrialists), and 4, Sudras (serfs and slaves). These castes were subsequently subdivided and the occupations of the members of sub-castes became hereditary. The Sudras, in the course of time, included not only the descendants of the dark aborigines, but also of Aryans who, for various reasons, including change of occupation and intermarriage, suffered loss of social status.

So deeply rooted did this caste system become that it was given a religious significance. In Hindu mythology we find it stated that the colour ('varna') of the Brahmans is white; that of the Kshatriyas, red; that of the Vaisyas yellow; and that of the Sudras, black. The Creator was supposed to have assumed these colours in turn as He brought into being the ancestral stock of each caste. A myth tells that the Brahmans came from the mouth of the chief god, the Kshatriyas from his breast, the Vaisyas from his thighs, and the Sudras from his feet. After death, as during life, the castes had to be kept separate. The old religious texts in Sanskrit tell that the Brahmans go to the Paradise of the god Prajāpati, those Kshatriyas 'who do not flee in battle' to the Paradise of Indra, the Vaisyas to the Paradise of the Maruts and the Sudras to the Paradise of the Gandharvas.

In the course of time castes were subdivided, and another process which has tended to render the caste system more highly complex is its adoption by various tribes. There are instances in modern times of groups in an aboriginal tribe, who have acquired wealth, forming a class of aristocrats in imitation of the Hindus and procuring a Brahman to provide them with a family tree to justify their social advancement. Other tribes, after embracing Hinduism, have been declared the descendants of some branch of Aryans who had colonised some particular area. It is no uncommon thing in India to find 'history masquerading in the garb of legend.' The caste system has been likewise adopted by tribal groups which have retained traditions of bygone sovereignty.

For instance, in Nepal, where the people are of mixed Indo-Aryan, Mongoloid and aboriginal stocks, we find communities of Hindus and Buddhists with separate caste systems of elaborate character. Yet Buddha, himself a representative of the old Kshatriya caste of military aristocrats, set himself to abolish the Indian caste system. The sect of Lingayats or Shiva worshippers, founded in the twelfth





E. Watts

EXCLUSIVE FUNCTION OF INVESTITURE AND RENEWAL OF THE SACRED THREAD

The three upper castes of Hinduism (Brahman, Kshatriya or warrior, and Vaisya or husbandman) claim as their distinction the wearing of the sacred thread and the upanayana ceremony of its investiture. The triple thread, or sutra, is made of cotton, hemp or wool, according to the respective caste. Its yearly renewal is the most important ceremony in Brahman life. After temple ceremonies the Brahmans, led by their priest, go to a sacred lake or river (top), where the old thread is replaced by the new In the return procession boys who have been newly invested bear branches of a sacred tree such as the banyan (bottom).

E. Watts

COMPLETION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CEREMONY OF HINDU CASTE

Save for the 'mantras,' or sentences, uttered by the priest the ceremony of the sacred thread renewal and the procession back from the river to house or temple where the ceremonial rites began are conducted in silence. After the return the ceremony is completed round the sacred fire, seen burning here in a little square pit in the floor, in front of which the priest or leader sits. The ceremony may be conducted by the recognized local leader of the caste or sub-caste concerned

century of our era, likewise opposed the caste system, but the descendants of the reformers have formed an exclusive caste system of their own, refusing to eat or intermarry with outsiders. In Rajputana the Rajput clans form a caste founded upon descent. The poorest clansman claims blood-kinship with the chief, as did the clansmen of the Scottish Highlands in the old days and as they still do in social gatherings, when all bearers of an historic surname are members of a family group. A Rajput may marry a daughter of a man of any occupation of a Rajput clan other than his own. Some clans, however, take higher rank than others, and a Rajput gentleman will not marry a woman of a lower clan.

THERE is undoubtedly fundamental race prejudice and antagonism in the Indian caste system, for the restrictions regarding marriage are an outstanding feature of it. If a woman marries a man of lower caste than herself, she is 'outcasted.' Continued purity of blood in a family is an essential principle of Hinduism. That is why child betrothals and child marriages are so common. The parents take the earliest opportunity of arranging pure caste marriages. Occupation is the second basis of caste. As the Brahmans are hereditary priests and the Kshatriyas hereditary aristocrats, so are there hereditary potters, scribes, barbers, blacksmiths, leather-workers, and so on. When new occupations are introduced, a new sub-caste comes into existence. Lower than the lowest caste are the 'untouchables,' the 'pariahs,' who are numbered by the million. For these and for members of low sub-castes there are strict rules of etiquette. They cannot help defiling a Brahman by their proximity and must remain at a distance of from twenty to over ninety feet, according to the degree of impurity attaching to them. If when a high-caste Hindu is eating, a low-caste man comes too near, the food is supposed to be polluted and may have to be thrown away or destroyed. The shadow of a man of slightly lower caste than the eater may, if it falls upon the food, render it unclean. The purity of caste can be retained inviolate in India alone. Those Brahmans who visit other lands to study in a university must on their return home be ceremonially purified.

Indian society has been stereotyped by the caste system, and when an offender is 'outcasted' no native will eat with him, no Brahman will perform a religious ceremony on his behalf, no hereditary barber

will shave him, and no artisan serve him. A decline in caste prestige may occur inside a single group. There is nowadays an intricate system of Brahman sub-castes. One reason for this is that many Brahmans have adopted occupations which degrade them. Marriages are consequently restricted to sub-groups. A Brahman of a high group may even decline to take water from a Brahman of a low one.

ONE way of escape from the caste system is to become a Moslem, for 'Islam,' as the late Sir Herbert Risley wrote, 'melts and fuses together a whole series of tribes and reduces their internal structure to one uniform pattern in which no survivals of pre-existing usages can be detected.' Instances are known of high-caste Hindus becoming Moslems to rid themselves of the embarrassments of the caste system, against which they may have committed some offence, but these are not numerous. Christianity likewise provides escape from caste restrictions and oppressions, opening to the depressed classes a road to advancement and success in life. The future of the caste system is one of the gravest problems confronting Indian reformers. Its religious aspect, which gives it a special interest, has imparted to it a degree of steadfastness unknown in the systems of social organization in other lands.

In old Japan there were four classes of society—the warrior class, the farmer class, the artisan class and the merchant class. The fact that the merchants ranked lowest is of very special interest. A threefold division distinguished between the samurai

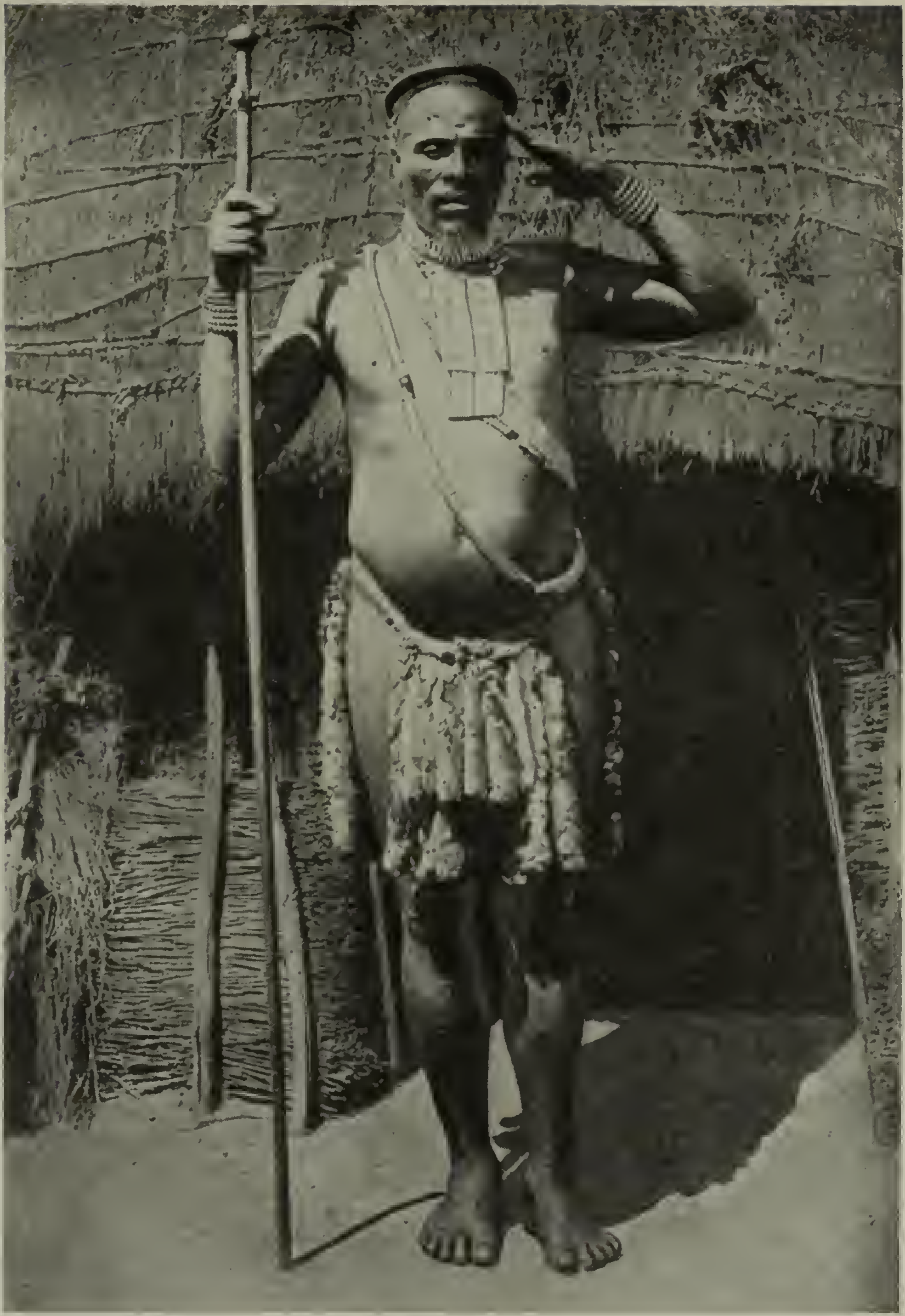
E.N.A.

COMELY MAID AND RAGGED REGIMENT BRANDED WITH A COMMON SHAME

It is impossible to exaggerate the degraded position occupied by the so-called 'depressed classes' or 'untouchables' under the Hindu social system, of whom this Nayar girl and this line of beggars of Madras are examples. They live in villages apart; they perform the lowest menial tasks; they are forbidden to enter the temples; they are allowed to draw water only from wells and tanks specially assigned to them; and they may not approach a high-caste Hindu, who would be polluted by their very presence.

(warrior class) and the nobles (' kwazoku ') and grouped the remainder as the ' heimin,' or ' common people.' Originally the samurai were the Mikado's palace soldiers, but in the Japanese feudal system became the ' gentry.' They were entitled to regular incomes, but in the 'seventies of last century, when the new Imperial Government came into power, the ancient samurai payments were commuted for lump sums. Those members of the warrior class who displayed ambition and ability became prominent in the governing class and in the naval and military services. Others, clinging to the old class traditions, have lagged behind, their descendants becoming poor. The aristocratic spirit remains, but as there is no religious bar to social advancement, the rise to positions of importance of representatives of the plebeian class who have accumulated wealth is as much a feature of modern Japanese life as of that of Western European countries. Industry and education have transformed Japan.

THE most striking example in Europe of an exclusive hereditary group of aristocrats is afforded by Germany. Before the Republic was established this class was really a caste. The surnames of its members had the prefix ' von,' and the sons of an individual of the class always belonged to it no matter what his circumstances might happen to be. Very rarely were ' commoners ' elevated to the ' von ' class.



Keystone

BADGE OF A NOTABLE OF A WARRIOR RACE OF AFRICA

Although there is now no king in Zululand, there is still a well-marked hierarchy. First comes the tribal chief, who in the old days was next to the king himself, while next below is the induna, or headman whose authority may extend to more than one kraal. An induna is here seen wearing the head-ring of his rank.

In our own country the delimitation of the classes has never been as strict as in Germany, nor have marriage restrictions been so severe. There has ever been a tendency to merge the classes of society, the descendants of aristocrats disappearing in the middle classes, in consequence of intermarriage and occupation, and the descendants of plebeians rising by reason of military or political service, or the accumulation of wealth, to the aristocratic class. Originally the warrior class was the highest. When after the Norman conquest the feudal system was fully developed, land was held from the crown in return for military and political services. The various classes of society were graded, and titles conferred by the Crown were inherited by heirs along with landed property. Our present-day titles symbolise the history of our social structure.

First comes the hereditary king or queen. The heir is Prince of Wales, a title originally introduced by Edward I when the conquest of Wales was completed. He is a duke from birth, and royal dukes take precedence among other inheritors of this title, which comes from the Latin ' dux,' ' leader,' and was originally borne by military leaders. Some Continental dukes were sovereigns of small states. Next to

Mondiale

RANK MARKED BY A SINGLE EARRING

This smart, well set up soldier is an officer of the modern Tibetan army. He is a prince and a kinsman of the Dalai Lama of Tibet. The earring that he is wearing in his left ear shows that he is of aristocratic lineage.

the duke is the marquess, originally given to a commander on the marches or frontier, and first introduced into England by Richard II. It is also a courtesy title of a duke's eldest son. Then comes the earl, a very ancient title which William the Conqueror made hereditary. It was for a time interchangeable with count, the equivalent Continental title, and an earl's wife is still called countess. The viscount occupies next rank. Then comes baron, originally a landholder of a superior, and later a member of the early aristocratic Parliament. Before dukes and marquesses were created the barons constituted the second rank of the nobility. Modern barons are hereditary members of the House of Lords. The title baronet was introduced by James I and made hereditary ; each baronet had to make payment to the Treasury of £1,095 and fees in addition. Baronets of Scotland and Ireland created before 1707 and 1801 respectively are not, like those created since, baronets of the United Kingdom. The baronet has 'Sir' prefixed to his name and his wife is styled 'Lady.' So has the knight, whose wife is also 'Lady.' In feudal times a knight was a warrior raised with ceremony to a particular military rank. According to modern usage the dignity is conferred by the sovereign, on the advice of the Prime Minister, in recognition of some particular service. When a lady is similarly honoured she is made a Dame.

THE rise of the industrial and trading cities of England, which spelled doom to the feudal system, is, in the historic sense, symbolised by the customary awards of baronetcies or knighthoods to the Lord Mayors of England and the Lord Provosts of Scotland, who during office are, as chief magistrates of cities, the representatives of the sovereign. As the Church of England occupies a fundamental place in the Constitution, their Graces the Lord Archbishops and the Lord Bishops sit in the House of Lords.

In the Scottish Highland area the feudal system was blended with the clan system and some Norman or Normanised barons became chiefs. The first head of Clan Chisholm, for instance, was the owner of the lands of Chisholm estate in the Lowland county of Roxburgh, and was known as De Chisholm when given a grant of extensive lands in Inverness-shire. The hereditary chief ultimately became known as 'The Chisholm,' and hence arose the Scottish saying that only three individuals have 'The' prefixed to their names—The Pope, The Chisholm and The Devil. Members of a clan formed a family group and retained as such the traditional aristocratic spirit of the Celtic warrior class, regarding as folk of a lower breed the unpedigreed Lowlanders who engaged in trade and industry. The spirit of the old clan system still survives in those Highland areas in which the hereditary chiefs are landed proprietors.

The Albanian tribal system resembles somewhat the Scottish clan system. Members of a tribe are regarded as 'brothers and sisters' and cannot intermarry. There are, however, social grades in a single tribal group, the highest class being the family of the hereditary 'bairaktas,' or 'standard-bearer.' In Serbia, on the other hand, the social organization has its basis in feudalism, the highest class being the landowners, who originally gave military service, and the lowest the herdsmen. An Albanian tribal herdsman deems himself the superior of a Serbian herdsman.

In the United States of America a semi-aristocratic class is formed by the families descended from pioneer emigrants from the Old World. There are no titles, but the President is styled 'His Excellency,' as are likewise state governors and ambassadors ; 'Honourables' include senators, judges, mayors and certain other holders of high office.

MARRIAGES THAT ARE FORBIDDEN

As a primal human relation marriage is surrounded with immensely varied sets of rules and taboos, the more important and most strange of which are here related. Other sex prohibitions and permissions and their reasons are to be gathered in chapters on The Separation of the Sexes, Woman's Status in Primitive Society, Polygamy and Polyandry, and the Sexual Life of Savages.

In the prayer book of the Church of England will be found a Table of Affinities which names the degrees of relationship between which marriage may not be celebrated. These are the 'forbidden degrees.' Such prohibitions are peculiar neither to the Church of England nor to the Christian religion. Jews and Mahomedans alike recognize forbidden degrees very similar in character to those of the Christian religions. In the Roman Catholic and Greek Churches the prohibition is extended even to certain spiritual relationships. Those who have acted jointly as god-parents are precluded from marrying. Islam shares with some more primitive peoples the peculiarity that it forbids marriage between foster relations. Among the less advanced peoples the restrictions on marriage are even more widely extended and, on the whole, more strictly observed than they are among peoples of the higher civilizations.

Irregular unions between those who stand to one another in relationships included within the forbidden degrees, whether illicit or ostensibly made regular in form by a ceremony of marriage, are regarded as constituting incest. This is a crime for which the community usually inflicts severe penalty. Not infrequently it is death in some painful or degrading form. Thus in the Marshall Islands incestuous unions are looked upon as disgraceful, and, it is believed, are punished in the future life ; but among the Baganda the penalty is death. Among the Circassians the guilty parties are drowned ; in China they are strangled ; and among the Bri-Bri of the Costa Rica coast they are buried alive. It is, however, in the Indian archipelago that the crime is punished with greatest severity. Drowning, burning, pinning to the earth with stakes driven through the body are among the punishments recorded. Among the Battas of Mindañao in the Philippines the culprits are killed and eaten. The reason for the severity of the penalty in these cases last named is not far to seek. Among a number of peoples, but more particularly in south-eastern Asia, sexual irregularity, and especially incest, is believed to affect the community as a whole by endangering the fertility of the crops, the cattle, and even of human beings.

As an example of the attitude towards immorality in general, an instance may be cited from another part of the world. Among the Dyoulas of the Ivory Coast an act of immorality committed in the forest is regarded as offensive to the earth, their principal deity, and will, it is held, cause the rains to fail. In relation to the specific crime of incest it is believed in Mindañao that if the guilty parties are allowed to go unpunished the sea will rise and cover the land; while elsewhere in Indonesia incest blights the fruits of the earth. It has been pointed out that evidence of this class of belief is known only among certain peoples. On the other hand, there are occasions when the regulations prohibiting marriage between those who are akin are disregarded—it must be remembered that these prohibitions apply to sexual intercourse, as well as the formally more regular union. Such occasions are of a ceremonial or ritual character, as, for instance, the defloration of a daughter preparatory to marriage by her father, or those periodical festivals which occur with frequency among peoples widely separated in time and space, when the utmost sexual license prevails with a complete disregard of all marriage ties, regulations and prohibitions. As these ceremonial observances are intended to promote fertility, it may be inferred that such infringement at ordinary seasons would react injuriously on the crops and cattle belonging to the group.

It has been suggested that in this association of the well-being of the community and its beasts and crops with sexual continence lies the explanation of the avoidance of incest. Probably, however, the belief is an outcome rather than a cause of that avoidance.

Even when disregard of marriage prohibitions does not entail a penalty on the community as a whole, outraged spiritual forces may inflict punishment upon the guilty individuals and their offspring. In Sumatra parents and offspring alike will die ; among the Dinka when a man marries within his own clan the gods will punish the man or the woman, or both, and their offspring, by death, unless the 'sacrifice of atonement' is offered ; and among the Akikuyu a similar fate is anticipated unless the offence is committed unwittingly, when a sacrifice may remove the pollution from the children and sever the blood tie between the parents. In Sierra Leone the punishment of sickness which follows the crime affects not only the culprits but also the whole of their family. All their relatives without exception must be washed publicly and whipped. It may be noted in passing that a number of peoples hold views on the consequences of incestuous unions which are not far removed from the belief of civilization in the evils of in-breeding. Among the Herero, for instance, it is thought that the offspring of the unions of close kin will be weakly and die, while among certain of the Australian tribes there is said to be a tradition that the arrangement of matrimonial classes was devised originally to prevent marriage between those who are too closely akin and to avert the evils of in-breeding.

Dr. Mead and American Museum of Natural History

EXTREME EXAMPLE OF FINELY CALCULATED MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS

In some parts of Melanesia the prohibitions of marriage between relatives by blood and by marriage are very complicated and degrees of relationship are calculated to great lengths. Among the Manus people the horror of possible violation of sexual taboos is so vivid that not only may the names of any relatives-in-law never be mentioned in their presence, but certain relations may not meet face to face. This woman punting her canoe is endeavouring to keep her head decently covered with her cloak lest she should meet her father-in-law.

These instances, which could be multiplied almost indefinitely, indicate that the belief in the serious consequences of disregard of marriage prohibitions is widespread. Among the normally minded, primitive and civilized alike, the horror of incest is universal. There is no people which does not observe some bar to marriage, transgression of which calls for execration and arouses horror. Indeed so deeply rooted in human consciousness is the feeling of aversion caused by incest that it is often, though erroneously, described as 'instinctive' or 'innate.' It has not, however, that character of an immediate reaction of function to environment which, strictly speaking, constitutes an instinct; and a wide survey of the character of marriage prohibitions reveals a variation in their content at various times and in different regions which suggests that, like other moral principles, marriage prohibitions are a matter of convention—not absolute, but relative to the level of culture of the society in which they occur. They do not, in fact, show the universality to be expected if the feelings they arouse were innate. Animals show no aversion from union with those closely connected with them by blood; and there are hardly any of the forbidden degrees disregard of which has not been recorded by travellers as the marriage custom of some people or other.

It is also clear that opinion is subject to change. Marriage between cousins is forbidden among many peoples and once was prohibited in Europe under Canon Law; but now if it is disapproved in modern societies it is as dysgenic rather than as incestuous. The attitude towards marriage with a deceased wife's sister has changed since it has been legalised. In Ancient Egypt marriage with a sister was the rule in the royal line; in modern Europe those who have formed irregular unions of this character are regarded as examples of extreme degeneracy and moral turpitude.

It is somewhat difficult to see how prohibitions against marriage between those who are closely related by blood should have come about; but their strong emotional content would suggest that their survival value has been considerable. Broadly speaking, marriage prohibitions fall into two categories: those which forbid marriage outside a given group and give rise to the endogamous form of marriage; and those which forbid marriage within a given group and are responsible for the exogamous marriage. The two systems are not mutually exclusive; they may, and usually do, exist side by side. Thus in India while the caste system is endogamous, the gotra or kin within the caste is strictly exogamous.

In the matter of its origin the endogamous system of marriage hardly gives rise to question. It is an obvious measure by which any given group may seek to preserve its integrity, maintaining the purity of its blood and safeguarding the custody of property and the tenure of positions of authority within the group from all who are not full members. This is avowedly the reason why the Arabs of Morocco restrain their women from marriage outside the tribe.

Such marriage regulations will also be found very often to occur when two racial strains live side by side. Frequently they are a result of conquest, or they may be due to the attainment by one race of a position of strong social, political and economic dominance over the other. Thus in East Africa the nomad pastoral Bahuma until recently prohibited marriage with the indigenous agricultural tribes whom they had conquered; at the present time marriage is occasionally permitted between a wealthy agriculturist and the daughter of an impoverished herdsman. Pride of conquest and an ingrained belief in 'blue blood' for centuries preserved the rigid class distinctions of Europe which virtually prohibited marriage between the upper and lower grades of society. Racial antagonism in the United States of America is responsible for state laws which forbid marriage when one of the parties is unable to show a descent free from Indian or negro blood over a varying number of generations.

It may be noted, however, that aversion from marriage outside the race or tribe, unless reinforced by strong religious feeling, rarely retains the intensity experienced in the case of unions debarred by a blood tie. As civilization advances it tends to fade into a mere prejudice, except when conditions are such as they are in South Africa and India, where close contact of very diverse races, accompanied by political, social and economic competition, gives rise to a colour line which is normally an effective bar to marriage. Further, it is rare that an endogamous rule which is based mainly on a sense of the inferiority of a subject race, though strictly applied in the case of the women, is strong enough to prevent slave marriage or irregular unions on the part of the men. For example, Islam, which made every effort to preserve purity of race and creed, while allowing no woman to marry any but a Moslem, permits the men to marry any woman but

James L. Clark and American Museum of Natural History

WOMEN WHO MUST MARRY THEIR ENEMIES

Marriage prohibitions among natives are of two classes: those forbidden within the group, or exogamy, and those without the group, endogamy. The cave-dwelling people of Mount Elgon, in East Africa, consist of mutually hostile clans, and yet their exogamous principles compel them to seek marriage, generally by raiding hostile groups, outside the clan.

E.N.A.

KINSHIP FELT THROUGHOUT THE VILLAGE

This Rajput of Baroda is obliged to go outside his native place to seek a bride, since otherwise his guilt would approach that of one committing incest, so strong is the sense of relationship through differing castes and clans in a particular village.

an idolatress—that is, a matrimonial union may be contracted with a daughter of any of the 'Peoples of the Book'—a Christian, a Jewess, or, in Persia and the adjacent countries, a Zoroastrian. Further, marriage with a slave is permitted provided she is the property of someone other than the man himself.

The classic example of the endogamous marriage is to be seen in India, where a caste system, which quite possibly originated in a military conquest, has become stereotyped and is rigidly enforced under the influence of religion. Yet even here the rigidity of the system is sometimes relaxed by the hypergamous marriage, in which the woman is permitted marriage only with one in her own or a higher grade of society, while the man is allowed to marry a woman one, or in some cases two, degrees below his own. It is also in connexion with religious groups that the endogamous marriage survives with greatest strength in western society. This is indicated by the controversies which have raged in recent years over the question of intermarriage between Roman Catholic and Protestant.

ENDOGAMOUS regulations may lose their compelling force with advance in civilization; prohibition of marriage within the group retains its hold, though among many races and tribes its rules may have been relaxed for certain grades of relationship. The forbidden degrees of the Christian Churches set out in detail the relationships of a blood-kin group, with certain additions based on connexions by marriage. This grouping is strictly analogous to the totem kin, clan or exogamous group of the tribe at a lower level of culture, even when the Christian system takes into account relationship on both sides of the house. For although it is the general rule that the less advanced peoples reckon descent through either the father or the mother only, many of them for the purpose of regulating marriage recognize kinship on the side of both father and mother, as we do.

No entirely satisfactory explanation has been given of the reason why the blood tie is accepted as an efficient bar to marriage. It is easy to picture the early days of the little family group, in which the adolescent males are forced to go outside their group to capture brides, either owing to the lack of sexual attraction for them of the females with whom they have been brought up from childhood, as some think, or, as others hold, driven out by the jealousy of the paternal head of the group. Such a family group exists in the Balkans among the southern Slavs, where in Albania marriage by capture has been the beginning of many a blood feud. There the Servians and Montenegrins of the countryside live in communal houses in huge family groups, numbering sometimes as many as sixty or seventy individuals. No members of the 'bratsvo,' the group tracing descent from a common male ancestor, may intermarry. Marriage is barred absolutely between them up to the degree of third cousin.

In East Africa the country around Mount Elgon is occupied by the Bagesu, who are divided up into a number of clans, each living in its own territory. There is constant hostility between these clans;

E.N.A.

ROYAL MILKMAID OF BUNYORO WHO ASSISTS AT BAGANDA EXOGAMIC WEDDINGS

In some forms of exogamy conditions are complicated by totem relationships. Those belonging to the same totem, although of different groups and of no blood or 'in-law' connexion, are regarded as being within the forbidden degrees of marriage. Baganda chiefs and other royal persons of Uganda inherit their totems from their mothers, and thus all maternal in-laws, however remote, are barred to them, although comparatively close relations on the paternal side are not. For explanation of Bunyoro royal milkmaid customs see pages 480-481.

but nevertheless no man may marry within his own clan. He must either capture a bride from another clan, or he must wait until the festival which follows the harvest, when there is something in the nature of a truce, during which the clans visit one another's territory. At this time most of the marriages are arranged. It is presumably to such localised clan or kin groups that the custom is to be traced whereby, as in Macedonia, marriage may not be contracted between inhabitants of the same village. Yet in Switzerland courtship of a maid by anyone from outside her village is resented—an interesting contrast. In various parts of India—as, for example, among the Rajputs of Baroda, the Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur and in the North-Western Provinces—it is also the rule that a man should seek his bride outside the village. This custom here carries with it an indication of its origin, for although the village may include a number of castes and clans, nevertheless all the villagers have a strong feeling of kinship one with another.

Members of an exogamous group may not intermarry. In totemic societies this is expressed by the prohibition of marriage between members of the same totem kin—the totem kin, it is to be noted, being, as a rule, scattered throughout the community and not a localised group. Yet the rule against intermarriage within the totem kin is not invariably observed. In Bunyoro in East Africa there are many totemic clans bearing the same name. There a man

E.N.A.

BANANA LEAVES FOR LEGAL MARRIAGE

The Baganda people of Uganda associate the banana plant with human fertility, as well as with crop production, and a properly arranged marriage, i.e. one outside the totem, is signalised by the presentation of banana leaves to the bride by her brother.

may marry a woman of his own totem, provided she is not of the same clan; while among the Bahuma, in the three great clans, which are subdivided into a number of secondary totem kins, a man may marry a woman of his own clan, provided her secondary totem differs from his own. Such clans and sub-clans may originally have been small family or kin groups of which the members were originally closely akin; but in course of time they have come to include a large number of members who may be only remotely related in blood. Yet relationship may still be recognized by a species of legal fiction under what is known as the classificatory system. A man will continue to address all males and females of a certain age as 'father' and 'mother,' and those of a younger generation as 'brother' and 'sister.' Hence the acceptance of the prohibition of intermarriage and the possible explanation of the incestuous unions recorded by travellers—cases in which the observers have failed to appreciate the true relation—or absence of relationship—between the contracting parties.

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the question of the relation of marriage regulation and group membership by one form of prohibition. Among certain small and very backward tribes of Kenya sexual connexion before circumcision is a grave offence. The offspring, if any, of such unions are killed, and the boy and girl put to death by a stake driven through their bodies. Membership of the group conferred by circumcision and the attendant ceremonies is thus an essential of entry into the marriage state.

An exhaustive examination of the various types of marriage prohibitions would entail a detailed review of the ramifications of complicated primitive systems of relationship and also of the system of inheritance which is involved, for example, in the custom of marriage with a father's widows in force among African peoples and the custom of marrying a brother's widow in India. This cannot be attempted here; but two matters must be mentioned, however briefly—cross-cousin marriage and the matrimonial classes of the Australian aboriginal.

More frequently than not among primitive peoples cousin marriage is forbidden and is regarded as incest. Yet among some of the peoples who observe this rule the marriage of cousins whose relationship is of a certain type, i.e. cross-cousins, is not only permitted but may even be enjoined. Thus in Fiji such cousins are expected to marry; while in Islam a man's cross-cousin is his natural bride. If he demands her hand in marriage, her father may not refuse. The cross-cousin marriage ensures that a man does not enter into matrimony with one of his own kin. Where kinship is reckoned through the mother, his cross-cousin is his mother's brother's daughter, whose kin, inherited through her mother, therefore differs from his own. Mutatis mutandis, when inheritance is through the father, the same relationship obtains with the daughter of his father's sister. In both cases the possibility of violating the prohibition of the blood tie is averted. The custom throws a suggestive light on marriage as a form of exchange between two intermarrying and exogamous groups. The exchange between two pairs of brother-sister, one on either side, preserves the balance in the two groups.

The Australian matrimonial classes are an extension of the principle of the regulation of marriage through two intermarrying groups. The two groups are subdivided, and in some cases subdivided again, so that in some tribes the number of classes is as high as eight. An ingenious but complicated system of alternating inheritance of class is accompanied by an alternation of the only one of the classes into which a man belonging to any given class may marry. This elaborate system is a logical outcome of the attempt to avoid the blood tie in tribes in which the numbers are small. As a means of attaining the desired end it is certainly effective, for not infrequently the marriage regulations leave the would-be bridegroom with no one at all within his horde to whom he may pay court. As the penalty for infringement is death, he must take a bride from another group.

THE RITES OF CIRCUMCISION

WHILE it is not immediately obvious it is nevertheless the fact that the rites of circumcision are essentially religious in their origin, however primitive or crude they may appear in their developed form. Since they represent a preparation for the adult life they necessarily have close affinity to other customs described in the chapter on Initiation and Other Ceremonies of Puberty.

AROUND the extraordinary and seemingly barbarous rite and practice of circumcision controversy has raged for ages. Whence did it spring and what are its purpose and significance ? These questions have agitated the minds of scholars and philosophers for generations, and that they continue to do so an ever-growing literature bears ample witness.

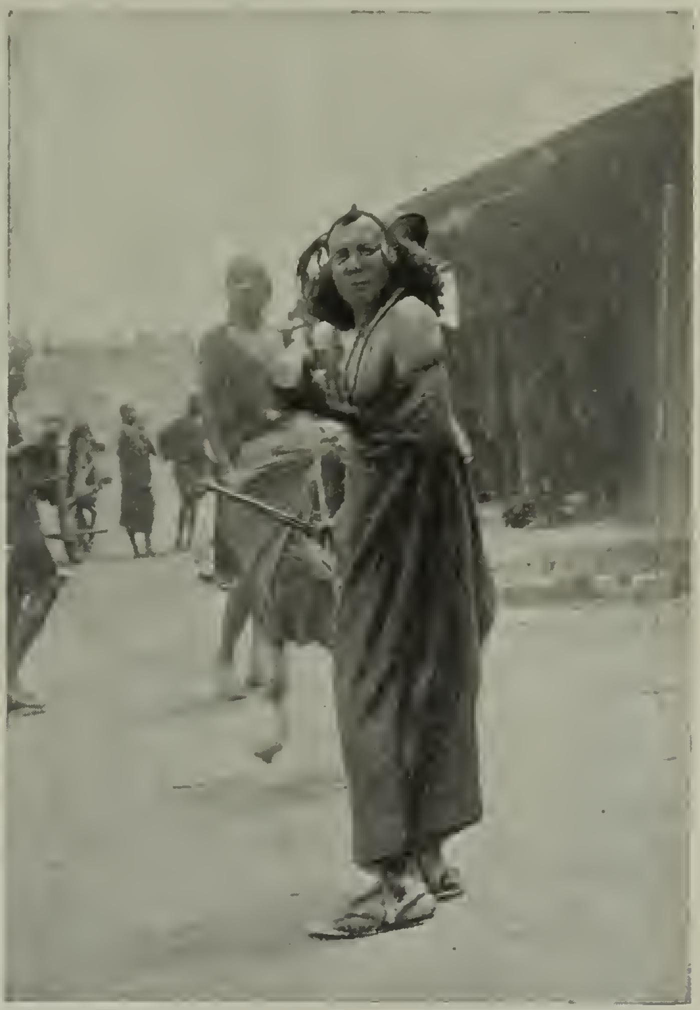
Some authorities believe it to have had merely a hygienic intention, while others see in it a preparation for sexual life or a preventive against magical danger from sexual relations. Others, again, regard it as having been developed from a test of endurance, a sacrifice of the part for the whole, a sanctification of the generative faculties, or even a social and aristocratic mark and distinction.

Sir James Fraser has given it as his opinion that it is associated with the idea of the renewal of life in the dead, the detached portion being saved or buried in order that after death it might provide a new stock of energy for the spirit of the deceased. But it is obvious that no one theory can account for the origin of circumcision in the several regions where it is to be found, and the probability is that while a general idea of initiatory or propitiatory sacrifice underlies the rite, it has subsidiary significances in certain areas.

CIRCUMCISION as a rite is best known from its association with the Semitic race, and more especially with the ancient and modern Jews. Originally among the Hebrew race it seems to have been performed upon the male at the season of marriage, and even in the presence of the maiden whom he was about to marry. If the bridegroom shrank from the ordeal or uttered even a moan his virility was suspect and his betrothed immediately abandoned him. But as time advanced the ceremony was performed at an earlier age, usually in the fourteenth year. In primitive times the officiating hand appears to have been that of the father. Thus Abraham circumcised Ishmael, though we have Scriptural assurance that Zipporah, the wife of Moses, performed the operation on her son with ' a sharp stone.'

From the desert, we know, came the strange and not unpicturesque rite of circumcision, and if we desire to behold it today with all its primitive sanctions and in its pristine surroundings, to the desert we must betake ourselves, to the waste of Arabia Petraea, where the modern Beduin still preserves it in its original simplicity. The male child who undergoes what, in barbarous hands, is by no means a painless operation, must be between the ages of three and five, and the celebration is inevitably accompanied by one of those rather garish and gluttonous feasts for which the Arab has so strong a predilection. It is on such occasions, queerly enough, that marriages are made among the Beduin, for after the ceremony the unmarried girls of the tribe disport themselves in the dance, while the bachelors look on and select their brides from the whirling coryphées.

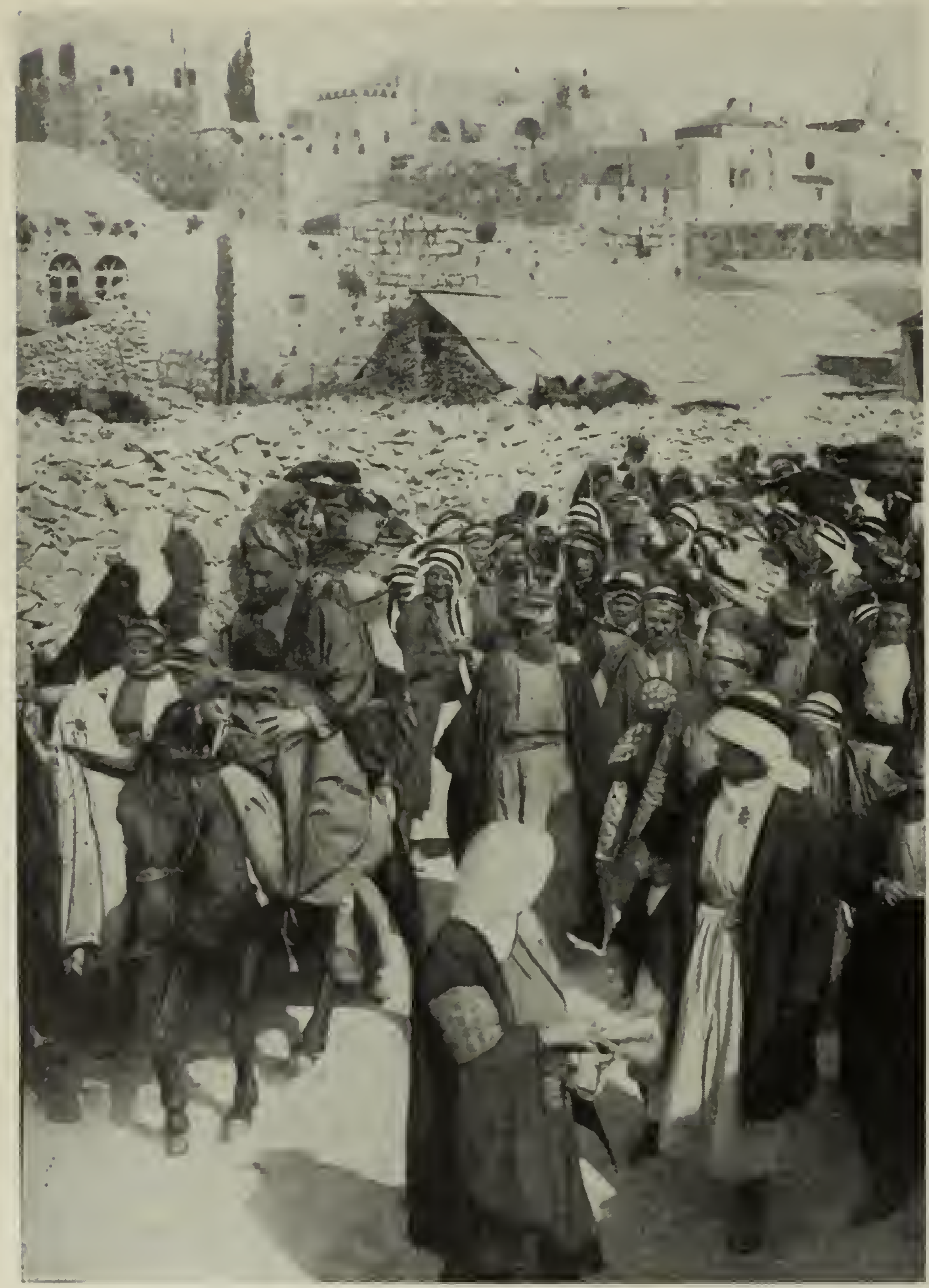
The Arab employs none of the refinements of surgery in the operation, and the ' sharp stone ' of Zipporah is not unknown among them as an instrument of circumcision. The more civilized Moslems of Turkey and Persia usually employ a barber or a European doctor, if they can engage one, to undertake the rite. Taboos of the most rigorous kind are



Paul S. McElroy

STUFFED BIRDS FOR RITUAL APPAREL

About the age of seventeen Masai boys prepare for circumcision by getting a head-dress of wild birds. These they club and stuff and attach to the crown of their heads. The boys are dressed as women until their wounds are healed, after which they rank as warriors.



H. J. Shepstone

CIRCUMCISION PROCESSION IN A PALESTINIAN TOWN

In many parts of the world elaborate ceremonial precedes and attends the rite of circumcision. In Tunis the rites last a whole week, on the second day of which the boy concerned is paraded through the town mounted on a mule and escorted by negroes bearing torches. A similar procession in Palestine is seen here, with the father, mounted on a donkey, carrying the child on whom the operation is to be performed.

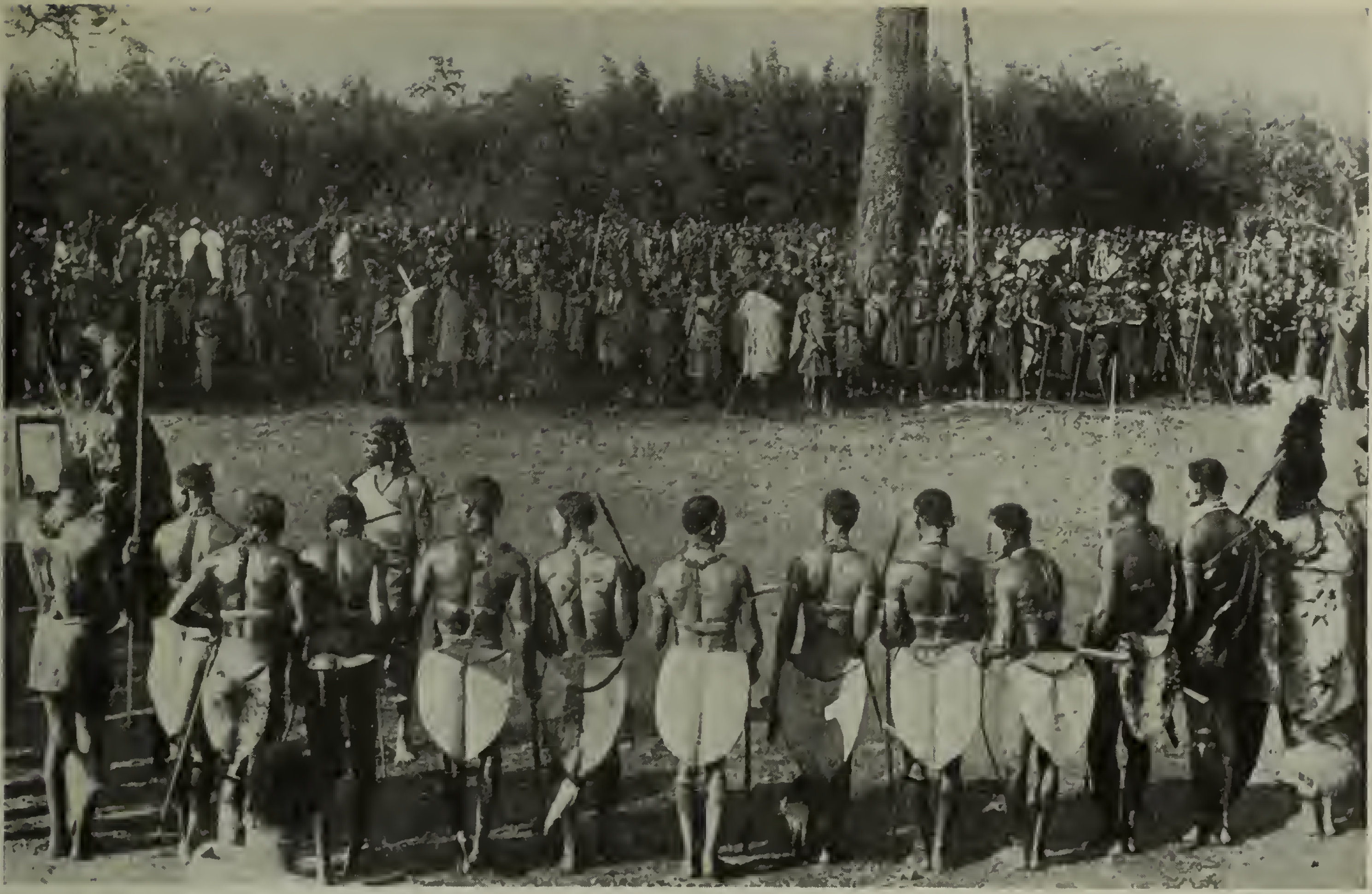
placed upon the patient. In some Moslem countries, such as Bosnia, he must not drink water for a month, while in India even salt is forbidden during convalescence.

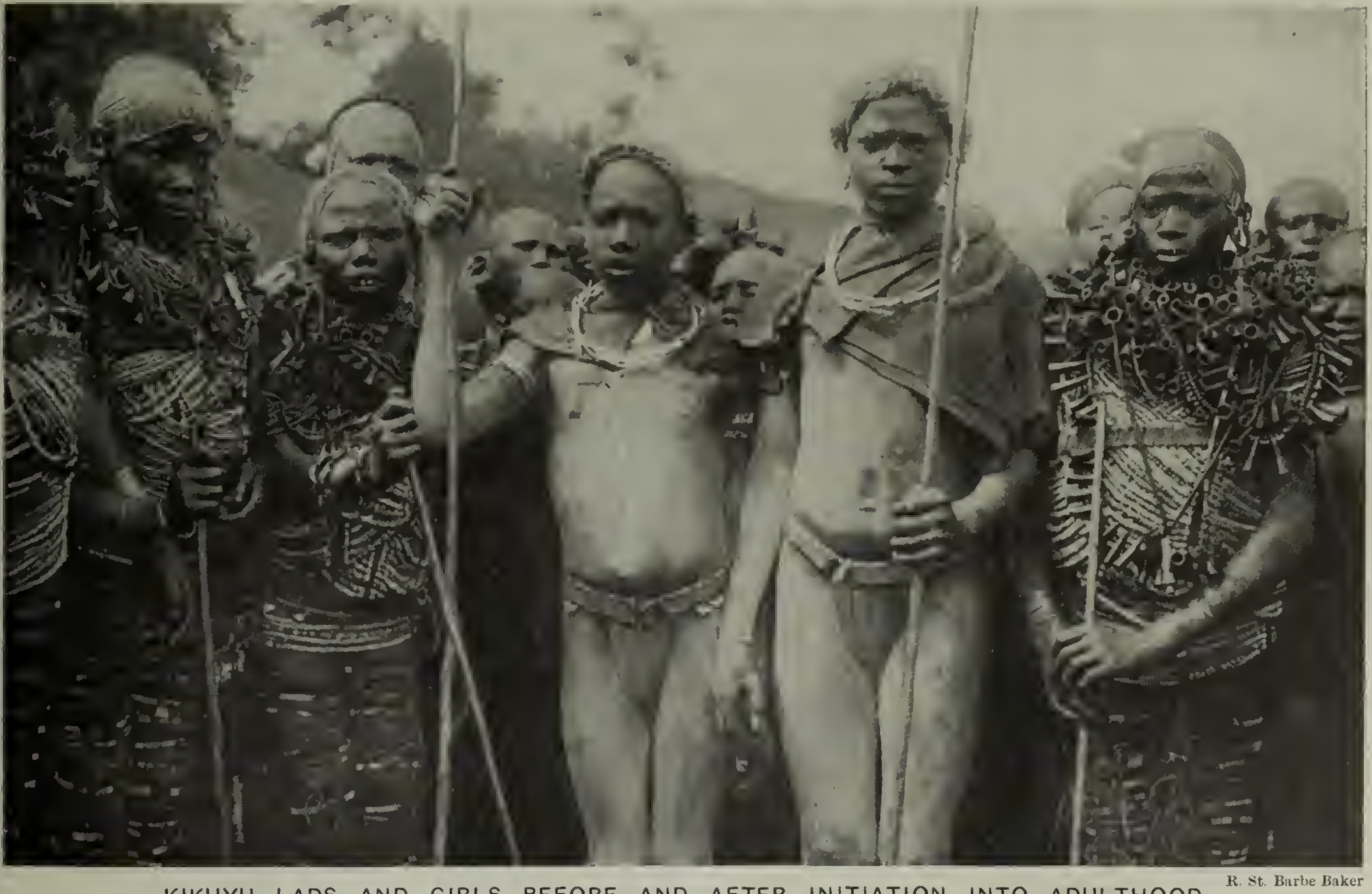
Moslem peoples usually carry out the ceremony on the seventh day after birth, although there is some difficulty among them as to the propriety of imitating the Jews in this respect. In certain parts of the Moslem world, however—Anatolia and Morocco among them—the circumcising age is from the first to the thirteenth year. The operation is generally preceded by an elaborate ceremonial, lasting in some places as long as seven days, although this varies considerably with locality. In Tunis the rites last during an entire week. On the second morning the boy is carefully dressed and paraded through the town, mounted on a mule, attended by negroes bearing torches. In Egypt the lad is dressed as a girl, but wears a red turban, symbolic of the blood to be shed. The wearing of female attire signifies that until the operation has been carried out the boy is regarded as belonging to the weaker sex. In some parts of India the lad is dressed as a bridegroom, and is seated on a stool during the operation. If he has to undergo it alone, the top of an earthenware vessel is simultaneously sliced off, evidently in the belief that his suffering is mitigated by means of sympathetic magic.

In some Moslem countries, Eastern Turkistan, for example, the day for the ceremony is fixed by an astrologer, the rites extend over two or three days, and the parents are presented by friends and relatives with garments for the child. In Tashkend the boy's comrades even arrange a little pageant to mark the event, dressing up in paper caps and arming themselves with wooden swords, while one of them carries the boy who is to be circumcised on his shoulders. But before setting out the 'patient' is drugged with a powerful narcotic, though, needless to say, the operation usually succeeds in awakening him.

Circumcision is usually performed before people of the male sex only, and in a secluded place, although among some tribes, the Falasha, for instance, and even among modern Egyptian Moslems, the practitioners are women. Among the Jews the house of the parents is the place usually chosen for the rite. Actual religious ceremonies in connexion with circumcision are extremely rare, and as regards peoples of the modern world are to be found only among the Jews, the Fijians and the tribes of New Caledonia.

The rite is frequently associated with other rites of initiation, especially when it is undergone at the age of puberty. In such cases it is, indeed, regarded

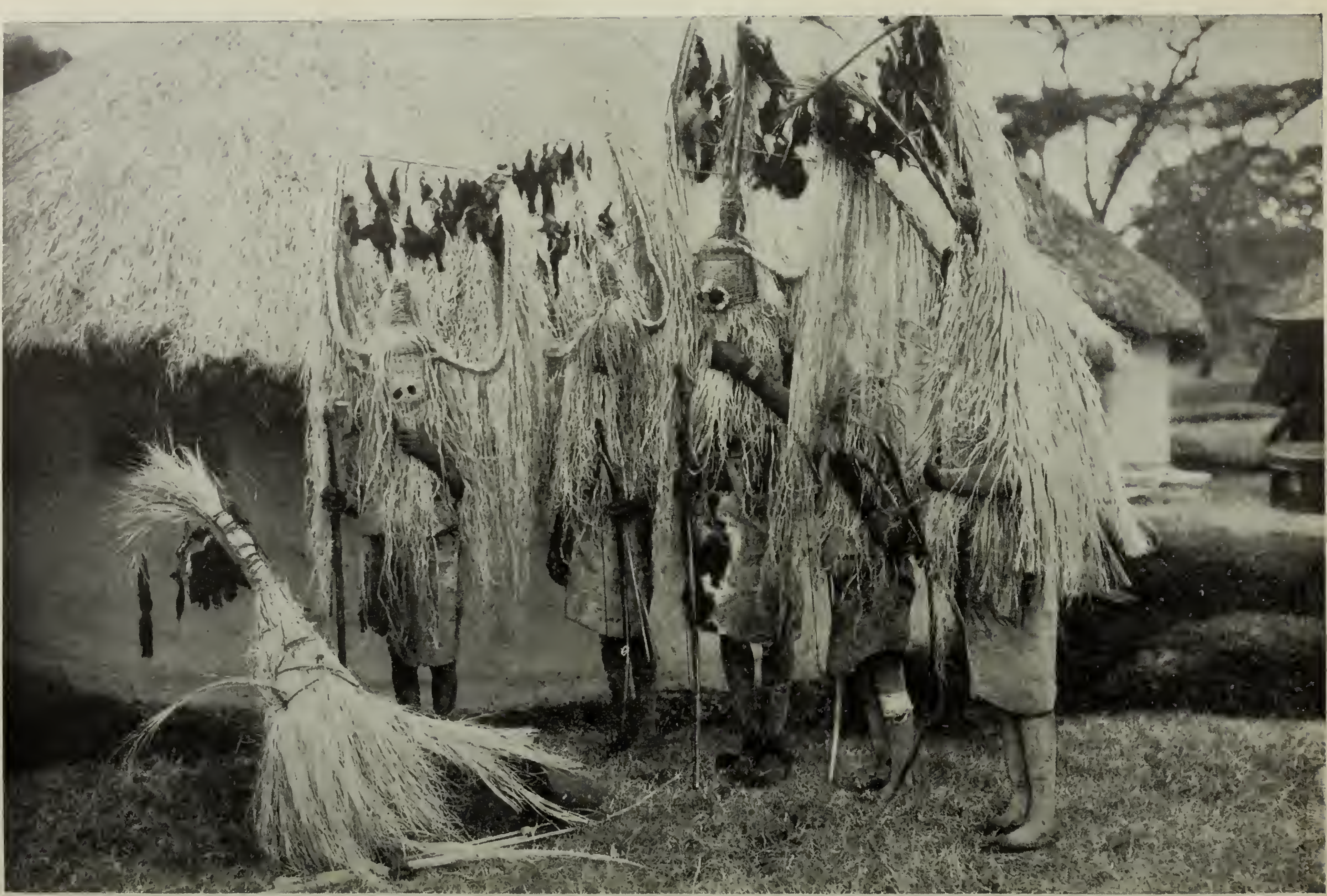




R. St. Barbe Baker

KIKUYU LADS AND GIRLS BEFORE AND AFTER INITIATION INTO ADULTHOOD

When performed at the age of puberty circumcision is regarded as initiation into manhood. Among many African peoples the girls also undergo the operation, and it is customary for both sexes to assume some sort of disguise in order to escape injury from maleficent powers at a critical time. Thus the Kikuyu boys (bottom) smear their bodies with white earth, and the girls cover theirs with wire and bead ornamentation and numbers of whistles. Above is a company of Kikuyu men who have passed manhood initiation and are admitted to the tribal councils.



Paul L. Hoefler

PROTECTIVE ARMOUR AGAINST DIVINE WRATH AT A CRITICAL PERIOD OF LIFE

Among most primitive peoples the ceremonial attending circumcision and initiation into manhood is enveloped in the utmost secrecy, the initiates being bound by stringent oaths to reveal nothing of what has happened. For a considerable period following the operation, usually the time required for the healing of their wounds, lads are obliged to wear masks or costumes indicative of what has happened and symbolising that sexually they are taboo. The characteristic insignia of the Nandi boys in this condition is the Kimaranguchet head-dress shown here, without which they are not allowed to appear in public for several weeks. They must always carry bows and arrows with which to shoot small birds to hang in the rigging of these odd contrivances.

Wide World Photos

INNOCENT SANCTIFICATION OF THE FACULTIES OF LIFE

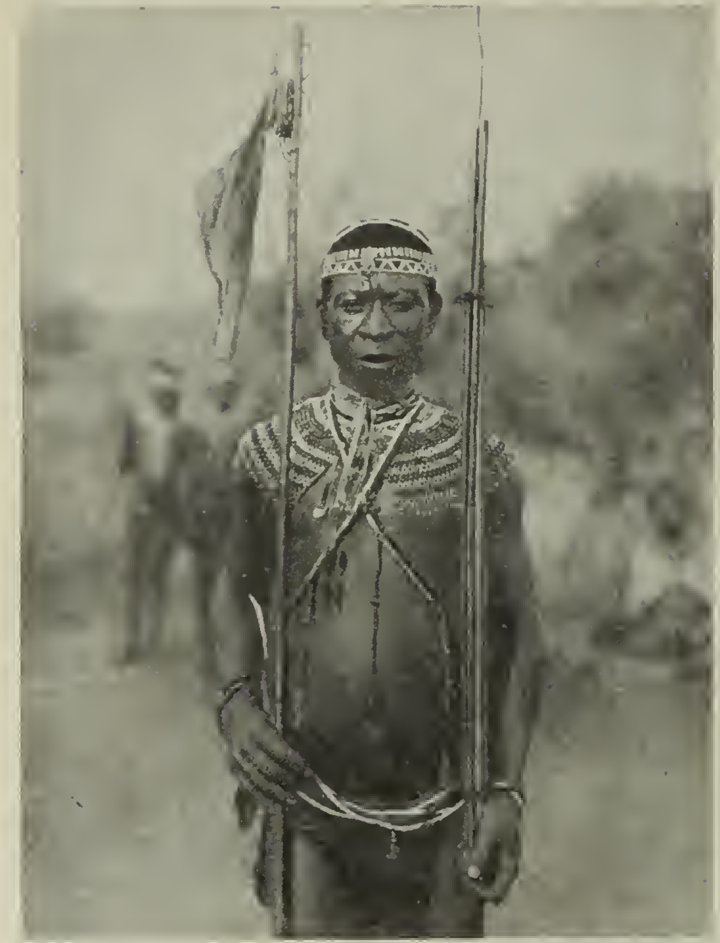
The association between the rite of circumcision and the general principle of phallic worship is so obvious as to call for no commentary. The boys shown here belong to the Habbe tribe, and having newly undergone the operation are bringing offerings to a phallic shrine which they have previously decorated with grass and flowers. Generally the rite may be regarded as a sacrifice of the part for the whole made to the gods to avert their anger at the breaking of the sexual taboo implied by the entrance of the youth into manhood.

as significant of entrance into manhood, and is occasionally connected with ceremonies which are supposed to ensure virility. Among the Kaffirs of South Africa the boy is flogged savagely, and the Lulu cast cayenne pepper on his wounds. In some cases the newly circumcised are not only exempt from all labour, but can break the usual taboos governing the sacredness of sex and private property, being permitted to steal and indulge in moral laxity for weeks after the ceremony.

In order to avoid the attention of evil spirits certain barbarous tribes dress their boys as women at the period of circumcision, hoping by this means to ensure that the vindictive powers will mistake them for girls and refrain from injuring them at a critical time. In East Africa Masai boys, when circumcised, are dressed in female garments reaching to the ground, and wear earrings in their ears. They actually 'make-up' as women, painting their lips and whitening their faces with chalk to give them a feminine appearance. They continue to wear women's garb until their wounds have healed, after which they are looked upon as men, are shaved for the first time, and assume the paraphernalia of warriors.

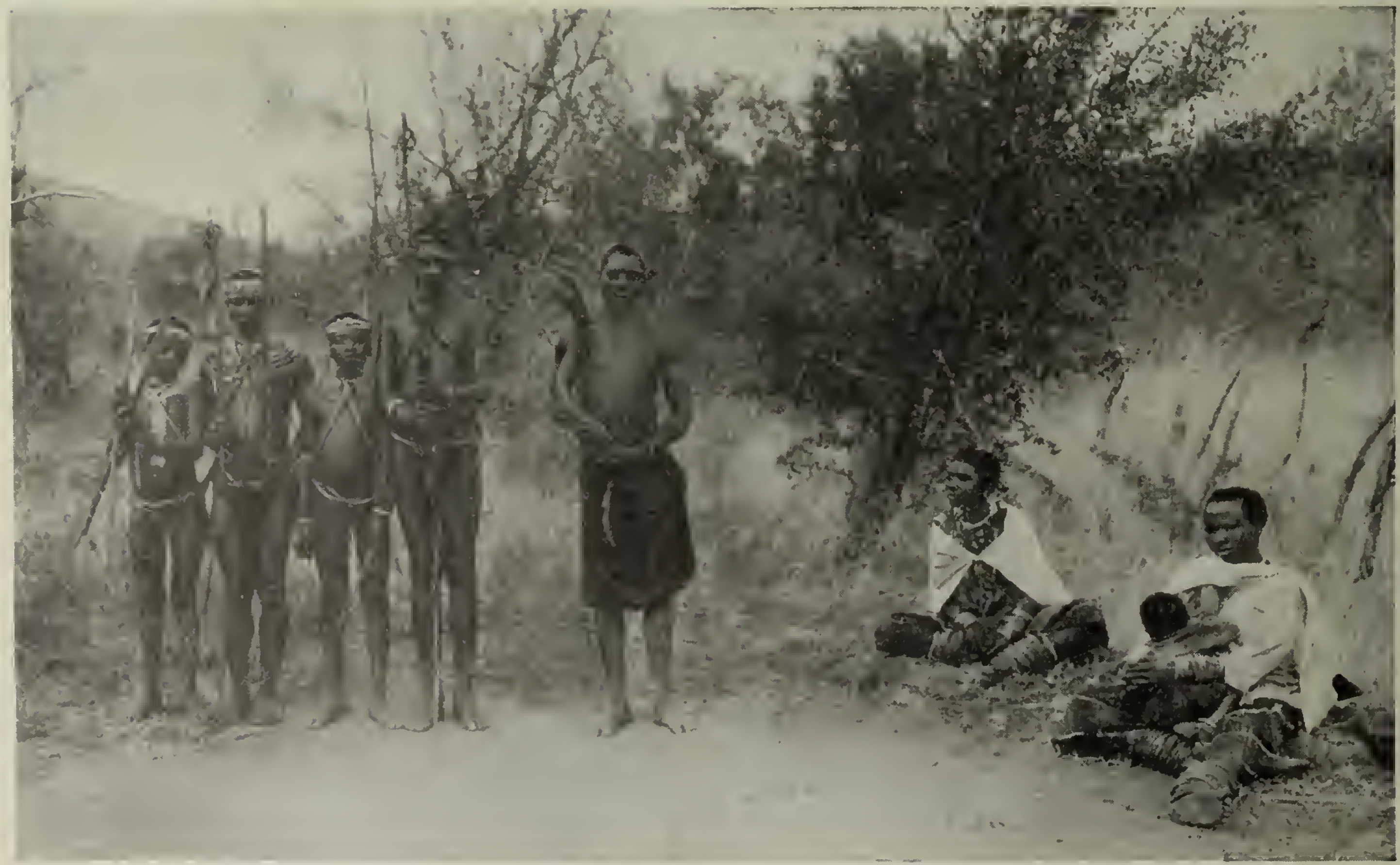
Among the Nandi people of British East Africa boys about to be circumcised are visited by the young girls of the tribe, who lend them some of their own clothing and ornaments. These the lads wear until the operation is over, when they exchange the girls' clothes for the garments of women, which, together with the usual ornaments, are provided by their mothers, and they continue to strut about in feminine apparel for months afterwards, assuming all the airs and graces of the other sex. Among the Nandi tribe girls are also circumcised, and perhaps poetic justice as much as the law of opposites dictates that they attire themselves in men's garments and carry war-clubs in their hands.

Circumcision among the Australian blackfellows is an arduous and serious affair for the juvenile sufferer. Before a young man can take a wife he has to be what the blacks call 'made a man of.'



When a lad is to be initiated into manhood he is taken to the bush, where a number of older men are gathered, each with stick in hand. The boy is made to run through the bush until he drops with exhaustion. He is then beaten, and made to rise and run about for hours. When well-nigh dead with fatigue, a fire is made, and the operation of circumcision is very roughly performed by cutting with two bits of glass. After the wound has healed a further operation is performed. The lad after the foregoing ceremony is put on oath not to reveal what has happened to the younger ones of his acquaintance, and is then left to recover under charge of an old man or woman, who feeds and attends to him.

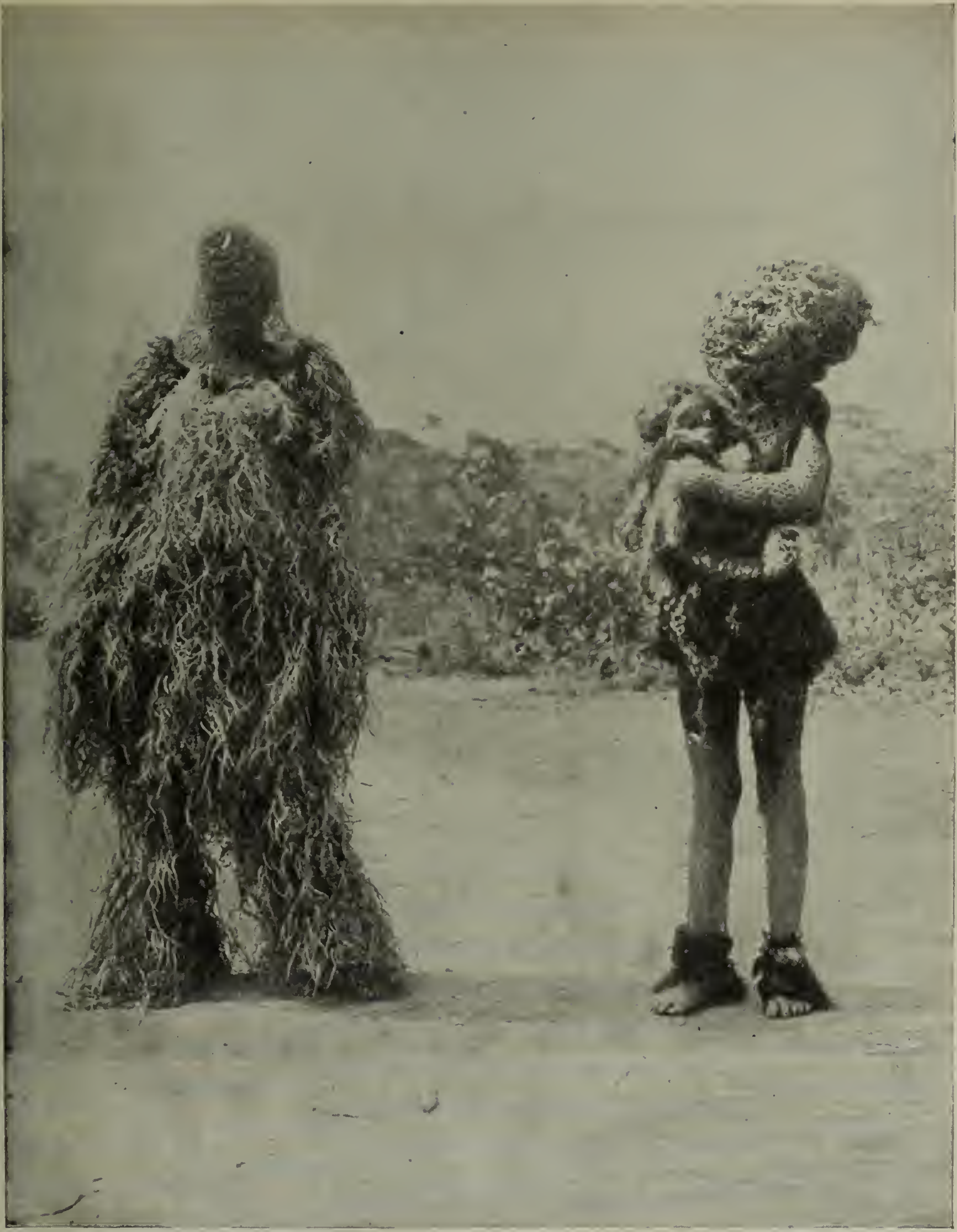
When he is well, he may again show his face in the tribe and may choose a wife. Meanwhile a wooden mask is worn by the patient, and for fourteen days he has to endure this without showing his face to anyone. Every line on the mask is eloquent of the wearer's condition, signifying why the lad is wearing it and that he is taboo sexually. During the time the lad wears the mask his elderly guardian feeds him by means of a tube thrust under it and into the mouth. In some Australian tribes the young man just circumcised binds up the wounded organ with a strip of kangaroo hide, which the girl who afterwards marries him keeps as a treasured possession for the remainder of her life.



L. T. Rinder

CUSTODIANS AND PUPILS OF A BASUTO CIRCUMCISION SCHOOL

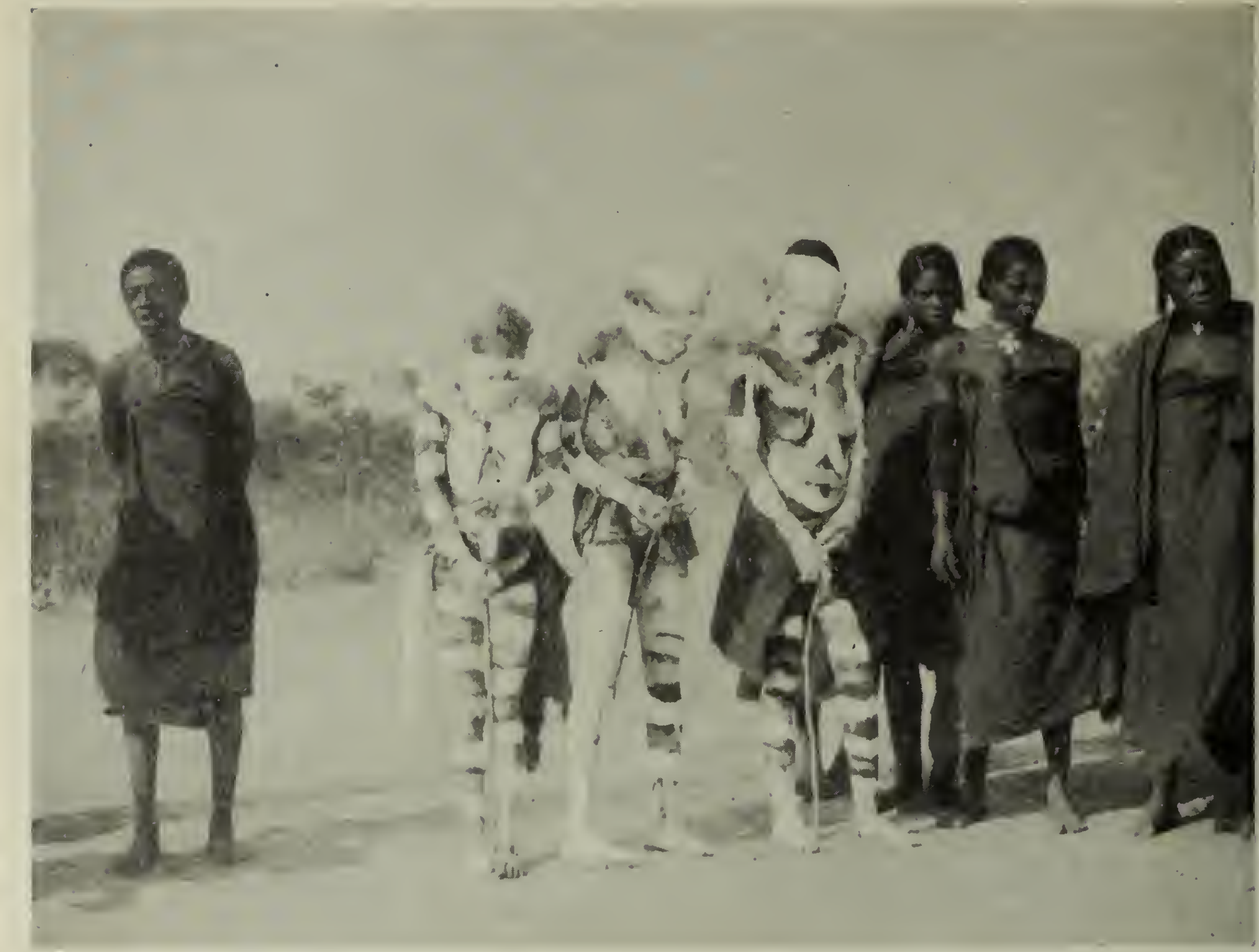
Native peoples are extremely secretive regarding the rites connected with initiation into manhood, and photographs of the subject are very rare. The Basutos have what may be called circumcision schools, where lads on attaining puberty undergo initiation. Two Basuto boys are returning with their three guards from such a school wearing the regalia prescribed for the rites; the beadwork, wands and horns all have their proper significance. Above is a photograph of one of the guards, showing the beadwork in greater detail.



E.N.A.

FANTASTIC DISGUISE FOR INITIATES IN PORTUGUESE WEST AFRICA

Extravagant precautions against violation of the secrecy surrounding the rites of circumcision are taken by the natives of eastern and central Angola. The boys are isolated in the Bush for three months, during which time they make these all-enveloping costumes and masks to be worn at the wild celebrations attending the final initiation ceremony. Throughout, the boys undergo great hardship; food is scanty, fires are forbidden and floggings are frequent. After circumcision the boys of one tribe lie in small cages for two weeks



CEREMONIAL ATTIRE OF ANGOLA GIRLS DURING INITIATION RITES

Although not completely screened from public gaze like the Angola boy candidates for circumcision shown in page 937, Angola girl neophytes undergoing the corresponding ceremonies of initiation for their sex are also protected by a certain amount of disguise. Their bodies are completely covered with horizontal stripes of brown and white clay. During the entire proceedings they are watched over by custodians. This and the preceding photograph were taken during the Frederick H. Rawson–Chicago Field Museum Expedition to West Africa in 1930–31.

A variety of circumcision among females, otherwise known as cliterodectomy, prevails among certain peoples in Africa, and especially in Australia, where it is still largely practised. Among the Arunta and Ilpirra a girl before marriage is led into the bush by the bridegroom, accompanied by some of the men of the tribe who under their system of taboo might have been her lawful husbands, and by a maternal uncle, who performs the operation with a stone knife. Intimacy is then indulged in by the men with the girl, who is afterwards decorated and led to the hut by her husband, free to engage in the sexual life. In the Kaitish tribe the operation is performed by an elder sister of the girl. Among the Warramungas the ceremony takes a different form. The husband lies down with a brother on each side of him, the girl is laid across them by an elder sister, and the operation is then performed by a maternal aunt in the presence of all the men and women of the tribe.

Among the Tenda of French Guinea the operation is performed by a member of a secret society, and in the French Niger country such women as are admitted to secret societies—and these are few—are 'circumcised,' as are the men. In some African tribes the girls are made to sit on cones in order to produce a similar effect. The idea behind female circumcision appears to be that it would be unlucky to allow a girl to enter the wedded state until a preliminary operation had been performed, as the initial act of wedded life would assuredly bring bad fortune to both spouses, marriage breaking a sex-taboo, as explained in the chapter on Various Forms of Marriage.

The actual significance of circumcision remains a good deal of a mystery, but generally we may regard it as a sacrifice of the part for the whole, made to the gods to avoid their wrath at the breaking of the sexual taboo implied by the entrance of the youth into manhood. Circumcision is frequently the central rite in puberty ceremonies, and, indeed, on entrance to many secret societies of a primitive type, and this strengthens the theory of its sacrificial or initiatory character.

SUPERSTITIONS ABOUT THE HEAVENLY BODIES

This chapter is complementary to others on Common Beliefs About the Weather, and on Omens, Signs and Portents. An interesting point that emerges from the study of all three is that so many of the superstitions connected with astronomy and meteorology have their origin in sound folk-observation—are indeed but the poetical explanation of phenomena, made before the dawn of science.

It is necessary to glance backward for a moment if we are properly to understand the full significance of our modern superstitions regarding sun, moon and stars and all the lore which springs from them. The immovable brilliance of the fixed stars must have imprinted itself upon the eye and the imagination of man almost from the first, must have intrigued and puzzled him, or have been accepted by him without emotion as a phenomenon duly to be explained away in terms of myth.

He seems to have invested the planets not only with godhead but with sex as well. The Sun was male and the Moon female. But as he advanced in knowledge and observation he included the lesser lights in the celestial family. He found that Venus and Mercury never travelled beyond a certain limit, and these he associated with the Sun as wife and son respectively. Still later, taking the Earth as the centre of the Universe, he arranged the Moon, Mercury and Venus to the dexter side of the Sun, regarding their alternation as morning and evening stars as fortunate or the reverse. Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, which seemed to him less under the control of the central luminary, he relegated to the sinister sphere, permitting to Jupiter, however, a less bad eminence because of his chiefship among the three—an exception which finally resulted in something of a beneficent reputation being achieved for that planet. Mars and Saturn, however, were definitely evil, the first a quick-moving, restless orb of destructive tendencies, the other an ancient wizard of dire proclivities.

The life of early man was closely interrelated with the incidence of solar and lunar phenomena. Changes of temperature and weather affected his hunting expeditions. The behaviour of the moon and its connexion with the tides strongly influenced his imagination, and in the event begot a whole folklore of its own. It is now clear, too, that she was regarded as the repository of magic, the great tank or reservoir whence the mystic influence of 'mana,' 'orenda' or faery emanated, and she had influence upon childbirth as the place whence new souls were supposed to be sent to inhabit earthly bodies.

The idea that the stars are gods or great men translated to the heavens is widespread among savages and, in a measure, lies at the very roots of the superstitions concerning them. The constellations are frequently supposed to represent personages, and some, especially in Australia, are chiefly connected with the totemic system of several of the tribes. The stars, among primitive people, have a useful significance and perform a more important function than the sun, for by their movements the

Wide World Photos

HEDGED ROUND BY LUNAR SUPERSTITION

That the occurrence of the new moon may be a critical moment in human life is a widespread idea. An odd example is found among the Mossi tribe in West Africa, who believe that if their king, the Yatanga Naba, should ever come face to face with the Moro Naba, another potentate in the same region, one of the two will die before the next new moon.

Dorien Leigh

ABSORBING VITAL POWER FROM THE MIRRORED IMAGE OF THE MOON

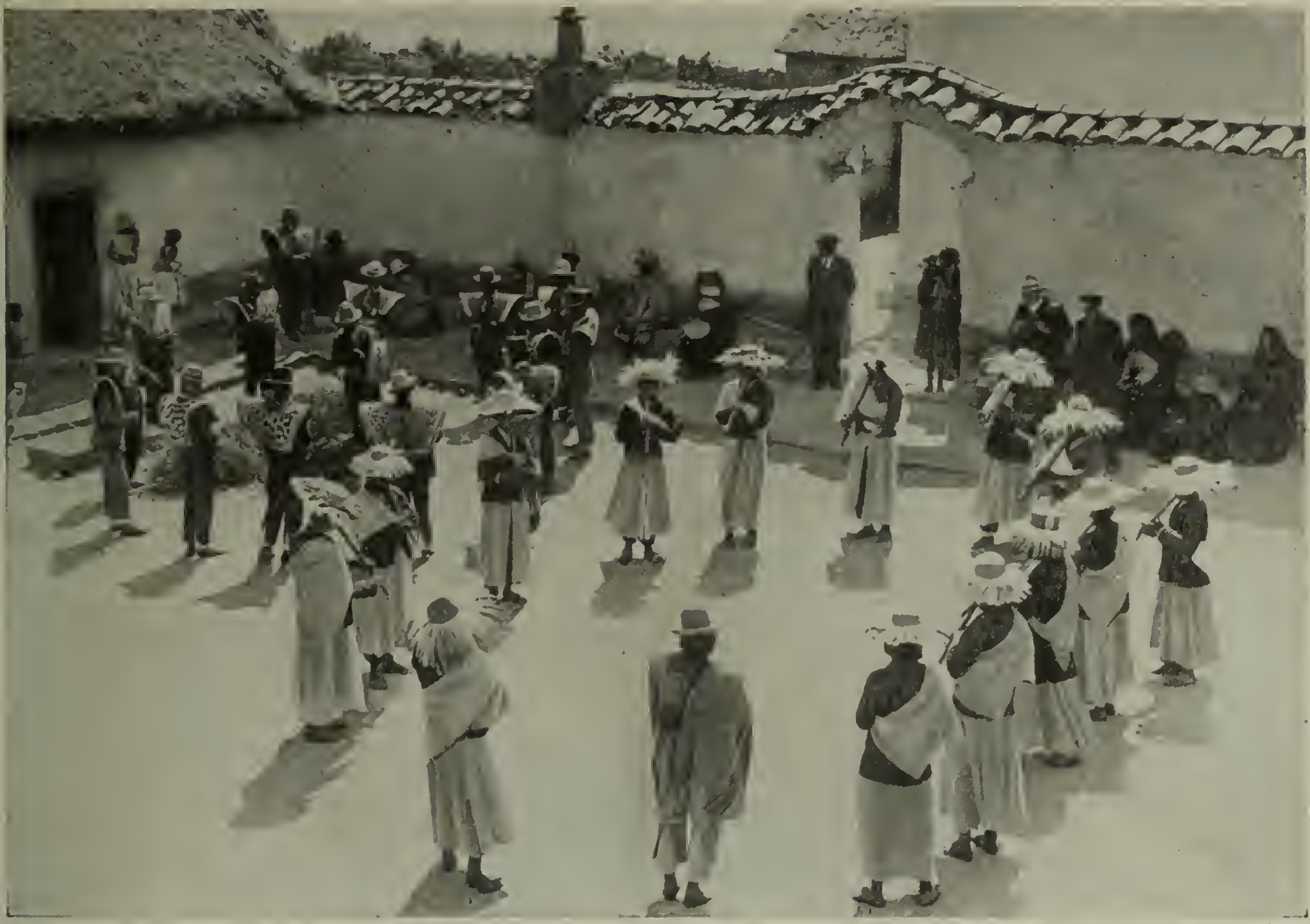
The festival of the full moon (see pages 614 and 615) is one of great importance in the religious calendar of the Hindus, who hold firmly to the doctrine of lunar sympathy with human life. They believe that the vital influence of the luminary is imparted to fluid in which the moon is mirrored, and in north India they will fill a basin with water, milk or oil and, after gazing steadfastly at the reflection, shut their eyes and gulp the fluid down, thereby absorbing health and longevity.

times of feasts and ceremonies are determined, and they serve as a kind of calendar by means of which the savage agriculturist can regulate the cultivation of the soil. Thus they came to have a very real meaning for early man. Strange omens and signs connected with them had, also, a significance which, naturally, could not be ignored.

Once the idea of personality, of godhead, had been connected with the planets, they were regarded as powerful enchanters or deities who were constantly striving to direct the actions of man in such a manner as to bring them into harmony with some vaster plan of their own. The idea of a cosmic symphony had been established. Man must work in harmony with the higher powers.

Although, strangely enough, much of the folklore regarding the moon has survived in civilized Europe, that connected with the sun has almost entirely disappeared, or has become so distorted as to be unrecognizable. It is, indeed, to the beliefs of savage peoples that we must turn if we seek for sun lore to-day. Many people in a state of barbarism or semi-civilization still worship the sun; but we are not here concerned with sun-worship as a religious cult, but with those superstitions proper which still survive in connexion with the luminary, and which may be called the débris of ideas associated with his former worship.

OATHS made by the sun are still common in India, where such an oath is considered to pledge the person who takes it to the strictest veracity. This is reminiscent of the English Elizabethan vow ' by this light.' It is very generally believed in India that the sun can cure diseases such as asthma, consumption and leprosy. Superstitions connected with eclipses of the sun are encountered in almost all parts of the world. The Eskimo believe that a solar eclipse is a sign that the ' great dog ' of darkness has swallowed the sun, and in order to make him disgorge the heavenly lamp they unmercifully thrash their sledge dogs, his ' children.' The Chinese beat gongs and set off crackers to scare away the dragon of darkness which they imagine is trying to swallow the sun. The Birhors of Chota Nagpur, in India, think that an eclipse signifies the arrest of the sun by bailiffs, who are at length forcibly ejected. The Bhainas of the Central Provinces of India think that the sun



Ewing Galloway

BOLIVIAN SOLAR FESTIVAL ON THE ISLAND OF THE SUN

The Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca remains the centre of the sun worship that was the chief cult of the once great Inca race, and those of their degenerate descendants, the Bolivian Indians, who are not yet Christianised still gather here for solar festivals. The celebrations include a magico-religious sun dance. The curious ritual dress of the celebrants includes a tabard-like surcoat, slit trousers showing white under-drawers, white skirts and shawls, and head-dresses suggesting a rayed solar disk. See also the colour plate facing page 773.

dies during an eclipse, and perform the same rites of mourning which they accord to a human being. The Bhunijis, a Dravidian tribe, also of the Central Indian Provinces, believe that the sun is of special assistance to them in paying off their debts, probably because of the 'golden' nature of the luminary, and when they have succeeded in discharging an obligation they offer a coconut to the orb of day as a mark of gratitude.

The Chinese believe that if the sun is allowed to shine on a corpse it will infuse it with 'yin,' or positive force, and that the lower soul which remains in the dead will become a vampire and suck the blood of the living. Some peoples think that the rays of the sun expedite a woman's delivery in childbed, although in the Indian Deccan they are held to be injurious to her. Before a Hindu takes his daily bath he throws water towards the sun as a libation—an ancient practice. The influence of the rising sun is believed in China to be beneficial to those who walk in its early rays.

The remnants of sun lore among us dictate that playing-cards shall be dealt 'with the sun,' that is, in the direction in which its course runs, from 'right' to 'left.' Also we pass the port sun-wise. In Iceland, on much the same principle, a funeral procession passes round the north side of a church to the place of burial on the south. Fishermen in the Orkneys and Shetlands turn their boats 'with the sun.' To do any act whilst walking 'widdershins,' or against the course of the sun, is still considered in Scotland a rather uncanny or unlucky action.

SOME peoples believe that, just as there is a man or animal in the moon, so there is in the sun. The Chinese imagine that a cock with three legs lives in the sun, no doubt an idealised form of the earthly rooster whose crow puts all evil things of darkness to flight. Certain American Indians think that a Red Man dwells in the sun, while others conceive of the sun-dweller in the guise of a golden bird.

With moon lore we reach a much richer province of superstition. Formerly in Britain the moon was regarded as the home of a man who had cut faggots on Sunday and was forced to dwell there in consequence, his outline being discerned in the orb of night. This belief is also current in Germany. The

SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA

[illegible] Shepstone

STONEY INDIANS SUN DANCING

The sun is still regarded as having considerable influence on human affairs among the North American Indians, and symbolic dances in honour of that luminary are still performed, notably among the Assiniboin tribe. This Stoney Indian and his squaw (members of the Assiniboins) are participating in a sun dance

American Indians think that a mystical hare inhabits the moon, and the Chinese believe in a jade-like sun-hare, which mixes the elixir of life there in her mysterious mortar. The Melanesians have a well-defined theory that the moon is the repository of life-force or 'mana,' the region from which all human soul-force proceeds and to which it returns after death. The Jews have a legend that Jacob lives in the moon, and the Maoris of New Zealand that a certain Rona fell into the moon and remains there to this day.

Even today the superstition flourishes throughout Britain that it is unlucky to see the new moon through glass, or without turning one's loose silver in one's pocket, silver being anciently regarded as a substance of lunar origin and virtue. In some districts people look at the new moon through a silk handkerchief, the threads multiplying the vision. and as many moons as they see betoken the number of years they will remain unmarried. The Chinese expose mirrors to the rays of the moon, as they believe that the dews of night which condense on their surface come from the satellite and have a magical efficacy.

Saturday's moon is unlucky in England, while Monday's is auspicious, probably because the latter is its appropriate day. At Whitby, when the orb is surrounded by a halo with watery clouds, the seafaring folk are wont to say that a change of weather is due, as ' the moon dogs ' are about. The notion that the weather changes with the moon's quarters is still commonly current in these islands among the unsophisticated, and when the planet takes the shape of a boat, it is considered a sign of fair weather or the reverse, according to the locality. If her horns seem sharp, windy weather is usually indicated.

In the Vosges mountains at the present day people affirm that wood cut at the new moon does not dry, and in Colombia, in South America, they think that corn should only be sown or timber cut when the moon is on the wane, as the waxing moon draws the sap downward, leaving the tree dry. The Wabondei of East Africa hold the very opposite view. In many countries the moon is regarded as the principal source of all moisture and even of vegetable growth. In the Hebrides peats will not burn, it is thought, if cut when the moon is waxing.

STILL further evidence of the belief in the moon's control over the crops is forthcoming from the researches of Madame Kolisko of the Anthroposophical Society, who stated in a lecture recently delivered at Marienstein in Germany that peas planted two days before the full moon actually yielded two and a half times as much as an equal amount planted before the new moon, the ratios in the case of tomatoes being 36 to 20, in beans 18 to 12, and in cabbage $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. So much for the justification of old ' superstitions,' which may prove to have been founded on sound folk-observation! Many German peasants, the Finns and the Esthonians sow corn when the moon is waxing and root-crops when it is waning.

In Lithuania it is maintained that boys should be weaned on a waxing and girls on a waning moon, so that the former should grow sturdily and the latter become slender. Cornish people believe that if a child be born between an old and a new moon he will not thrive, and the saying obtains: 'No moon, no man'; they also think that the next birth in the family will be that of a girl.

In many parts of Britain shooting stars were formerly believed to be the souls of the newly dead, swooping through the night to the Other-world. The Chinese severely condemn any disrespect shown to the stars, by word or deed. Chinese babies who cry too much are thought to be plagued by the influence of certain minor stars, which are sometimes shot at with arrows to punish them for tormenting the infants. The Indians of the South American pampas believe the stars are souls of the departed, who wander about the sky till sunrise.

When the Akamba of Eastern Africa behold a shooting star fall near a sacred place they say that the god Engai has descended to the shrine to ask for food, and hasten to the spot with supplies. This would seem to indicate that the stars were regarded as gods as well as the spirits of the dead. But star-lore is nowadays almost entirely a-wanting, although that of the greater luminaries is still common.

LONDON'S ANCIENT CUSTOMS

MANY books would be required to exhaust the subject of the ancient and curious customs that are still observed in London. Here only the more outstanding of them are described. Others are dealt with in such chapters as Beating the Bounds, and May Day and the May Pole. A separate chapter, Historic Customs of English Towns, is concerned with civic observances elsewhere than in London

TRULY there is no city in the world like London's famous square mile. After nearly a thousand years of history it is renewing its youth as it is renewing its dress in stone and concrete. But many of its old landmarks remain, and many of its ancient customs. 'London,' wrote a Guildhall clerk of the fourteenth century, 'is the capital and watch-tower of the whole realm, from the government thereof other cities and places do take example,' and the customs attending the election of the Chief Magistrate every Michaelmas Day give point to this expression of civic pride.

The costumes worn are of medieval precedent and splendour. Age-long prescriptions govern every stage of the proceedings, which begin with the summoning of Masters, Wardens and liverymen of the various guilds to Guildhall. Hither in state from the Mansion House come the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and other officials in flowing robes and wearing their chains of office. To each on his arrival is presented a posy of flowers, a reminder of days less scrupulously hygienic than our own.

Follows in prescribed order a procession to the church of S. Lawrence Jewry. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs sit in a great pew with a civic throne in it, and above it a window representing the Judgement of Solomon. The other members of the Corporation having taken their allotted seats the Communion Service is proceeded with and a sermon is preached by the Lord Mayor's chaplain.

In the order in which they came they all now return to Guildhall. Across the courtyard is set a screen with many doors, each attended by a beadle wearing a gold-laced three-cornered hat and bearing a mace. The beadles' duty is to see that all pass through their allotted doors and that none but those with the right to wear the livery and therefore entitled to vote gain entry.

The floor of the hustings or dais at the east end of the Great Hall is strewn with sweet-smelling herbs. When the company has assembled, silence is called for by the Common Crier, who directs all present to uncover, and warns any stranger who may have ventured in to depart on pain of imprisonment.

Common Hall is opened by a time-honoured proclamation and then, with a minutely prescribed ceremonial, during which the Lord Mayor and Senior Aldermen retire, the liverymen record their votes for two chosen aldermen, one of whom is afterwards selected by the aldermen to occupy the civic chair.

THE appointment having been confirmed on October 12 by the Lord Chancellor acting for the reigning sovereign, the Lord Mayor-Elect is formally admitted to office on November 8 at another notable ceremony known as the 'swearing-in.' At this he is presented with the crystal sceptre, seal, purse, sword,

Keystone

GESTURE OF GOOD WILL TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

To London, as the centre of the entire commercial world, universal peace is of paramount importance. Nowhere are the peace-making efforts of the League of Nations watched more closely, and to manifest the City's sympathetic interest the Lord Mayor in 1929 included in his Show a procession of representatives of the peoples adherent to the League

Keystone

CEREMONIAL POMP AND DIGNITY OF THE CITY'S ALDERMEN

Aldermen have formed part of the governing body of the City of London since the early thirteenth century. They are elected for life by the freemen of the wards over which they preside, and those of them who have served the office of sheriff are eligible for appointment to the mayoralty. On occasions of ceremony aldermen wear scarlet robes, ex-mayors having the Cap of Dignity attached to their gown. All carry nosegays for the reason given in page 946. Each alderman is a judge and magistrate for the whole City and ex officio a justice of the peace.

mace and other insignia. On the following day he is the chief figure in the historic procession popularly called the Lord Mayor's Show, which winds its circuitous way from Guildhall to the Law Courts, where he takes the prescribed oath before the Lord Chief Justice, returning by way of Westminster, where the Law Courts used to be.

Trumpeters proclaim the Lord Mayor's approach. He is attended by all the officers of the City. The massive crystal mace and Elizabethan sword (the only civic mace and sword carried upright) are borne before him. When on foot his train is borne by pages. In the procession he rides in a magnificent state coach drawn by six horses and with gorgeously dressed footmen mounted behind and walking beside it.

The day's display, a link with the ancient pageants in Cheap and the gay tourneys in Smithfield, reaches its climax at night with a great banquet at Guildhall. To this are invited the members of the Cabinet and about 800 of the most representative men and women of the time. The banquet is served in the Great Hall. It used to be the custom to distribute the usually substantial fragments of the feast among the poor on the next day, but the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs now entertain a large number of the poor in the East End instead.

The election of the Sheriffs by the liverymen on June 24 is attended by customs as impressive as those observed in the election of the Lord Mayor, who, in fact, must yield precedence of historic origin to these descendants of the pre-Conquest portreeve.

In the City the Lord Mayor takes precedence of everyone except the king. He is the first to be summoned to the Privy Council on a sovereign's death or abdication and his signature comes first in the proclamation of a new sovereign. When on state occasions the sovereign enters the City at Temple Bar he does so with the formal permission of the chief magistrate, who here hands to him the famous Pearl Sword, which is touched by the royal hand and at once returned.

The Lord Mayor is Admiral of the Port of London, and as such is piped on board any vessel he may visit. As heading the City Lieutenancy he may be called upon to lead on active service. No troops may pass through the City without his permission, and then only (except in the case of those units tracing descent from the old Trained Bands) on condition that they do so without beat of drum or colours flying. At regular intervals the password to the Tower is sent to the Lord Mayor under the sovereign's sign-manual.

The Lord Mayor has four bucks and four does presented to him annually from the royal demesnes, the Sheriffs three of each, and the Recorder, Chamberlain, Town Clerk, Common Serjeant and Remembrancer one of each. On the other hand it is the custom of the Corporation annually to present lengths of cloth to the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chamberlain, the Vice-Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary, the Home Secretary, the Town Clerk, and others.

The Lord Mayor is a trustee of S. Paul's cathedral, and every year the Corporation presents to the preachers in S. Paul's fifty-two bottles of sherry.

Associated with the Corporation are two curious rental customs. The quit rent of a piece of land in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, formerly known as Ficquet's Field or Ficquet's Croft, is settled by the annual delivery by the City Solicitor to the king's representative at the Law Courts of six horseshoes and 61 nails. In similar fashion the rent of a piece of land known early in the 13th century as The Moors, in Shropshire, is settled by the delivery of a billhook and hatchet. There is nothing but ancient custom to prescribe these nominal payments, for in neither case is the land identifiable.

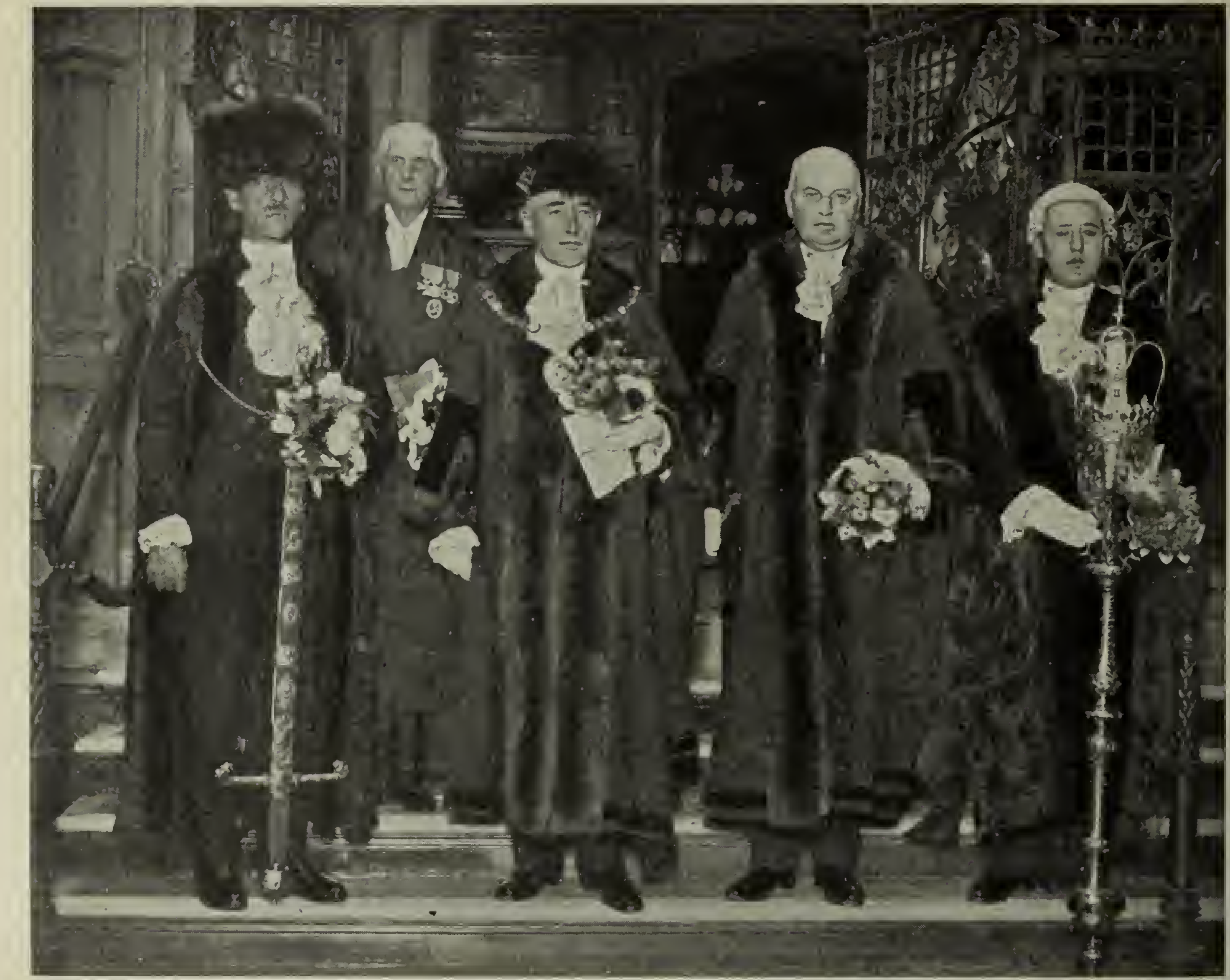
With the City Guilds or Livery Companies are associated many interesting customs. Some of the Guilds date back to Saxon times and had rules for church attendances, pilgrimages, celebration of masses for the dead, the maintenance of poor members, and the regulation of their respective trades. Each had its altar in one of the City churches and before this a light was kept burning, as is the lamp of Toc H in All Hallows, Barking, today. They retain the custom of the annual service and maintain their reputation for philanthropy.

Sport & General

Central Press

INVESTITURE OF THE LORD MAYOR AT GUILDHALL

After his appointment has been confirmed by the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor-elect is formally admitted to his high office, the ceremony of swearing-in taking place at Guildhall on November 8. He is then invested with the civic insignia, amongst these being the crystal sceptre (bottom), the purse and mace, and (top) the great Elizabethan pearl sword.



Central Press

'THE KING IS DEAD—LONG LIVE THE KING!'

London's chief magistrate is elected on Michaelmas Day, and a retiring Lord Mayor, still wearing the chain of office, is seen here on that occasion with his successor, the pair being flanked by the Sword-Bearer and the Serjeant-at-Mace. The mace is of crystal and gold and set with pearls, the head being fifteenth-century work and the mounts of the shaft early medieval. The posies are survivals from the days when aromatic herbs were provided for all the City officials as some prophylactic against infection with gaol fever.

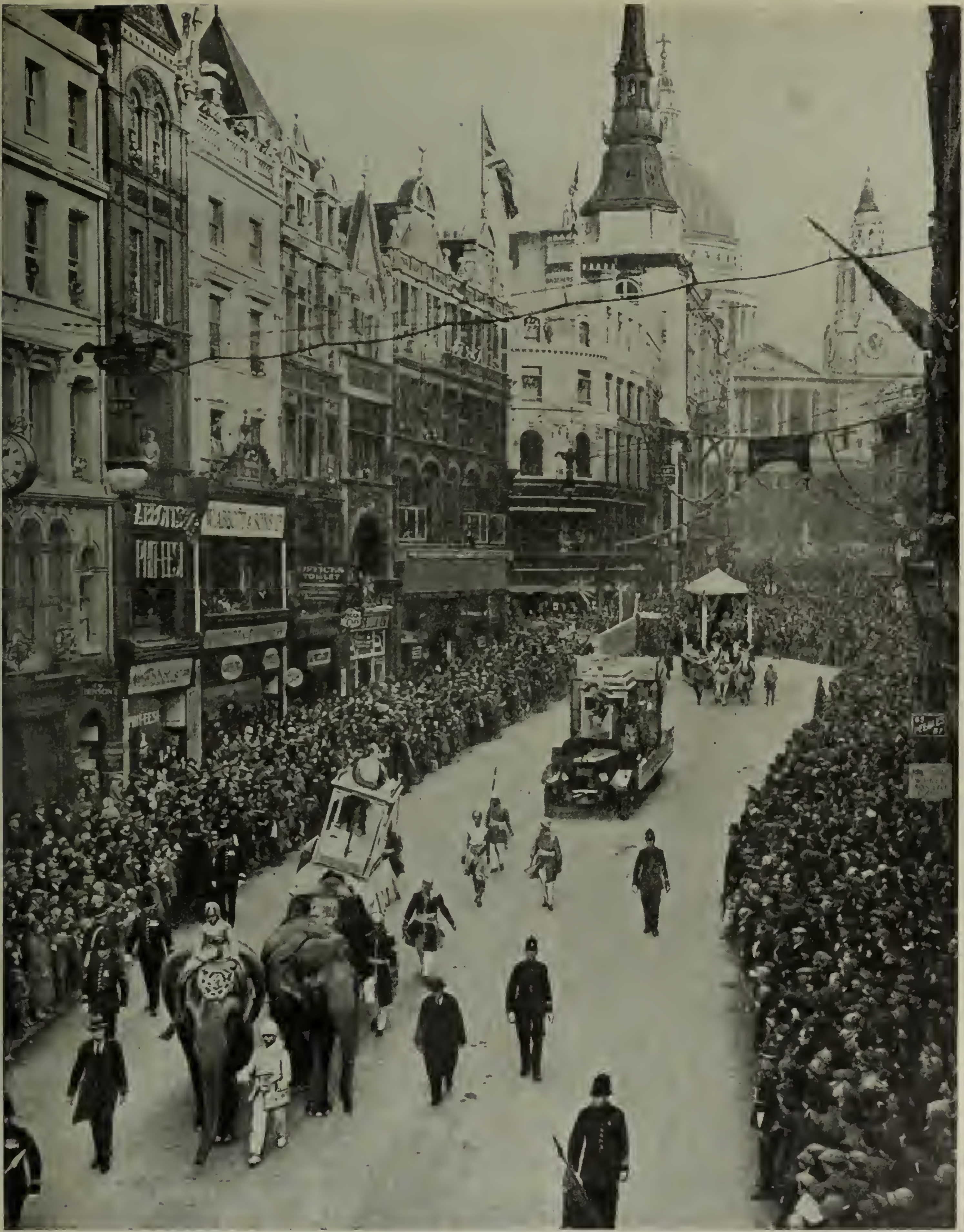
The Goldsmiths, Apothecaries, Founders, Fruiterers, Gunsmiths, Spectacle Makers, Clock Makers, Basket Makers, Plumbers, Joiners, Glaziers and Wheelwrights still take an active interest in their trades. At Goldsmiths' Hall every March, for example, takes place a ceremony called the Trial of the Pyx. This is a testing of gold and silver coins issued by the Mint. The custom is traceable to the days of Henry II and originated in the testing of coins made for the king by private firms. One gold coin of every 2,000 coined and one silver coin of every 60 lb. troy are put aside in a pyx (or box) for the purpose.

It is still in the power of the Bowyers' Company to fine and punish any householder if he and his family have not sufficient longbows.

Under a special licence the Dyers and Vintners share with the Crown and Eton College a right of ownership of the swans on the upper Thames. In July, when the young birds are about two months old, the swan warden of the Vintners, a representative of the Dyers, and the royal swanherd meet at Southwark bridge, and with their assistants proceed up river in state for the annual swan-upping, or marking of the cygnets on the upper mandible.

At the annual banquets of the Vintners a swan, carried by servers in medieval dress, is sung in, and there is a procession, headed by six musicians with flutes, round the hall in Upper Thames Street, to the old tune of 'All in a Garden Green.' A kindred custom is that of the Girdlers at their election ceremony, when the musicians with hautboys and flutes play a march from Handel's 'Scipio.'

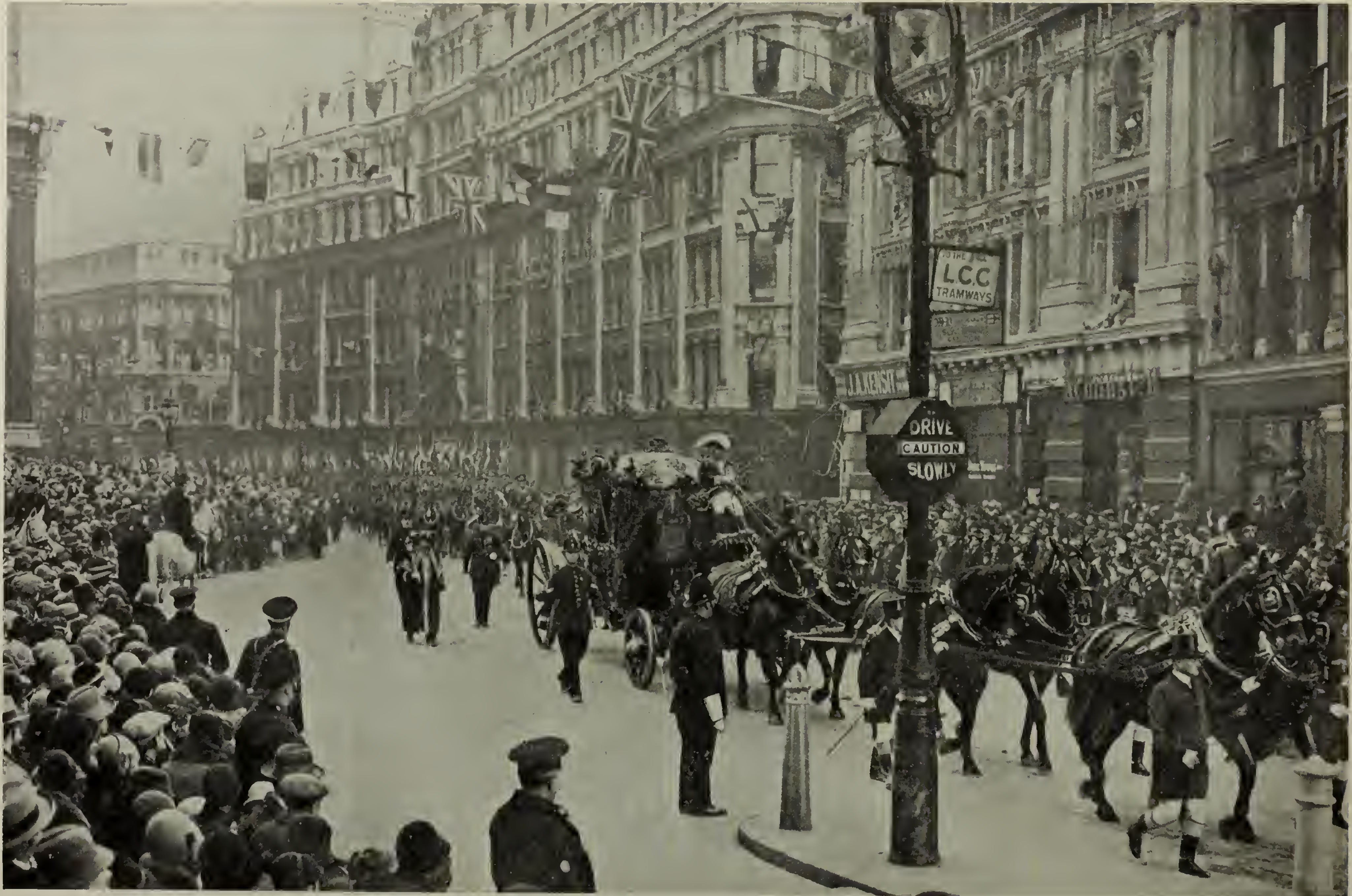
The Vintners, it may be added, preserve a custom allied to that of the strewing of the daïs in Guildhall with sweet-smelling herbs. On the way to their annual service at the church of S. James Garlickhithe, or that of S. Michael Paternoster, every member carries a posy of sweet herbs and the procession is



Fox Photos

TABLEAUX OF THE EMPIRE'S TRADE IN THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW

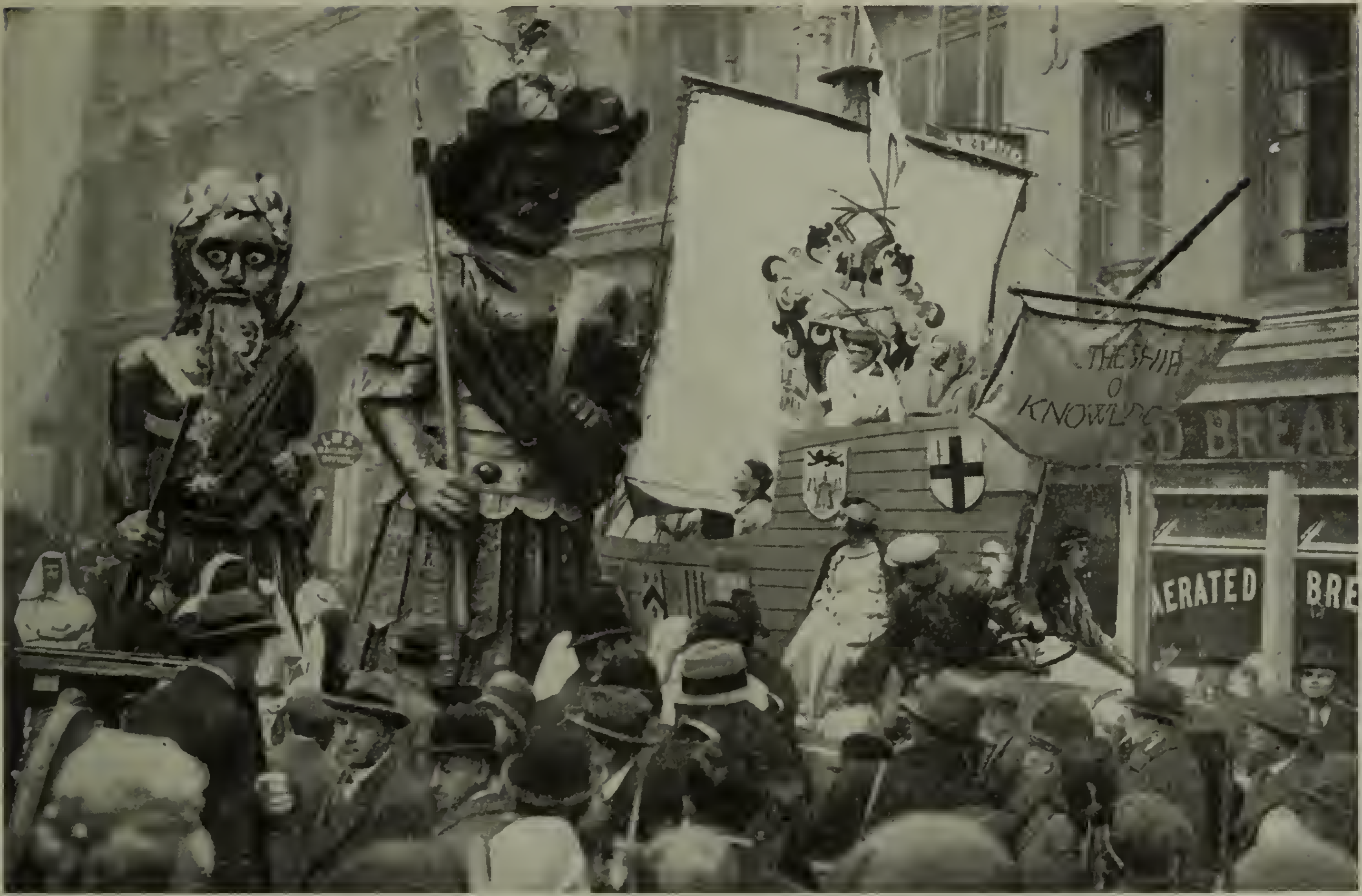
London's citizens have always loved pageantry, and the Lord Mayor's Show has lost none of its popular appeal after seven centuries. The procession starts from Guildhall and passes through those wards of the City with which the Lord Mayor has personal associations, then proceeding down Ludgate Hill to the Law Courts in the Strand and returning to Guildhall by the Embankment. The pageant usually illustrates some particular subject of interest to the Empire at large—on the occasion shown here the chief commercial interests of the Dominions and Colonies.



Central Press

CLIMAX OF THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW: LONDON'S CHIEF MAGISTRATE IN HIS STATE COACH

With brief intermissions under the Protectorate, the Lord Mayor's Show has been held every year since 1216, when, in compliance with King John's stipulation that the Lord Mayor of London should obtain the sovereign's consent before taking office, the citizens escorted their chief magistrate to the royal palace at Westminster. At first the mayor made the journey on horseback, hence the old name 'the Ridings.' In 1452 he travelled by barge, and for centuries thereafter the pageant was a river one, though latterly the return journey was made by road. The coach now used is a replica of the one first used in 1757: the body, hung on leather straps, not springs, is richly ornamented with carving and gilding, paintings of allegorical figures and heraldic devices.

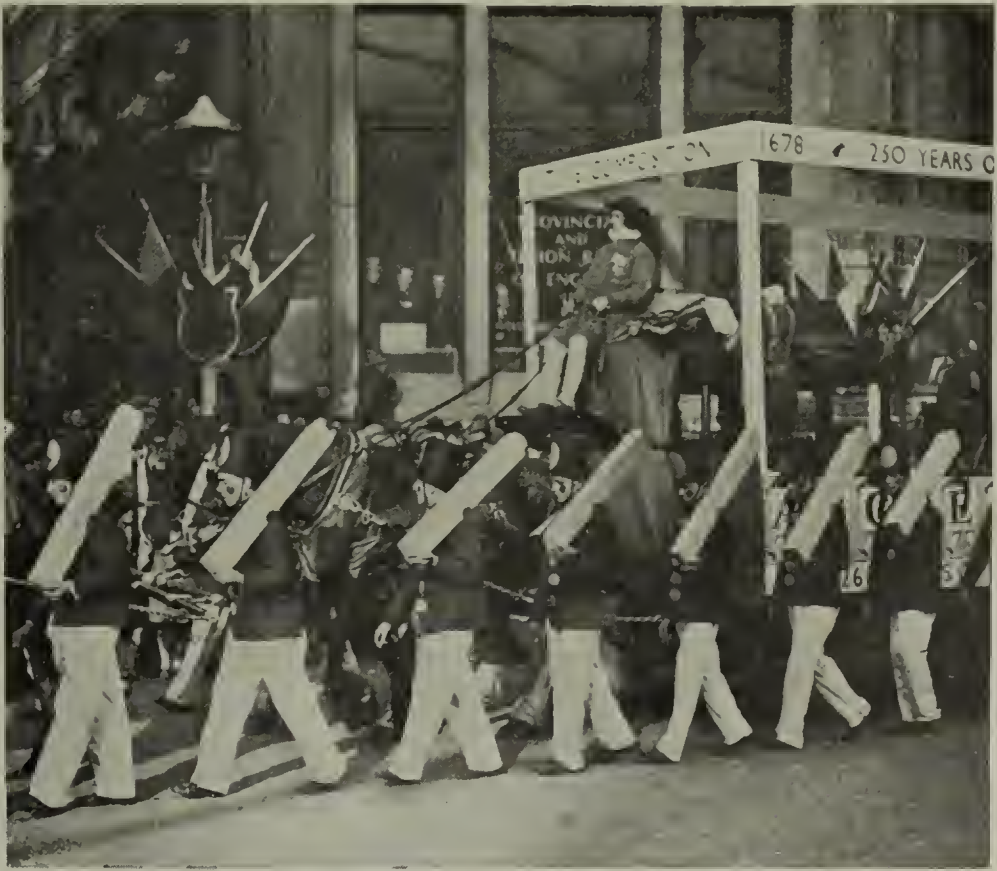


headed by a posse of tackle porters who, wearing silk hats and white aprons, sweep a pathway with new brooms.

Since the time of Edward I the Clothworkers have offered their guests a kind of spiced sponge cake called Corpus Christi cake. This is said to be made from the original recipe. A centuries-old custom is the annual presentation to the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress by the Fruiterers of a selection of choice fruits. The Gardeners mark the year by the presentation of a basket of flowers.

The Parish Clerks at their banquets wait upon one another and the Master is crowned with a head-dress resembling a mitre. Like most of the other guilds they have an annual church service, at which they wear cassocks and surplices.

Apart from these annual services and feastings of the city guilds there are a number of noteworthy customs of which the City churches are the scene. For example, that sturdy old



Keystone

LONDON'S OLD GIANTS TOUR THE CITY AGAIN

Gog and Magog belong to the fabulous history of London. Images of them in wickerwork and pasteboard were in Guildhall in the reign of Henry V, and figured annually in the Lord Mayor's Show. Falling into decay, they were replaced in 1708 by the present wooden figures, and the giants reappeared in a recent procession. Below is a clever linotype tableau, with toy soldiers carrying types.

Central Press

CITY HOSPITALITY AT ITS MOST MAGNIFICENT

Since 1501 the great banquet which concludes the ceremonial associated with the installation of the Lord Mayor has been given in Guildhall, the new Lord Mayor presiding, with the Lady Mayoress on his left hand and the retiring Lord Mayor on his right. The scene is one of dazzling splendour, owing to the display of the City plate and the brilliance of the military and civic uniforms worn by the guests, among whom the Prime Minister of the day is now included.

London chronicler, John Stow, is honoured by a special ceremony on or near the anniversary of his death. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and other dignitaries listen to a special address and afterwards join in a procession to the Stow monument in the church of S. Andrew Undershaft, when a new quill pen is placed in the hand of the effigy.

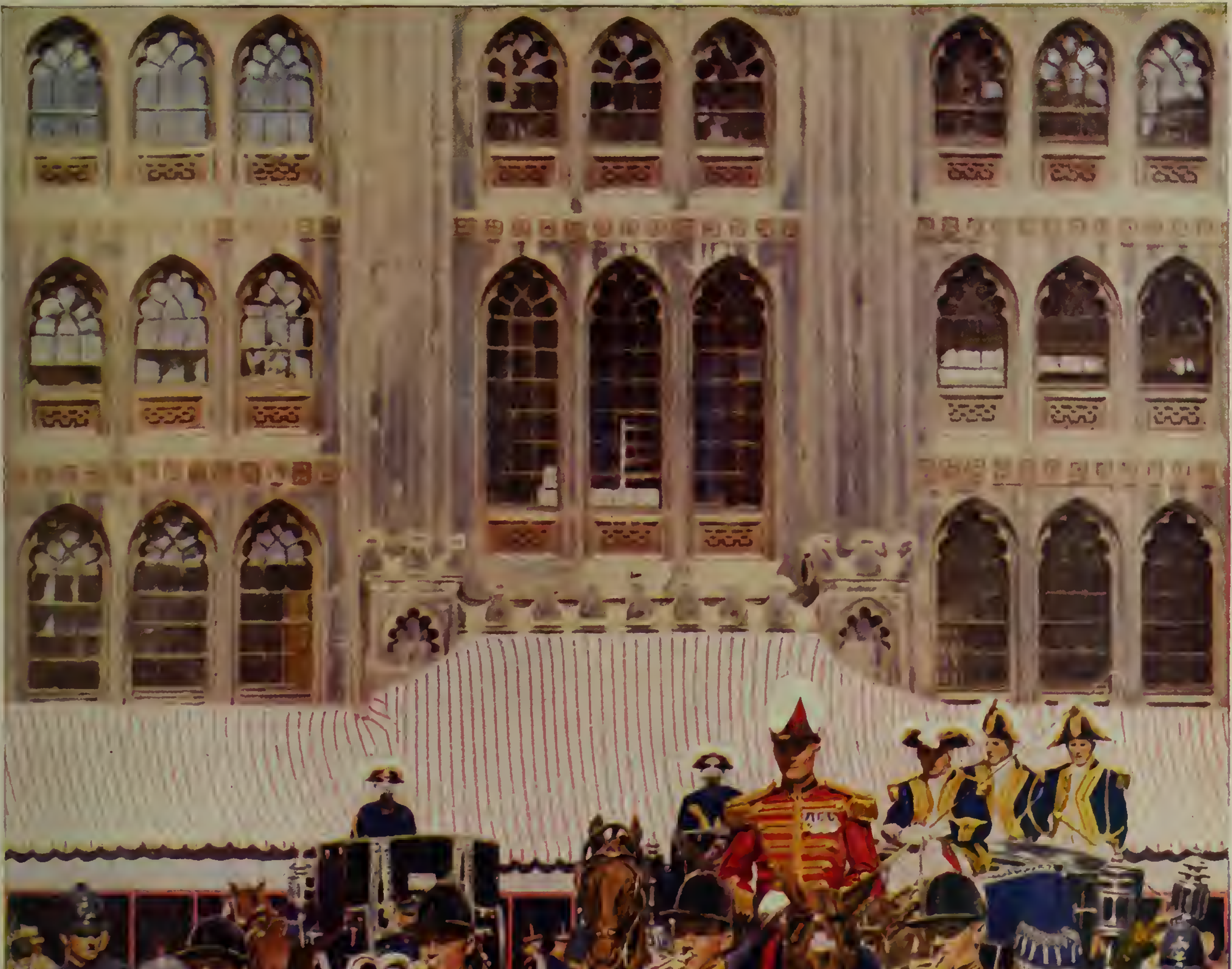
The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs also as a rule attend the Lion Sermon preached at S. Katherine Cree, on October 16, according to a bequest by a former Lord Mayor, Sir John Gayer, in celebration of his miraculous escape from a lion in a desert in 1630. Another service attended by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs is that at Christ Church, Newgate Street, on the Wednesday after Easter week, when is preached the annual Spital Sermon, a relic of the days when the priory and hospital of S. Mary Spital existed, and the sermon was preached under a pulpit cross which stood on or near what is now Spital Square, in Spitalfields. The sermon was formerly on the Resurrection, but now is a eulogy of the work done by the hospitals. The boys and girls of Christ's Hospital (the Bluecoat) Schools, now at Horsham and Hertford respectively, attend a special service at Christ Church on S. Matthew's Day and receive gifts of money from the Lord and Lady Mayoress.

Young people have an interest, too, in an old custom associated with S. Clement Danes in the Strand. This church is identified with the old rhyme 'Oranges and Lemons, say the bells of S. Clement's,' on account of its carillon. At a special service about the end of March hymns are sung and groups of children provide a musical accompaniment on handbells. The children are dressed in the Danish colours. Each child is given an orange and a lemon provided by the Danish colony in London. The rhyme is said to have been originated by the servants of the adjoining inn (now an inn only in name) presenting the residents with oranges and lemons on New Year's Day (old style) in the expectation of a corresponding gratuity.

An odd little book is given to everyone taking up the Freedom of the City. Entitled 'Some Rules for the Conduct of Life and a Few Cautions for the Use of Such Freemen of London as Take Apprentices,' it bears as motto, Haggai i. 5, 'Consider your ways.' Its thirty-six rules embody, with many scriptural quotations, the old ideals of the Guilds and the spirit of the City's motto, 'Domine Dirige Nos.'

For example ·

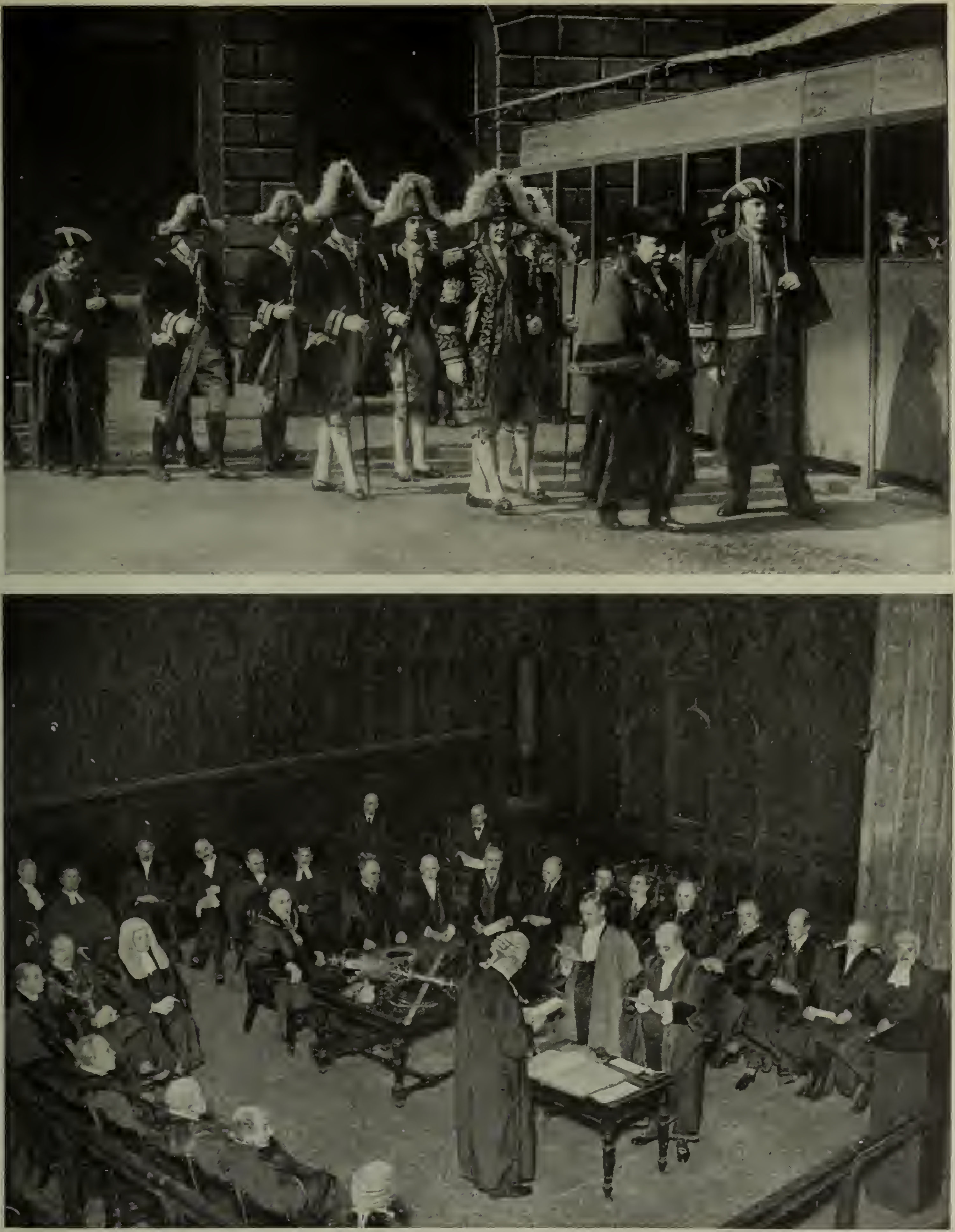
> Let the end you aim at be always good; be vigorous in making use of the proper means for the compassing of such an end; and in doing this be always very circumspect.



Keystone

HERALDS PROCLAIM ARRIVAL OF THE LORD MAYOR AT GUILDHALL

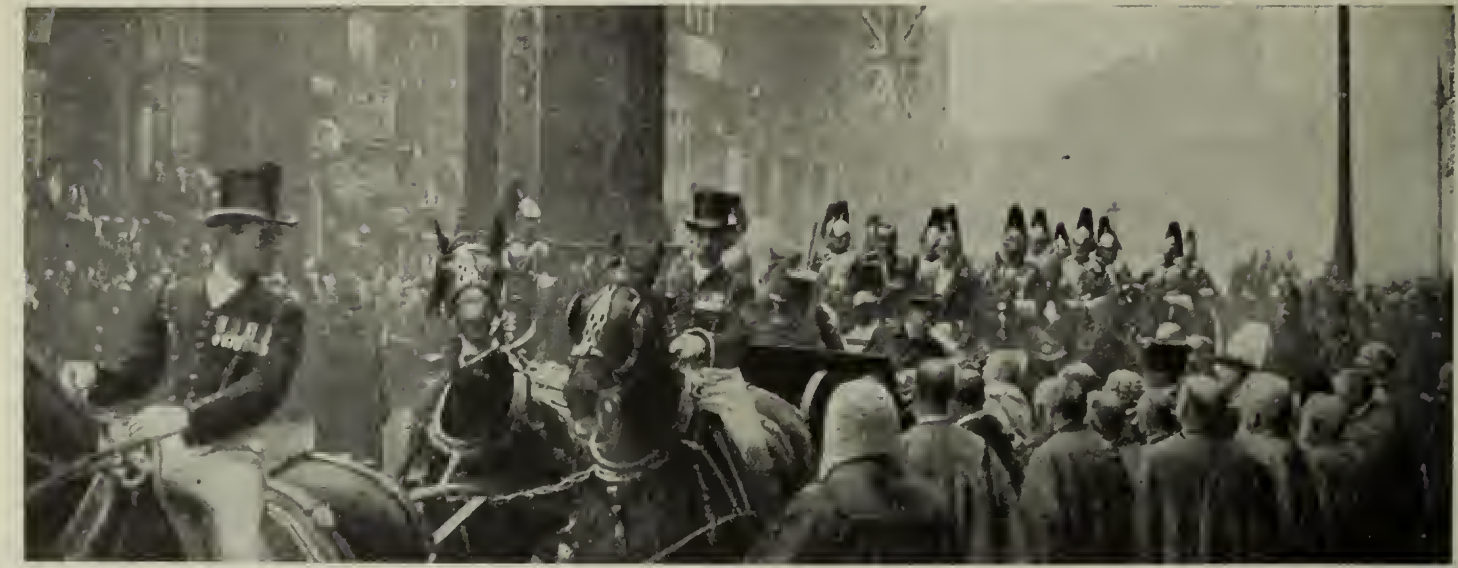
Splendid dignity characterises all the ceremonial proceedings connected with the election and installation of London's chief magistrate. Guildhall provides a stately setting for the pageantry, and the courtyard presents a brilliant spectacle at the stirring moment when dismounted trumpeters of the Household Cavalry, in their gorgeous uniforms of scarlet and gold, sound a fanfare to proclaim the arrival of the new Lord Mayor at the historic home of the City Corporation, whither the Sheriffs in their state coaches have preceded him.



Central Press

ELECTION AND INSTALLATION OF THE CITY SHERIFFS

By an act of Common Council of 1748 the right of election of the sheriffs—of whom there must be two—is vested in the Livery. Each company has its own polling booth, in front of which a sheriff is seen passing (top) attended by his footmen in state livery. The sheriffs are afterwards sworn in before the Lord Mayor. They accompany the Lord Mayor on all state, civic and public occasions, and attend the Commissioners of Assize at the Central Criminal Court, where by custom they occupy seats on the bench.



Sport & General

LONDON'S LORD MAYOR TENDERS THE SWORD AND KEYS TO THE SOVEREIGN

The original Temple Bar was a mere chain barrier stretched across what is now Fleet Street as some protection against incursion by robbers. It was placed there with permission of Henry III, but as a reminder of the City's answer to King John that Londoners would have no king but their Mayor the successive gates have been closed to the sovereign, who has to ask the City's permission to enter. Once inside, he is presented with the Sword and Keys, which, however, he immediately returns to the Lord Mayor.

A wise man will make it his great business to secure his happiness in that other life upon which he must soon and unavoidably enter

The only sure way to die well is to live well. Arm yourself, and often beg of God to arm you, with a fixt and firm resolution that neither hope nor fear nor shame nor hatred, nor love of any person or thing, shall at any time prevent you from doing what you know to be your duty or prevail with you to commit what you know or believe to be a sin.

Whatever you do or speak let it always be done in its proper order and in a suitable manner. Let that which is of the greatest importance be first taken care of.

Endeavour by honest labour and industry to make your circumstances better than they are, for the good both of yourself and others. But . . . bear your afflictions patiently, and make the right use of them. and hope for a blessed reward in the life to come.

When you find yourself able to perform a good work to-day do not put it off till to-morrow Be always a good manager of your time

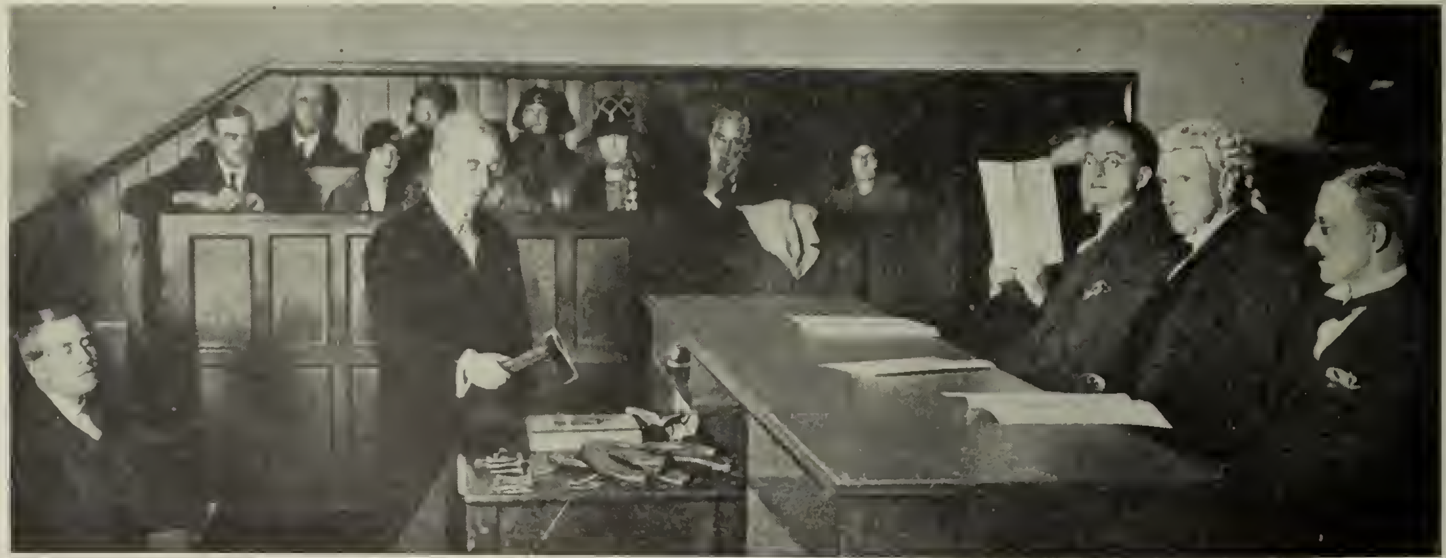
Lawful gain may and ought to be made of the business which you engage in.

Have God in all your thoughts.

Reading such counsel, it needs but the sound of the curfew still rung at the Tower, at the Charterhouse, and in Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn, or the voice of the night watchman calling the hour and his ' All's well ' in Ely Place, or the ringing of the Angelus at S. Magnus' church, to take one back as it were to medieval times.

In this record of the City's ancient customs some military matters call for brief notice.

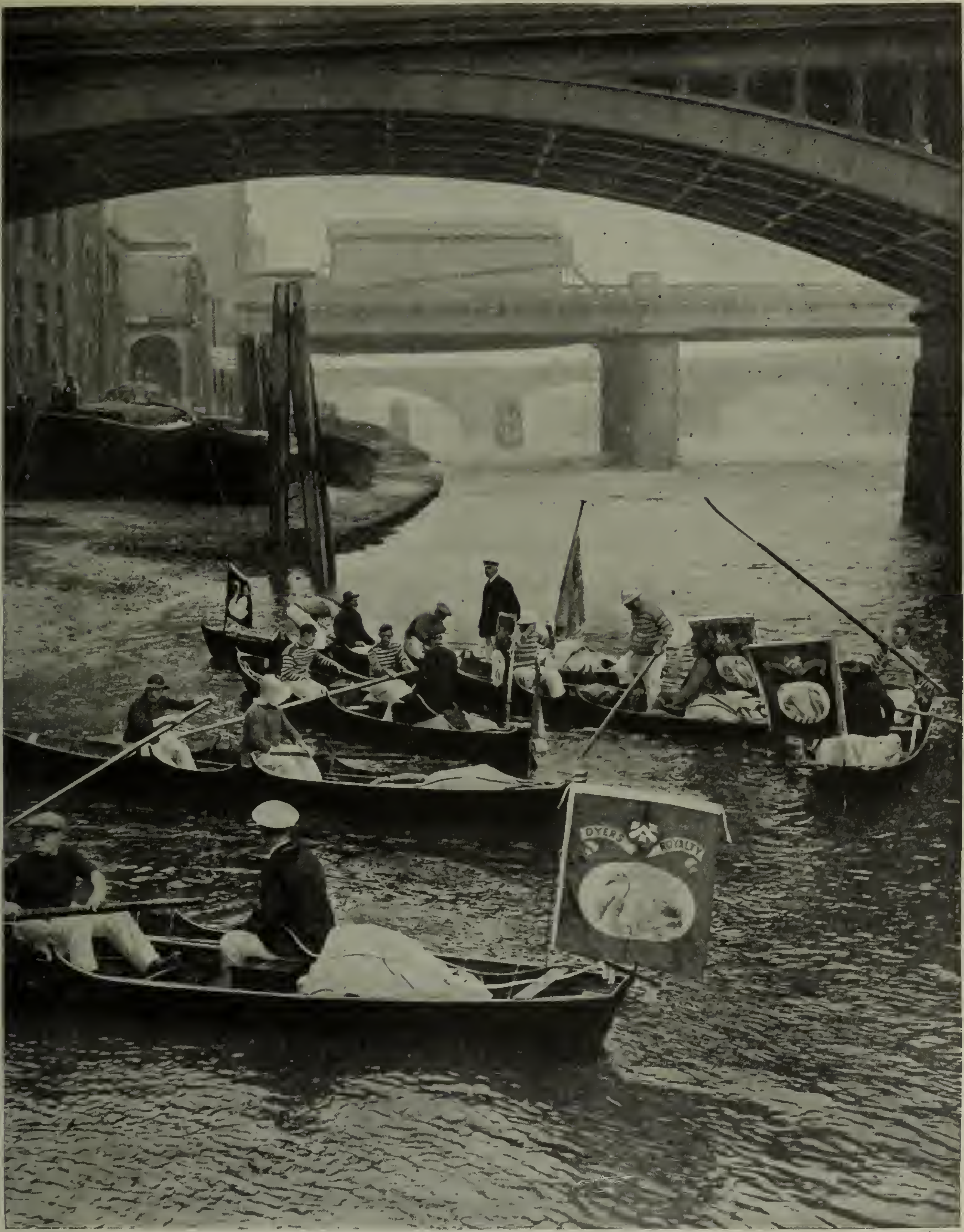
The City has its own regiment, the Royal Fusiliers, and within its borders are the headquarters of the Honourable Artillery Company or Guild or Fraternity of S. George, the oldest armed body in the kingdom,



London News Agency

QUIT RENT SERVICE BY THE CORPORATION TO THE CROWN

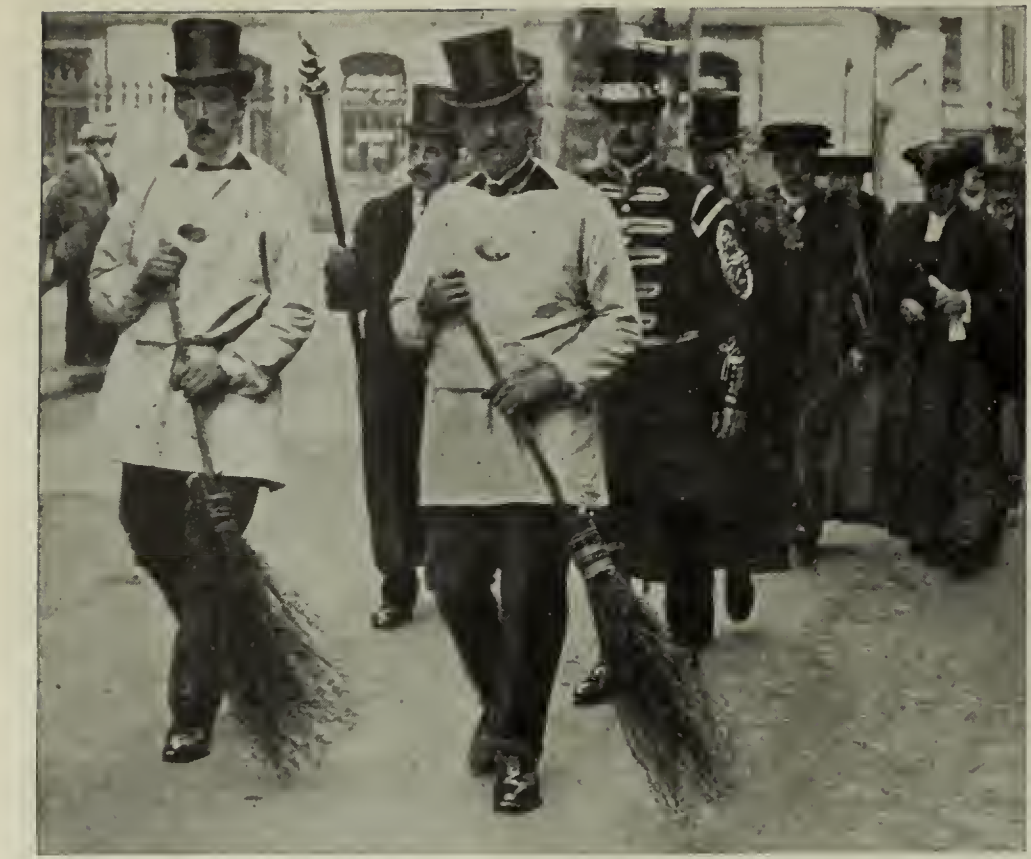
Quit rents are themselves interesting as being survivals of the old customary rents—yearly payments in money or kind, established by usage from time immemorial, made by freeholders or copyholders of a manor to the lord, and freeing the tenant from all other service. Two such rents are paid by the City Corporation to the Crown : six horse-shoes and sixty-one nails for a piece of land in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, and a billhook, hatchet and faggot for a piece of land in Shropshire. The situation of the land is unknown.



Central Press

COMPANIES' SWAN-MARKERS ON THEIR SWAN-UPPING EXPEDITION

In England the swan was regarded as a ' bird royal,' which no subject might keep without licence from the Crown, such licence requiring every bird in a ' game ' to bear a distinguishing mark of ownership on its bill. Under this licence the Vintners' and Dyers' Companies share with the Crown the ownership of all swans on the upper Thames, and every July those companies' swan-markers meet the royal swanherd at Vintry House, Southwark Bridge, and proceed up stream in state for the swan-upping, i.e. taking up the cygnets and marking their mandibles.



Alfieri

SWEEPING A FAIRWAY FOR THE LIVERYMEN

Memories of the days when the pollution in the streets was a hotbed for infection are recalled by a custom observed by the Vintners' Company when proceeding to their annual service at S. James Garlickhithe or S. Michael Paternoster. Porters wearing silk hats and white overalls sweep a pathway with new besoms for the procession of liverymen, who carry aromatic herbs.

with a namesake in the United States. The London Rifle Brigade, a territorial unit, provides the Lord Mayor with his guard of honour at the Guildhall banquet. The nightly guard at the Bank of England is furnished by the regular troops on duty in London, and the officer in command may invite a guest to dinner. The Bank has been thus guarded since the Gordon Riots of 1780.

The most impressive military custom is that of the Keys, which is enacted every nightfall at the Tower. The surrounding silence makes the proceedings specially memorable for those privileged to witness them.

The Chief Warder, wearing a scarlet cloak over his picturesque uniform, with four broad gold stripes on his arm, proceeds to the guardroom, or Main Guard, where he is joined by the Yeoman Porter, and calls for 'the escort for the Keys.' A sergeant and four porters are detailed, the sergeant being provided with an ancient lanthorn presented by the Honourable Artillery Company.

The Chief Warder, accompanied by the Yeoman Porter, marches in the centre of the escort first to the Outer Gate, then to the Middle Gate, and then to the Byward Tower Gate, locking each in turn, meanwhile the escort presents arms.

Returning to the guardroom, the party passes to the arch of the Bloody Tower, which opens on the Inner Ward. Here the sentry challenges them with the familiar 'Halt! Who comes there?' There is an instant of silence before the Chief Warder replies: 'The Keys.'

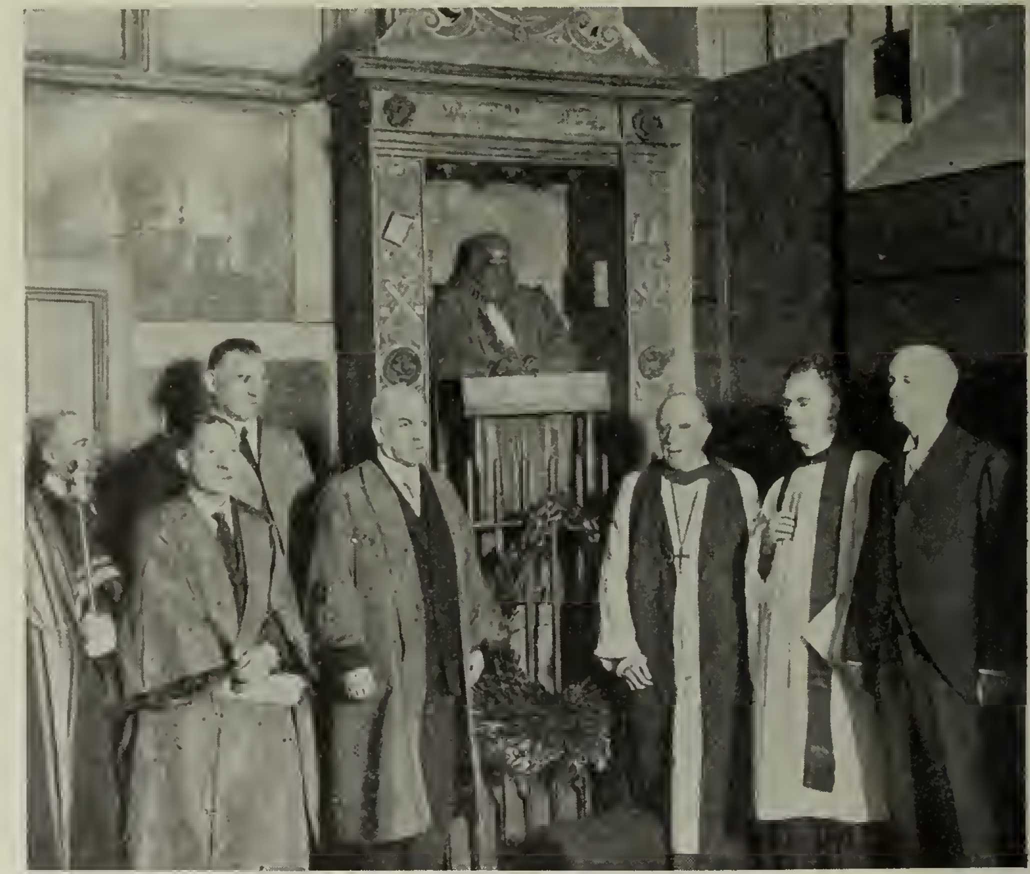
Sentry: 'Whose Keys?'

Chief Warder: 'King George's Keys.'

Sentry: 'Advance King George's Keys.'

Keys: 'All's well.'

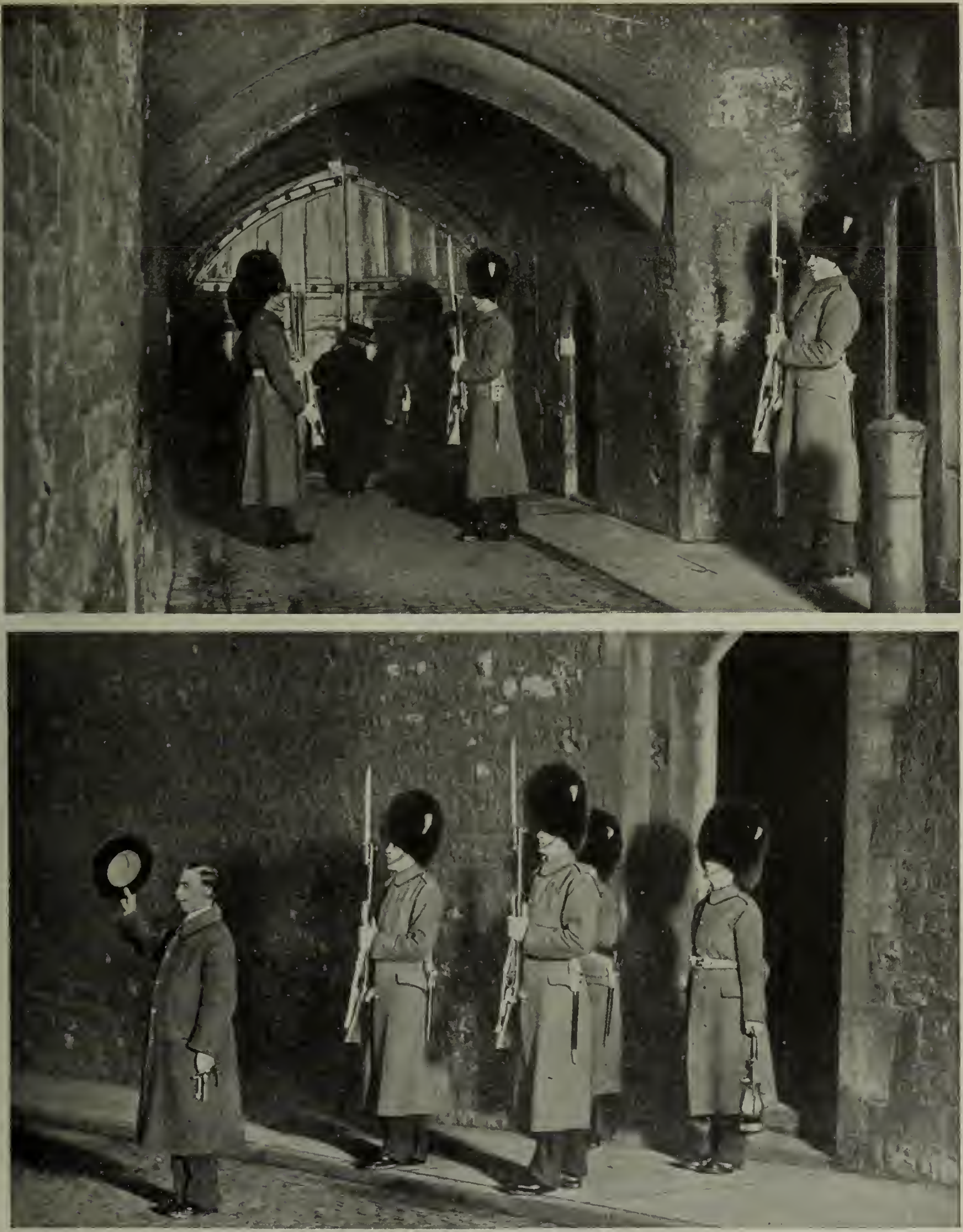
Proceeding once more to the guardroom the party forms up, the guard turns out, and the officer of the guard gives the command: 'Guard and escort,



Photopress

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THE CITY'S CHRONICLER

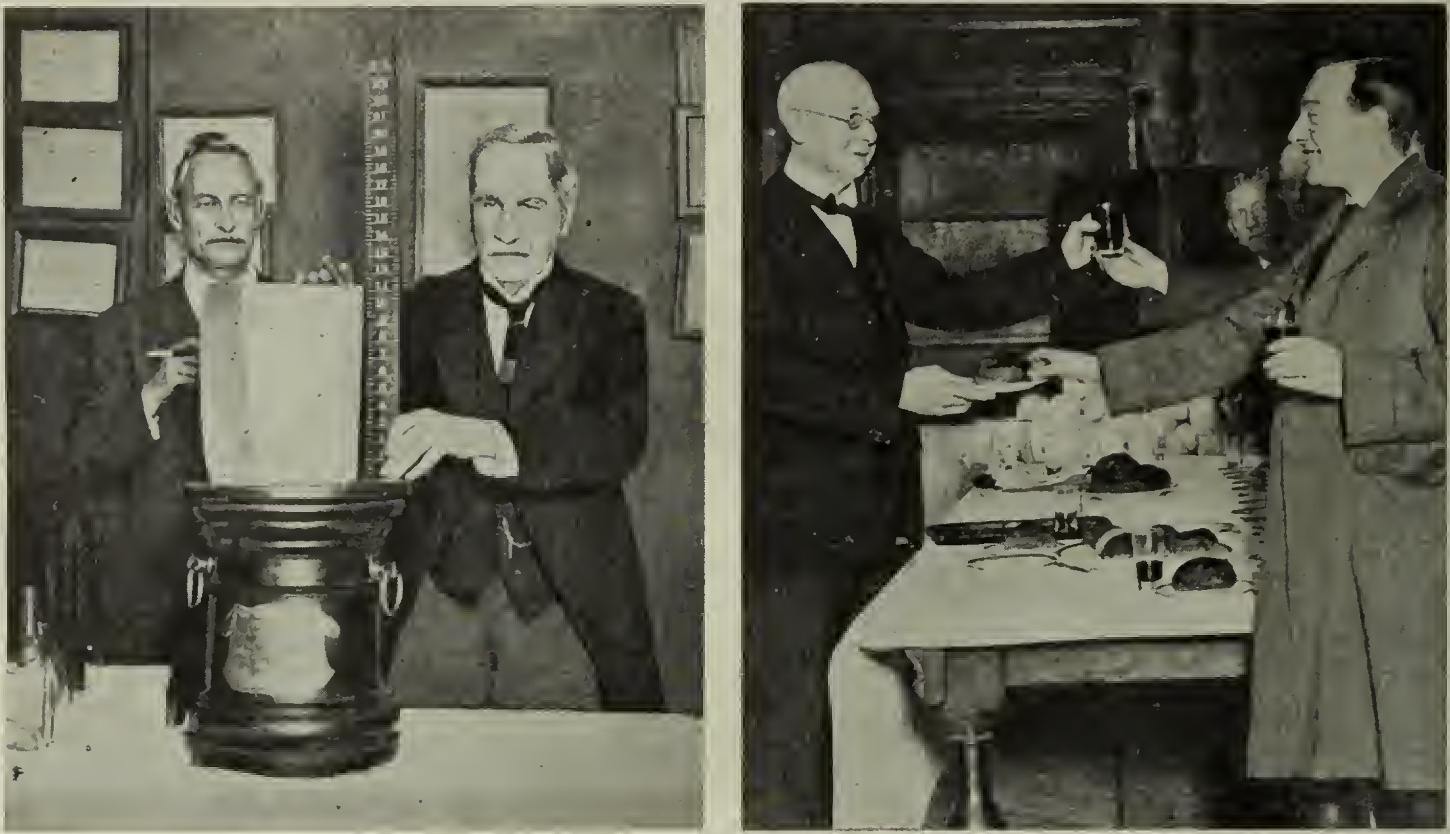
John Stow, author of the Elizabethan 'Survay of London,' died on April 6, 1605, and was buried in the church of S. Andrew Undershaft, where his widow erected a terracotta monument to his memory. Every year on the Sunday nearest the anniversary of his death a new quill pen, presented by the parish, is inserted between his fingers, the Lord Mayor and sheriffs attending.



Sport & General Press

'KING GEORGE'S KEYS': ANCIENT CEREMONY PECULIAR TO THE TOWER

No custom observed in London is invested with more romantic glamour than the nightly ceremony of the Keys enacted at the Tower, when under armed escort by the guard and lighted by a hurricane lamp the yeoman porter makes the round of the gates, locks each and delivers the keys to the Governor for safe custody until the morning. Details of the ceremony are given in the text. Above, the chief warder is seen locking the gate of the Byward Tower ; below, he is uttering the concluding words of the ritual—'God Preserve King George.'



'GUESSING THE CHEESE' AND ASH WEDNESDAY CAKES AND ALE

Every day at 1 p.m. a cheese is carried into the luncheon room at Simpson's Tavern in Cheapside. If anyone guesses correctly its height, weight and girth, champagne is served free to everyone present. The custom was begun two hundred years ago by Billingsgate fishmongers who dined here daily. Framed cards commemorate the fifteen occasions when the prize has been won. The Stationers' Company have a custom dating from 1612 of drinking a pint of old ale and eating a brown bun in Stationers' Hall every Ash Wednesday.

Keystone

QUAINT MEMORIAL OF A MOTHER'S LOVE

On Good Friday, 1825, a sailor son was expected home at a public house in Bevons Road, Bow, and his mother saved a hot cross bun for him. He never returned, and every year since then a bun has been added to the cluster hanging in the saloon bar of the inn—now called The Widow's Son.

present arms.' The Chief Warder, stepping two paces in front of the escort, removes his hat, and calls out 'God preserve King George!' All present reply 'Amen.' The Keys are then carried to the King's House, where they are handed to the Governor, in whose custody they remain for the night.

The Yeoman Warders of the Tower, or Beefeaters, though a distinct body, are entitled to wear the full dress uniform of the King's Body Guard of the Yeomen of the Guard, with ruff and silk stockings and rosettes to the shoes, and they wear this dress and carry halberds at the Easter service at that sanctuary of grim memories the church of S. Peter-ad-Vincula, the Chief Warder bearing the Tower Mace. The service is attended by the Governor and garrison.

Not far from the Tower, by the way, may be seen two Dutch eel boats, moored in the Thames in accordance with a privilege granted in the days of Queen Elizabeth. The privilege remains so long as at least two vessels are always at their moorings. They are virtually floating tanks, and at one time were replenished by others of the Netherlands eel fleet, but in recent years the fish have been shipped to Harwich and transported by train from that port to London, and so to the vessels moored off Billingsgate.

There are in London, within and without the City boundaries, some 200,000 foreigners—Jews in Whitechapel, Chinese in Limehouse, Italians in Hatton Garden, French in Soho, and so on, all of whom, especially the Jews, observe their racial customs, but these are another story.

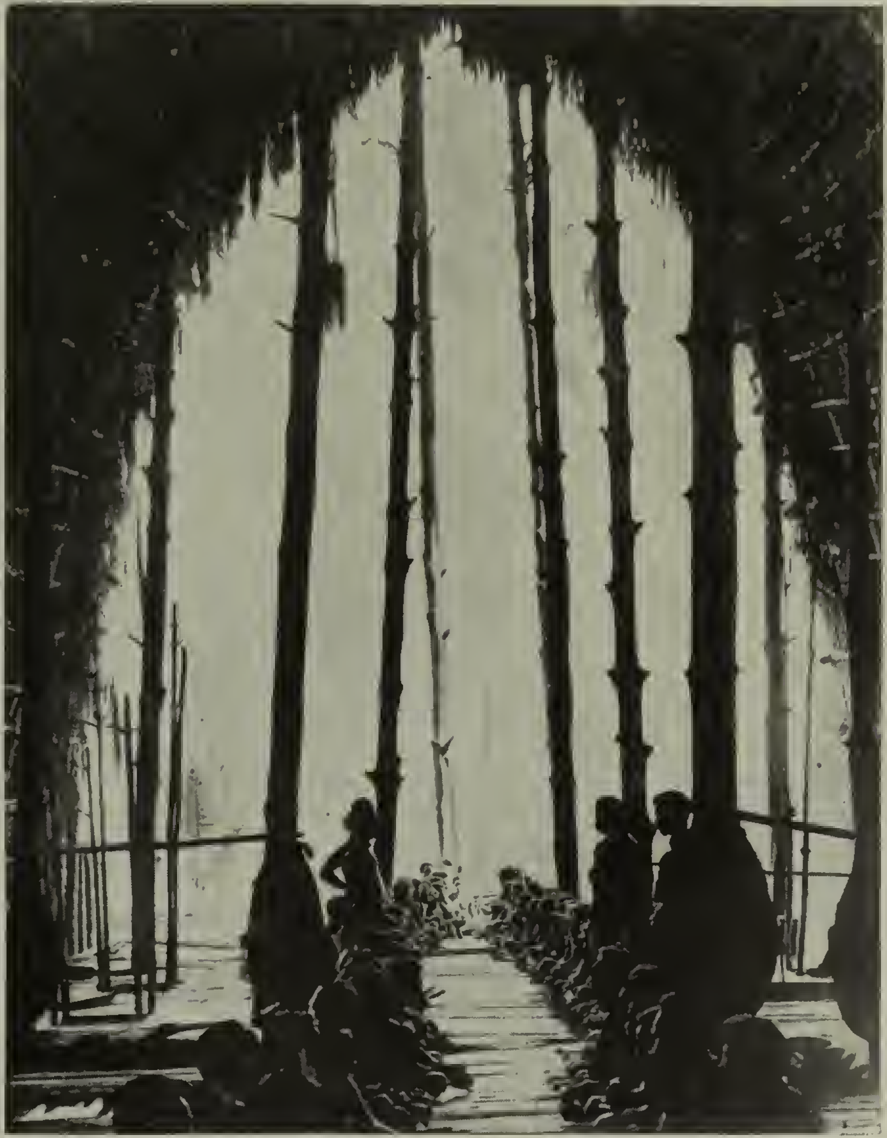
CUSTOM IN HOUSING AND FURNISHING

While it has not so often been dignified by separate studies as other branches of anthropology, custom in the arrangement and equipment of the home, whether civilized or savage, is distinctively racial or national, and is here so discussed. Although there are no other chapters directly bearing upon this subject, glimpses of home interiors may be seen in illustrations to other chapters in this Section.

Furniture is a touchstone of civilization. 'Show us a man's furniture,' we might say, 'and we will tell you what sort of a man he is.' We know the ancient Egyptians were people with a high degree of civilization because they sat in chairs of agreeable design and ornamentation and ate their food off tables. We know the Romans under the later Empire were luxury-loving and self-indulgent; the decorations at Pompeii show that as early as the first century they were licentious as well. We know the aborigines of Australia, the 'blackfellows,' are very low in the scale because in their huts they have no furniture to speak of and only the rudest, most elementary utensils. The too ornate character of the carving on Italian furniture of the sixteenth or Dutch of the seventeenth century tells us that those were periods of decadence in taste and feeling for beauty. The exquisite proportions and slight adornment of later eighteenth-century furniture in England tell us more about the character and temperament of our Georgian ancestors than we can learn from books.

When in their turn our descendants seek for information about us, they will be more enlightened by the rebirth of pleasure in old and beautiful house possessions which came after the depressing flatness of the Victorian age than by reading our newspapers and novels, or studying our pictures, or looking at our trade returns. We can now judge the occupants of a house by a look at their rooms. That was not possible—or at any rate it was rarely possible—in the Victorian age. There was then a certain style of furnishing to which all respectable people were expected to conform, just as they were all expected to wear top-hats if they were men and bonnets if they were married women. Couples about to be married went then to a firm of repute and ordered a houseful of furniture, carpets, hangings, all that was required for comfort and for show. Their own inclinations did not enter into the matter. They might dislike horsehair sofas and mahogany dining-tables, and large gilt-framed mirrors and bronze mantelpiece ornaments and large marble clocks, but they could no more think of refusing to have them than they could decline to wear the dress in fashion at the time.

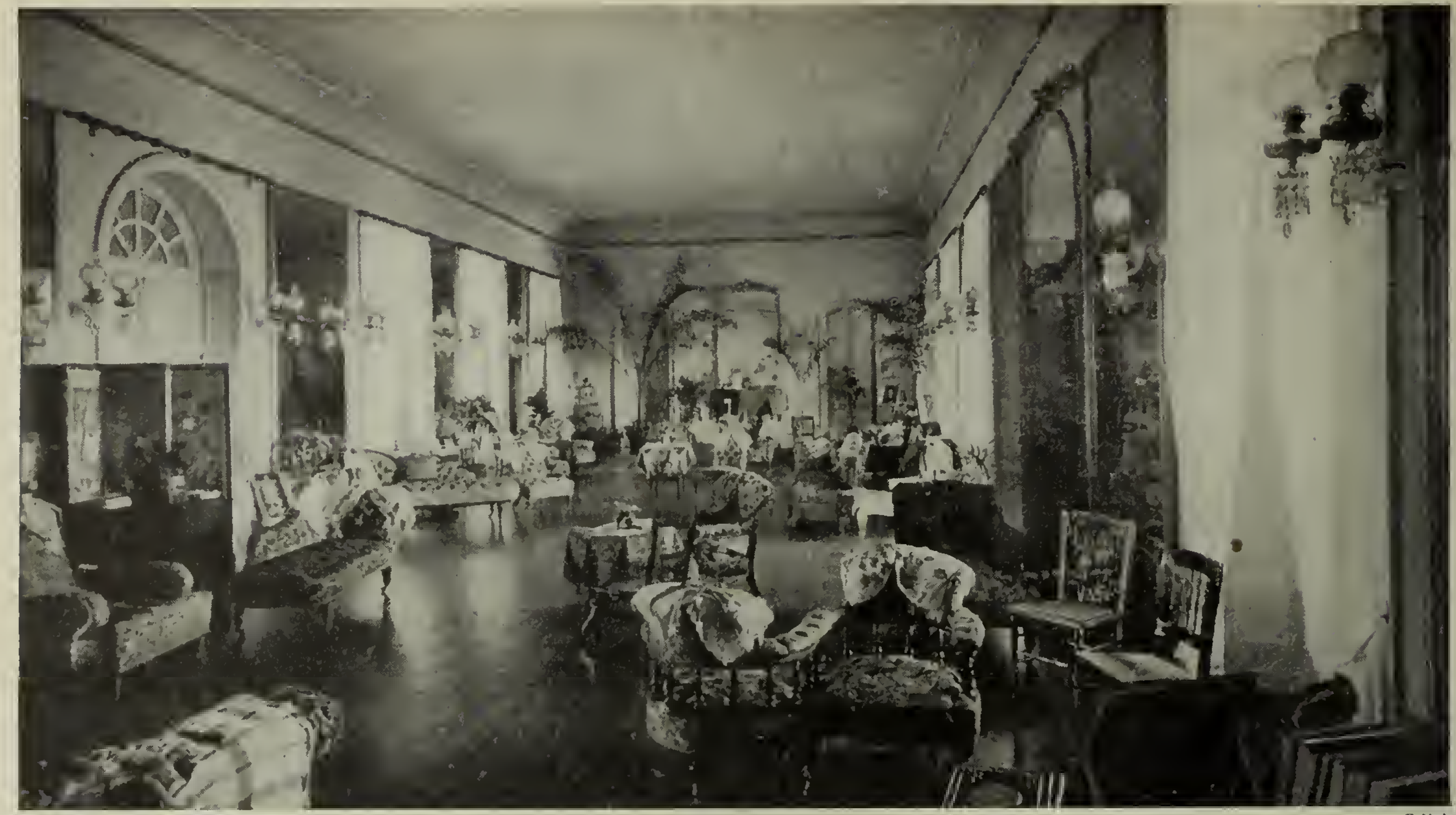
The only houses in which one escaped from the prevailing uniformity of ugliness were those which had old furniture in them, handed down from a happier time. But most of the owners of such houses put away their Jacobean 'corner cupboards,' their William and Mary chairs, their Sheraton sideboards, in lumber rooms or cellars and ordered whatever was in vogue at the moment from Tottenham Court Road.



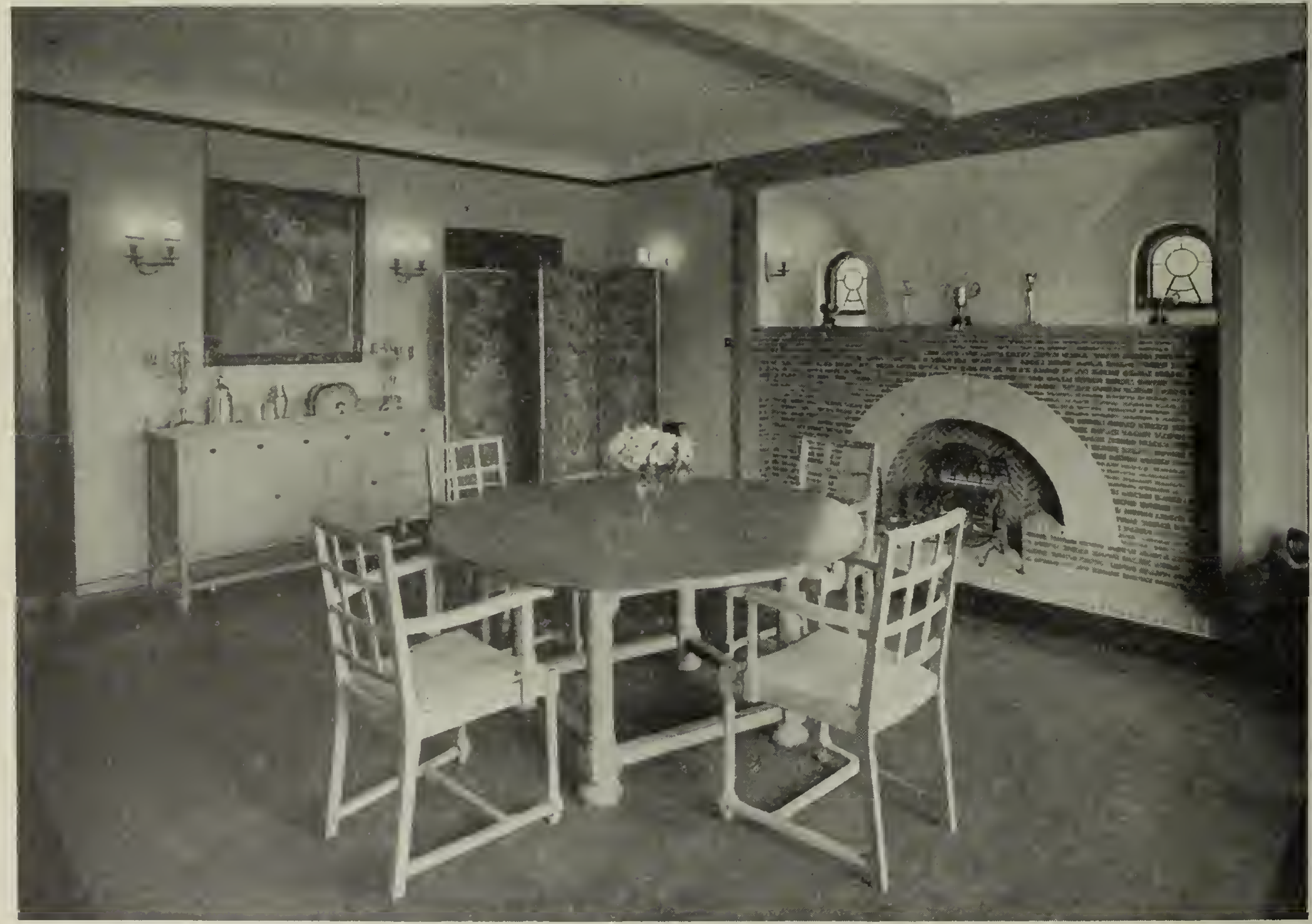
Topical Press

STRUCTURAL DIGNITY WITH DOMESTIC SIMPLICITY

The furnishing of a Papuan home, such as this lofty, single-roomed Mailu house built on piles, represents simplicity reduced to little more than bare boards. Sleeping mats and a few utensils give the main comforts required in a type of dwelling that persists in some parts of the world as a close parallel to the Neolithic pile dwellings.



E.N.A.



Humphrey Joel

ACUTE CONTRAST IN ENGLISH FURNISHING OVER A SEVENTY-YEAR PERIOD

Although fashion plays a considerable part in the furnishing of European homes, it is nevertheless clear that national tendencies are to be detected even in passing phases. English characteristics may be seen in the solidity and comfort underlying the ugliness of the Victorian era, as in the drawing-room at Government House, Port Louis, Mauritius (top). They emerge much more clearly in the artistic, though plain and solid, twentieth-century dining-room in a Hertfordshire country house (bottom). Here, moreover, there is no attempt to imitate styles of other ages.

Thus, if you see pictures of the 'great houses' of the later nineteenth century you notice that they all look exactly alike. They have no distinctive character, as such houses have today. Nor were the houses of obscure owners any better. When a Victorian drawing-room or dining-room is represented on the stage or in a film, everyone can at once recognize it. The crowded furniture, the gimcrack tables and chairs, the antimacassars, the profusion of hideous ornaments, tell us immediately what is the period of the piece.

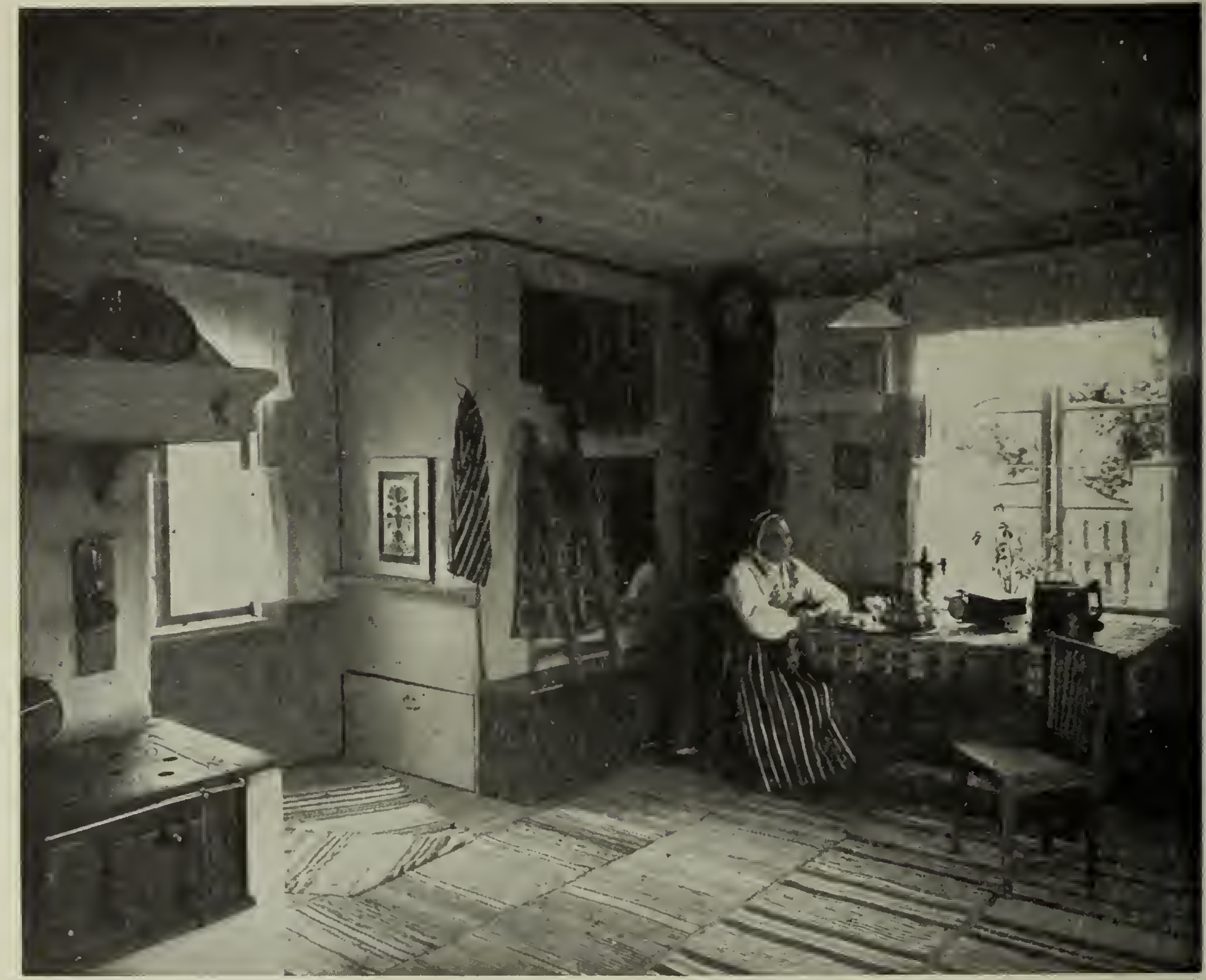
Courtesy of Tudor Mfg. Co.

CORRECT IN PERIOD BUT OUT OF TIME

An imitative note in modern English furnishing, which may be said to result from a national characteristic, is the desire to be in the fashion, to be 'correct,' as was that of the Victorian era. Here it takes the form of an exact reproduction of furnishing and decoration of the rightly admired but remote Tudor age, one result of which is a suggestion of a museum rather than of a home.

Now one may go into a dozen houses in town or country and find that each has a different note in decoration and furnishing. Each has a character of its own, and that character reflects the mind and the imagination of those who live in it. Not all houses have personality thus impressed upon them. Many are imitative, unidea'd, mechanical in their slavish following of what is considered to be 'the right thing.' It was once necessary, for instance, to have 'chiffoniers' (pronounced 'sheffuneers') with mirrors and scrolls and shelves with s-shaped supports. Now all who wish to be 'correct' must have an old coffer, either Italian or English; and a copper warming-pan hung up, and a grandfather clock of authentic pedigree. Still, even the mechanically 'correct' house of today is vastly pleasanter than was the Victorian 'desirable residence' with its stuffy, jumbled, overcrowded rooms and total lack of charm. Though a great deal of the modern furniture apes merely the look of the older styles and is poor in workmanship, cheap in material, feeble in effect, there is a growing desire for the genuine, the well designed, the honestly-made. It is possible to furnish with new furniture quite as charmingly as with old (and, of course, with more originality). There has grown up a twentieth-century style of English furniture which has a charm of its own, which unites solidity with grace, and does not pretend to be anything but what it is. The trick of veneering (satirised by Dickens, who gave this name to a family of pretentious snobs) was widely practised during the nineteenth century. Cheap deal or pine was covered with a very thin sheet of walnut or mahogany and made to appear what it was not. Now oak is the wood chiefly used by English furniture makers. Sometimes it is left plain and light, sometimes it is 'fumed,' or it can be worked to any shade of darkness by rubbing in oil or wax. But, however it is treated, it always proclaims itself to be oak.

William Morris, who was a furniture maker as well



E.N.A.

UNCHANGING STYLE OF AN UNCHANGING PEOPLE: SWEDISH PEASANT HOUSE

In the towns and the more thickly populated parts of Sweden, as of other European countries, furnishing styles are apt to be modernised, but Scandinavian brightness of colour may be observed in interiors of all classes. The living-room in this photograph of a peasant home near Vikar in the province of Dalecarlia presents this and other features of permanence which have been inherited from equally conservative forebears. The sleeping bunks, the stove and the gaily coloured matting are as noteworthy as the general aspect of solid simplicity.

as a poet, deprecated all imitation of earlier, and especially of foreign styles.

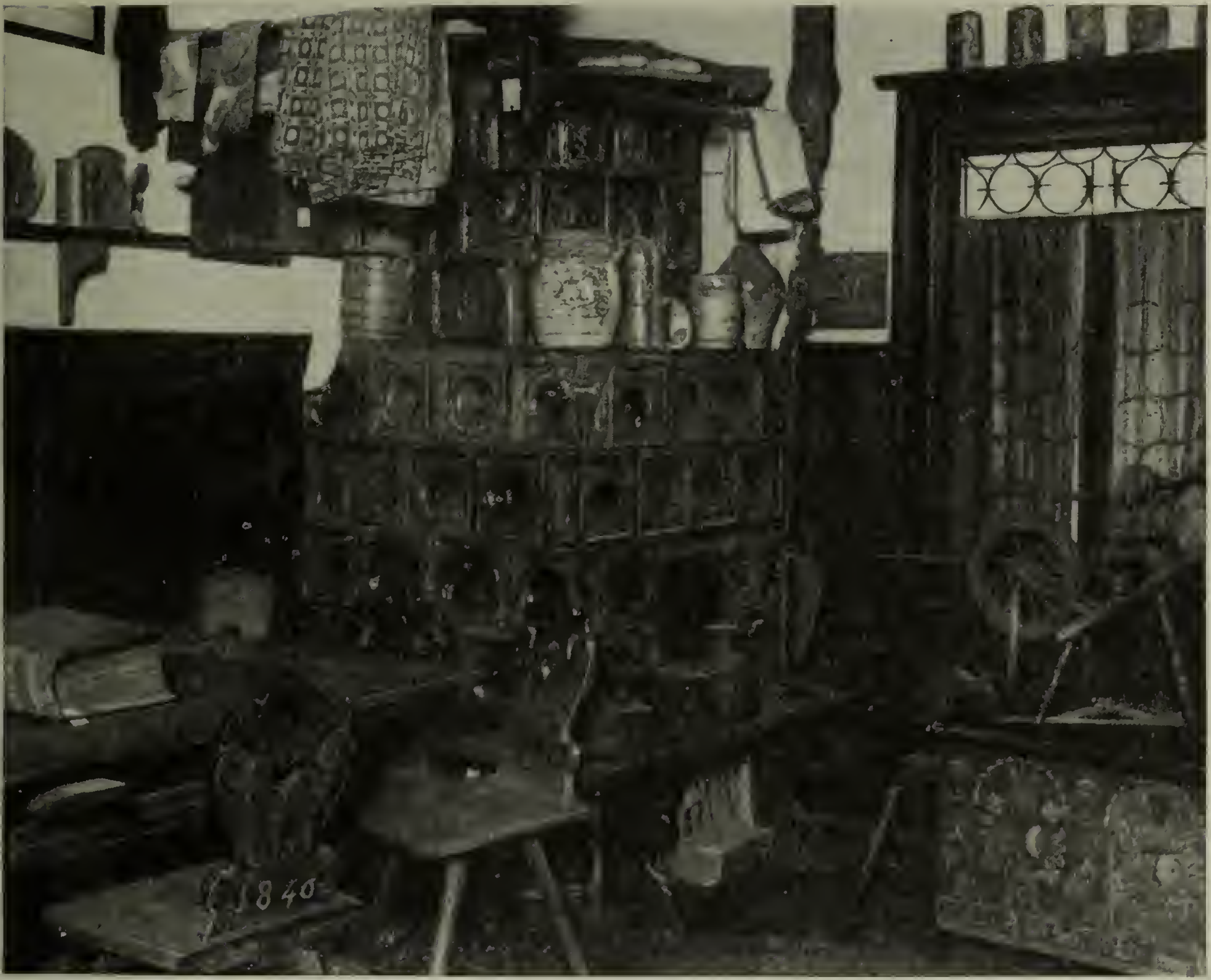
> Our furniture [he wrote] should be good citizens' furniture . should have nothing about it that is not easily defensible, no monstrosities or extravagances, not even of beauty, lest we weary of it. As to matters of construction, it should not have to depend on the special skill of a very picked workman or the super-excellence of his glue, but be made on the proper principles of the art of joinery: also, I think that, except for very movable things like chairs, it should be not so very light; it should be made of timber rather than walking-sticks.

The Mission style in America follows this advice—indeed, goes rather farther than Morris would have gone in the direction of nude simplicity. Its patterns are adapted from those of the furniture used by the Spanish missionaries who built themselves convents in California and converted the Indians to Roman Catholicism.

There is more willingness today to buy furniture that will last than there was fifty, or even twenty-five years ago. In the catalogue to one of the early Arts and Crafts Exhibitions, which helped a great deal towards reviving the desire for beauty in everyday life and in the household especially, the attitude of the majority of people at that time (early twentieth century) towards the purchase of good articles at a good price was explained in this way:

> The transient tenure that most of us have in our dwellings and the absorbing nature of the struggle that most of us have to make to win the necessary provisions of life, prevent our encouraging the manufacture of well-wrought furniture. We mean to outgrow our houses—our lease expires after so many years, and then we shall want an entirely different class of furniture—consequently we purchase articles that have only sufficient life in them to last the brief period of our occupation, and are content to abide by the want of appropriateness or beauty, in the clear intention of some day surrounding us with objects that shall be joys to us for the remainder of our life.

In other words, the aim of most of those who had absorbed the Victorian idea was to ' get on,' to make



E.N.A.

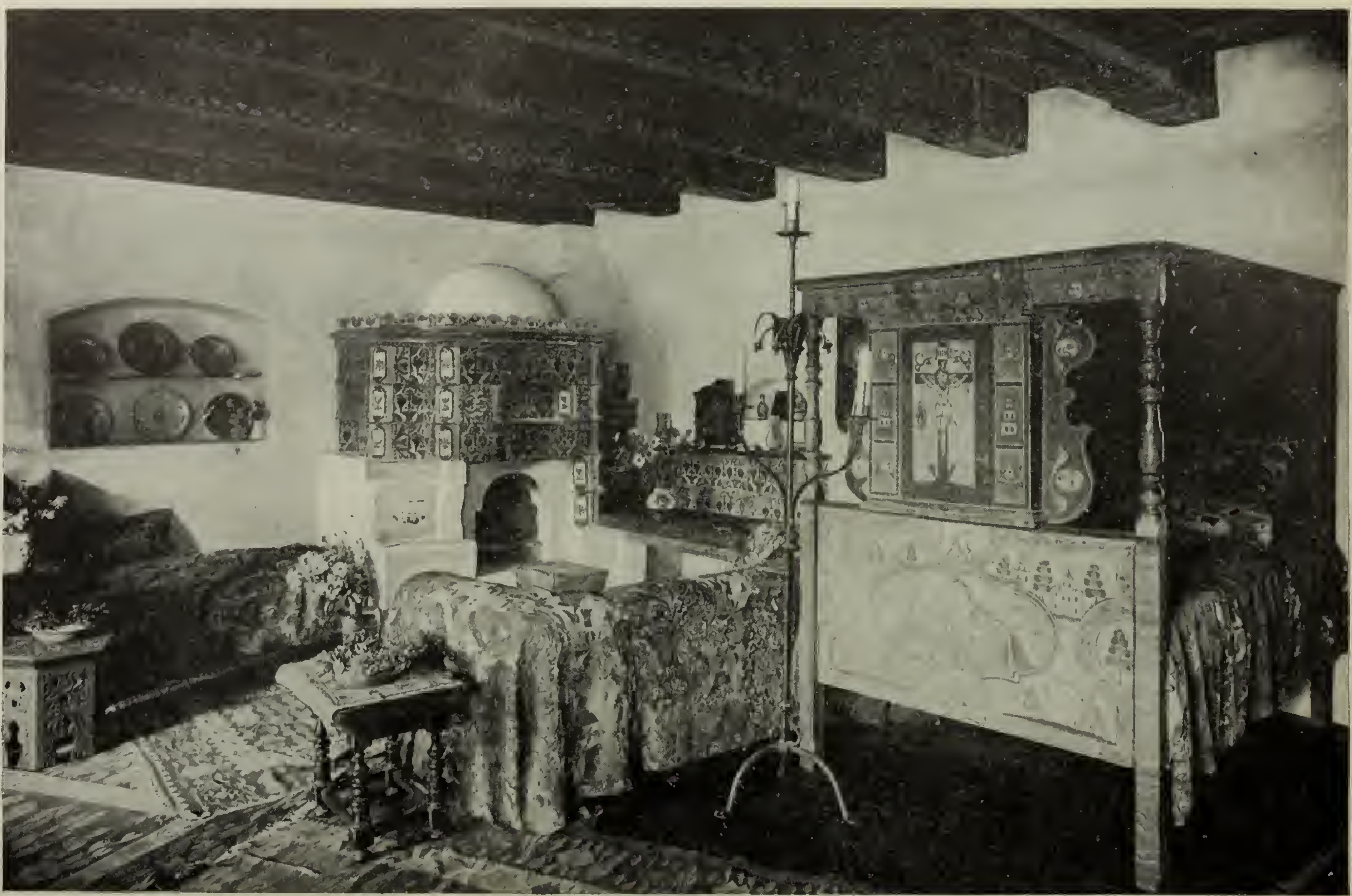
NATIONAL STYLE THAT PERSISTS THROUGH THE CENTURIES

The English farmhouse or folk dwelling has in the main lost its old characteristics of arrangement and furnishing owing to the ever-increasing trade in the antiques which it once contained. In many Continental countries this incentive to change hardly exists, and old houses are less frequently despoiled. In this Franconian farmhouse in Bavaria the simple furniture, dominated by the characteristic porcelain heating stove, is at least a century old, and carries its evidence of racial taste.

enough money to have a larger house, and then a larger, and still a larger one again ; to mark success by expenditure ; finally to retire amid possessions of which they had denied themselves the pleasure up to that time. Such people never at any time got any joy out of their domestic interiors. Anyone who feels the need of beautiful or charming things in a house will somehow manage to get hold of a few, no matter on how small an income. Gradually the stock will be enlarged, but seldom will anything be got rid of. Those who are content to dwell amid makeshift ugliness during most of their lives, promising themselves that some day they will have beauty around them, are victims of a pitiful self-delusion, which is found more often among the English and the Americans than in any other race.

Whether the English are readier than other folk to exchange beautiful old furniture which may have been in their families for hundreds of years, and to substitute for it cheap stuff that will last only a few years, is not so certain. Many an English farmhouse that was dignified and delightful because its furniture had been in it for centuries now presents a very different appearance. The old presses and tables went long ago to an ' antique ' shop. They have been replaced by stuff that was never anything much to look at and will soon be of very little use. In a French or German farmhouse of any age, more still in a Hungarian or Slovak homestead, you get an impression of solidity, due to the old furniture which has been there since the place was built. But to the owners of these houses the temptation to sell their heirlooms has never presented itself, as it has to English farmers. They might have succumbed to it without any more of a struggle.

In many a villa, or maybe roadside bungalow, the spoil of the farmhouse is proudly displayed. It does not look inevitable as it did before. There is something incongruous between its age-old strength and comeliness and the flimsy nature of the dwelling it adorns.



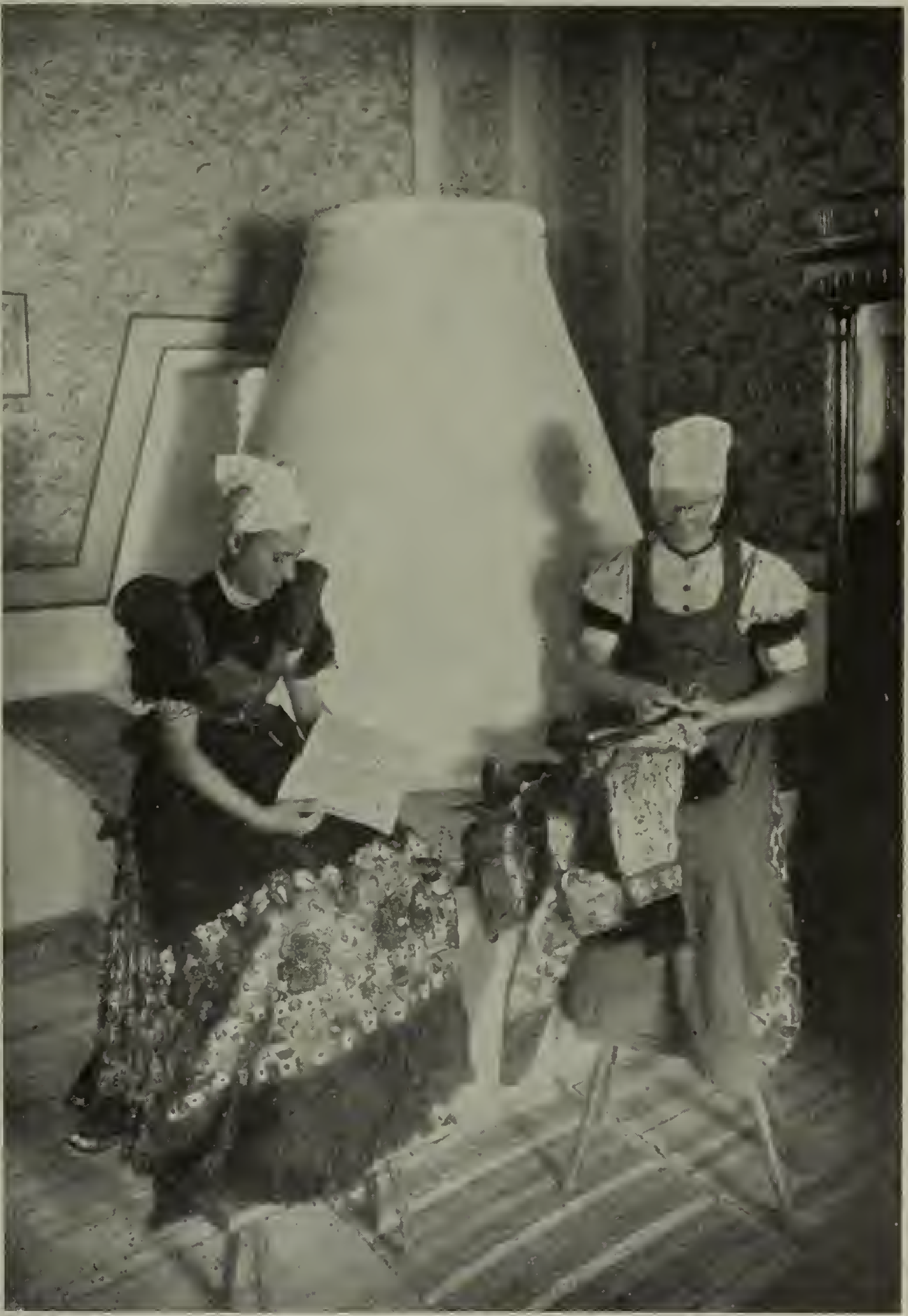
E.N.A.

THREE-CENTURY OLD ROOM WHICH CONTINUES TO DELIGHT RUMANIAN TASTE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

This room, in the late medieval fortress of Bran, one of the strongholds of Saxon resistance against the advance on Vienna by the Turks in the seventeenth century, is in occupation by Queen Marie of Rumania. It was presented to her by the people of the district, who were brought into the Rumanian kingdom after the Great War. Its brightly painted rafters and wooden bed, the latter a form of covered four-poster, are of ancient origin, although the tapestries of furniture and floor are more modern. The heating stove, decorated with brilliant glazed tiles, is contemporary with the room, but differs little in style from similar stoves in entirely modern Rumanian houses, of which they form an essential item. Conservatism of taste rather than a newly born desire for the antique is responsible for the continuance of such beautiful house furnishings.

Nevertheless, it is a proof that culture has spread; it bears testimony to the movement away from dull conventionality in furnishing and in the direction of that blend of charm and fitness for purpose which are characteristic of the English home. In many a more pretentious dwelling you might not find anything so good. Not more than a few here and there have the resolution to make their rooms conform to one style. Nothing can be more restful in a dining-room than a monks' table, with its simple, powerful lines, a set of chairs in oak or elm that harmonise with it, an oak Welsh dresser; or, in a living-room, Sheraton furniture, or reproductions by a skilled hand. But the demand for the comfortable chair has to be resisted by those who furnish thus, and the effect is apt to be severe or, at all events, museum-like. A room to be lived in with pleasure must possess something of the character of those who planned it. If there is merely a reflection of the taste of someone long since departed, you feel a coldness, a deadness about it, no matter how perfect the taste may be. Mr. Edward Knoblock, the dramatist, had a house at Worthing which was decorated and furnished throughout in Empire style. It was interesting, it had a curious perfection, but it seemed more like a house meant to be looked at than a house meant to be lived in. That is true of all houses which adhere to one style. They are an echo, not of the owner's personality, but of the Past.

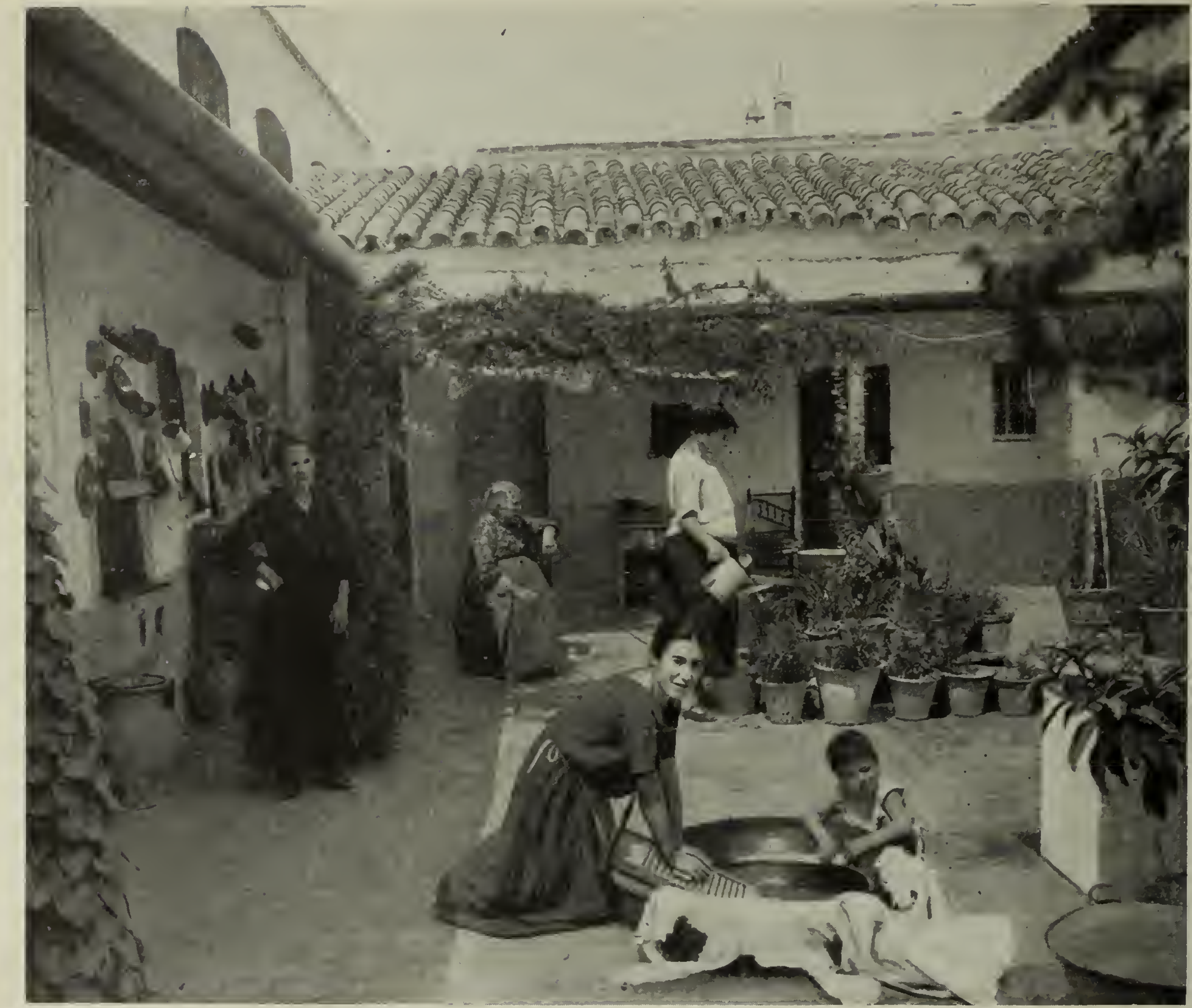
THE quality which makes the English way of furnishing at once more restful and more pleasing to the eye than other ways is just this quality of reflecting the man or the woman who likes it thus or thus. Whether it is that our climate behaves worse than other climates—for, although it be true that it allows us to be out of doors with satisfaction almost every day in the year, it is true also that it gives us few days in which it is not a relief to be indoors—or whether we have a natural genius for home-making—as the French have a genius for society and the Germans for doing things in common—we are admitted to possess a special gift for making our rooms attractive. The Americans have this, too. While the French home may contain furniture more valuable, though the Scandinavian home may be brighter and gayer, there is a certain formality about them; they are inclined to be a little stiff, a little uninviting. Nothing could be more delicious than the patio of a Spanish home, the courtyard open to the sky which is both garden and sitting-room; but the real rooms look as if they were never



E.N.A.

CENTRE OF LIFE IN CENTRAL EUROPEAN HOMES

To English eyes an outstanding characteristic in the houses of Teutonic and Slavonic peoples is the great heating stove, which almost invariably occupies the corner of the living room and is generally constructed of porcelain or clay. The rigours of winter in continental, as distinct from island or coastal lands, cause the life of the home to centre round the source of warmth. Shelves and seats are fixed round it, as in this Hungarian house of Mezokovesd, near Budapest.



E N.A

CUSTOM IN COURTYARD LIFE: A SUNNY PATIO IN SOUTHERN SPAIN

In the warm clime of Andalusia the outdoor life of the patio, partly sheltered from the sun and yet open to the sky, is the normal mode of all classes. In a middle-class home, such as the example seen in this photograph, the actual interior rooms of the house are kept for ceremonial occasions, and are otherwise hardly used. All that is needed for daily life is to be found in the combined garden and living-room which the courtyard provides.

used. The Germans make rooms which are works of art, everything in harmony, all shades of colour melting into one another ; but unless one is specially dressed to match, one feels that one is a disturbing element. There is no invitation to take one's ease.

In the English or the American home everything is subordinated to the purpose for which it exists—that of being lived in. The reason for this is, no doubt, that the English habit is to be a great deal at home. Other nations live more outside their dwellings They have more sunshine, more genial air. They sleep in their houses they eat in them, but they do not sit in them ; they sit at cafés, they go out in family parties to parks or into the woods. All classes of English people spend a great deal of time in their homes, and therefore do what they can to make them comfortable, and also to have in them objects which they enjoy looking at. It may be an Old Master of the fifteenth century, or a china cupboard filled with the rarest pieces of immense value, or a reproduction of some favourite painting bought for a few pounds, or a coloured print that cost a few pence, or even a picture torn from a newspaper. It is due to their practical genius that they manage to combine the two aspects, the comfortable and the decorative, so easily.

Yet they are slow in this, as in other things, to move from what is established and traditional. The Americans led the way in modes of heating which did not depend on an open fireplace burning coal or wood. They invented new methods of plumbing, the bathroom became in their hands a thing of beauty and a joy. Here the Germans followed. They built blocks of flats which were marvellously contrived for convenience, pleasant to look at, expressing the orderly, tidy, careful character of the

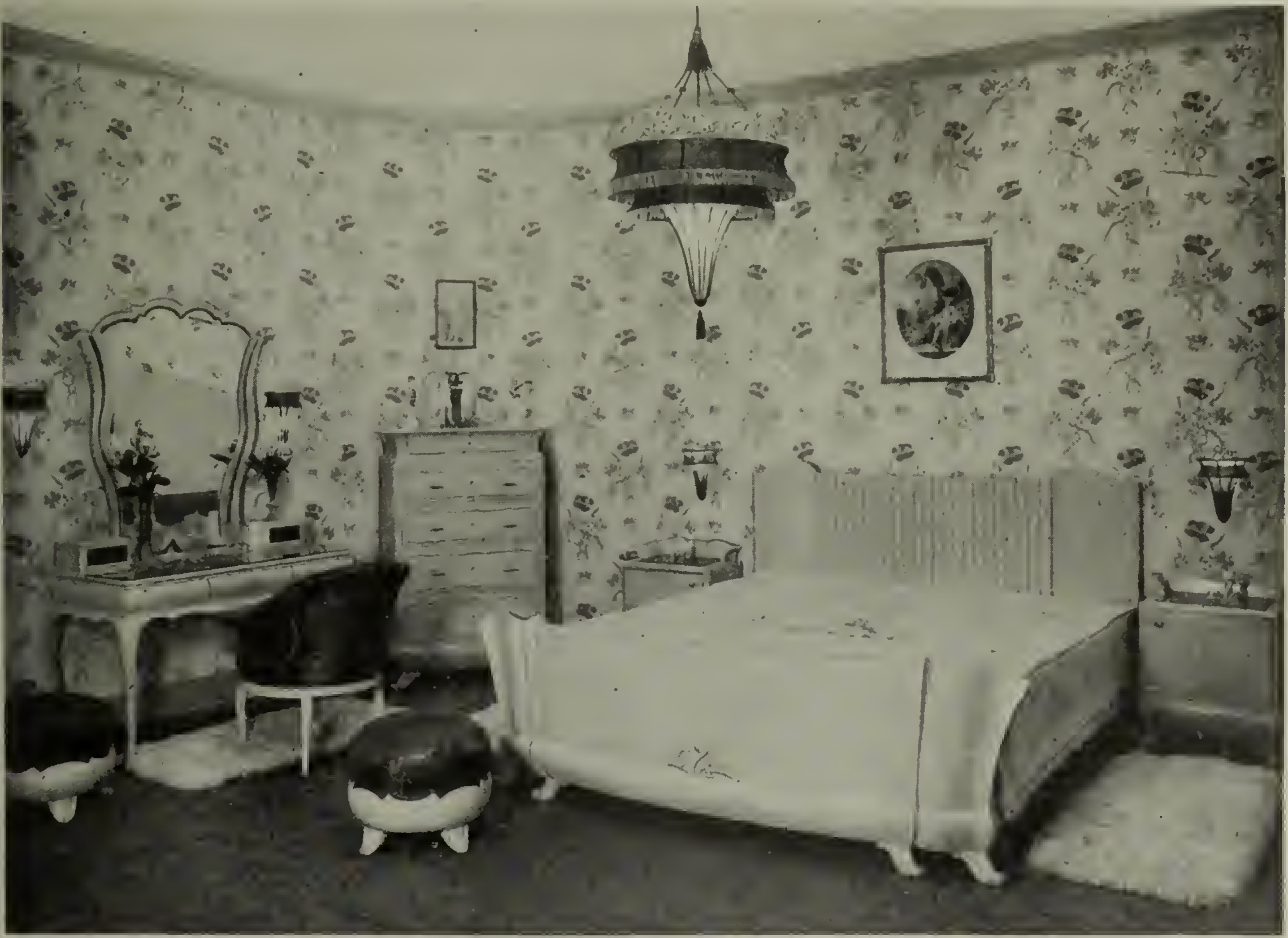
German people. Slowly the English followed. Now their bathrooms vie with those of America and the United States. Now their houses are uniformly heated. Now they arrange to have water-pipes so placed that they are not certain to burst whenever it freezes hard and then suddenly thaws. Here the English slowness was a disadvantage, but in another direction it was profitable: it prevented them from going in for the excesses of new art into which Austrians and Germans plunged.

In many houses in those countries the disastrous results of that movement (L'Art Nouveau) can still be seen. It was an art devoid of ancestry. The motive behind it was simply 'to be different.' As one writer said:

> To the German it was a godsend. The modern German artist has not been conspicuous for originality, but here he found his chance of freeing himself from the reproach of dullness. There is no such outrageous person as the respectable bourgeois on the loose; and the German, having once broken away, fairly wallowed in orgies of artistic intemperance.

That impulse has exhausted itself, though many who were induced to buy its products are obliged still to suffer from them, since they are not yet worn out. The later German mode is to create rooms which are like pictures, all in one key; arrangements in a tone of grey or brown or purple. Everything in these rooms must be specially designed and made. Nothing is allowed in them which could break the harmony of effect. The idea of the creator dominates the whole, and his creation takes little heed of the people who are to live in the rooms.

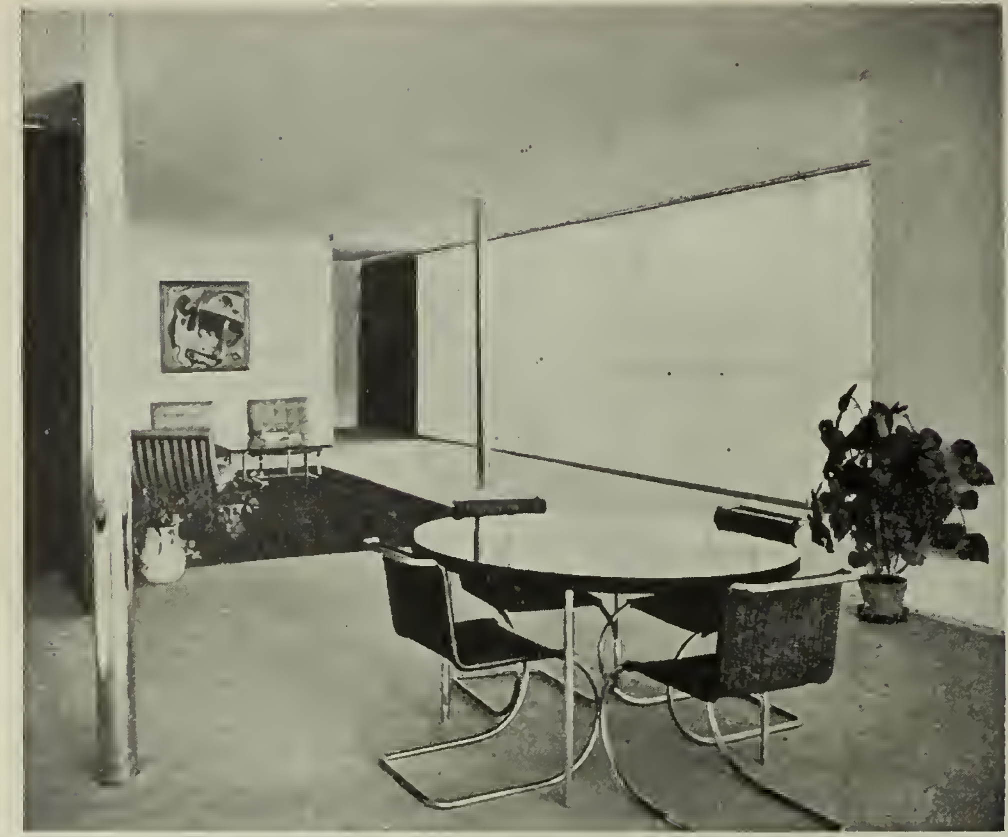
THE French, on the contrary, stick closely to their historical style of furniture, each of which is named after a period. There is the style of Louis XIV, of Louis XV, and of Louis XVI; there is the Directoire style and the Empire style. French furniture makers copy these and adapt them to some small extent with finished skill, but they do not often leave this beaten track. The living-rooms in French homes are seldom either comfortable or delightful in a decorative way. They are business-like, they contain all that their owners require—the bedrooms are often elaborate and pretty—but they are not usually meant to be lounged in or used a great deal. The



E.N.A.

CURVES UNCONTROLLED IN A CRAZE FOR NOVELTY

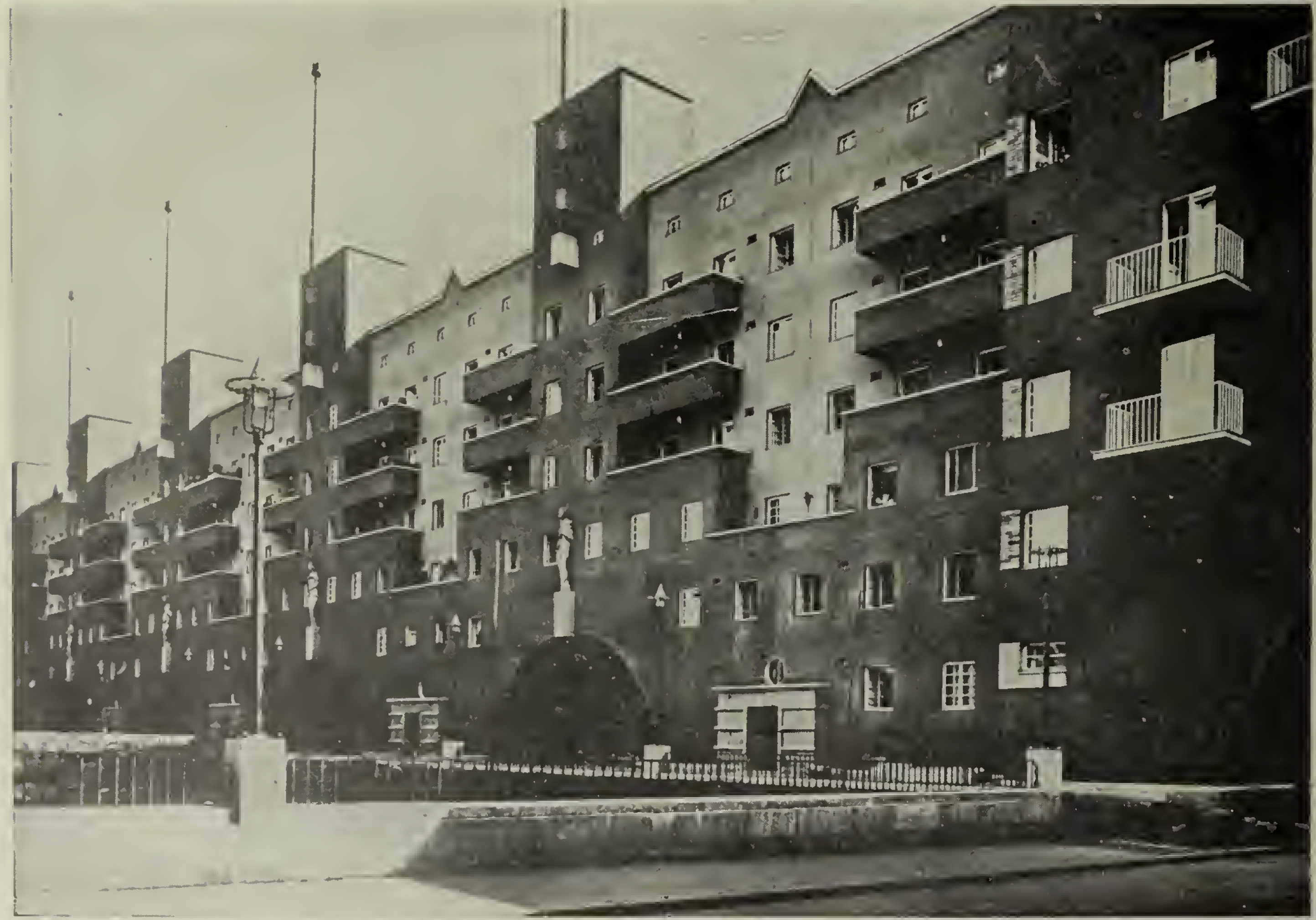
Since prehistoric man went into a cave and furnished the first real home, fashion has played an important, if not always decisive part in furniture design. Always the majority of home dwellers have been conservative in their tastes, but from time to time more or less violent reactions appear, such as the New Art movement, which produced some excitement in the early days of the twentieth century. Its influence in later years can be detected in the décor of this Viennese bedroom, with its mixture of curvilinear design.



Berliner Bild-Bericht

Dutch are more like the English in their love of home. Their houses are full of comfort and, as a rule, furnished with taste as well. Dutch furniture is heavy, but it is well made and genuine wood is used. As they have cold, damp winters, the stove is a prominent object in their rooms, as it is in all north-European lands. Made of porcelain or metal, it fills a corner, as a rule, and radiates a glow of heat from its wood fire. Swedish homes are attractive on this account, and also because Sweden produces a great deal of the best modern furniture, admirably designed and carefully finished.

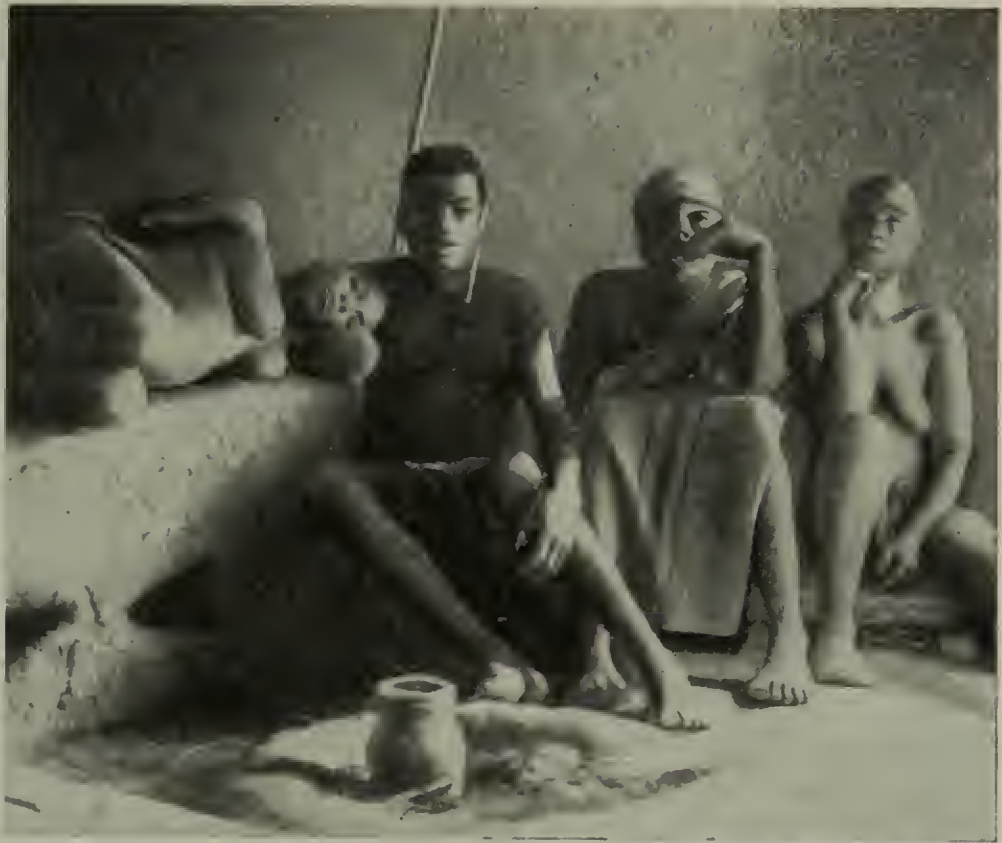
Between houses containing furniture such as this, or the old 'pieces' that have been handed down from the past, and the dwellings of people low



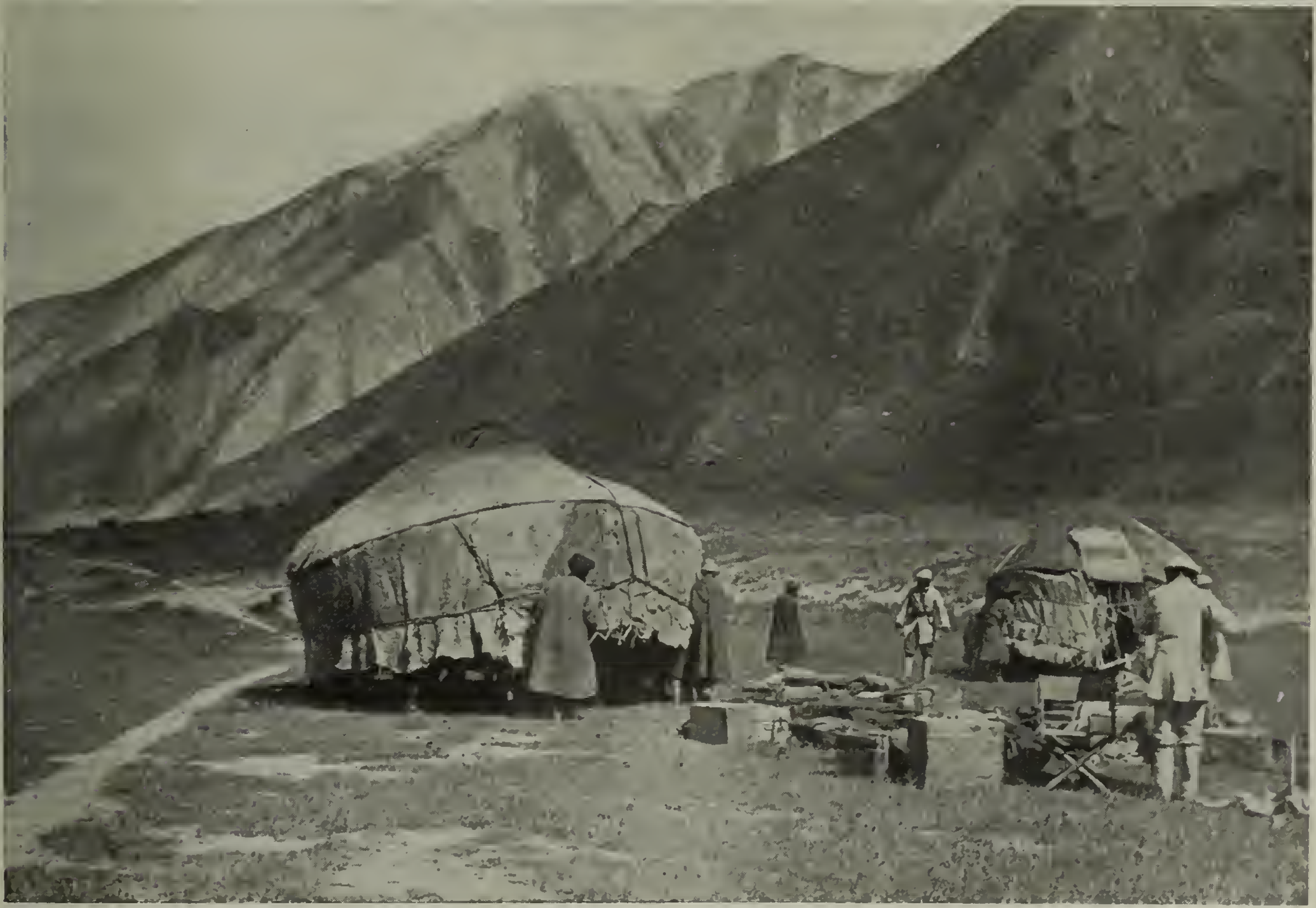
E.N.A.

ORDERLY MODERNISM IN FLATS FOR THE THOUSAND AND THE FEW

It is possible to see something of the Teutonic character in the severe design and reasoned planning of these entirely modernist dwellings, in which full advantage is taken of the technical advances of the twentieth century in methods of building and equipment. The Berlin flat (above) has walls mainly of glass (the bedrooms being shielded by concrete screens in the garden outside), and tubular steel furniture. Modernist principles are also applied to the Karl Marx Hof (below), a block of workmen's flats in Vienna housing five thousand people in the scale of civilization there are many gradations. The simple huts of the African native have next to nothing in them — no beds, of course; perhaps a few skins; no tables or chairs; a mortar in which to bray the maize for the 'mealie pap' on which they live, a pot or two, a wooden spoon, a water jar—that may be all. Much of the same character are the habitations of the very poor in China. These are made, in general, of bamboo poles and leaves fastened together with string, no nails being used at all. In riverside towns many live in old boats, or else drag the hulls ashore and make them the nucleus of a house. The houses of well-to-do Chinese are as different from these as Grosvenor Square is from Bermondsey. In the



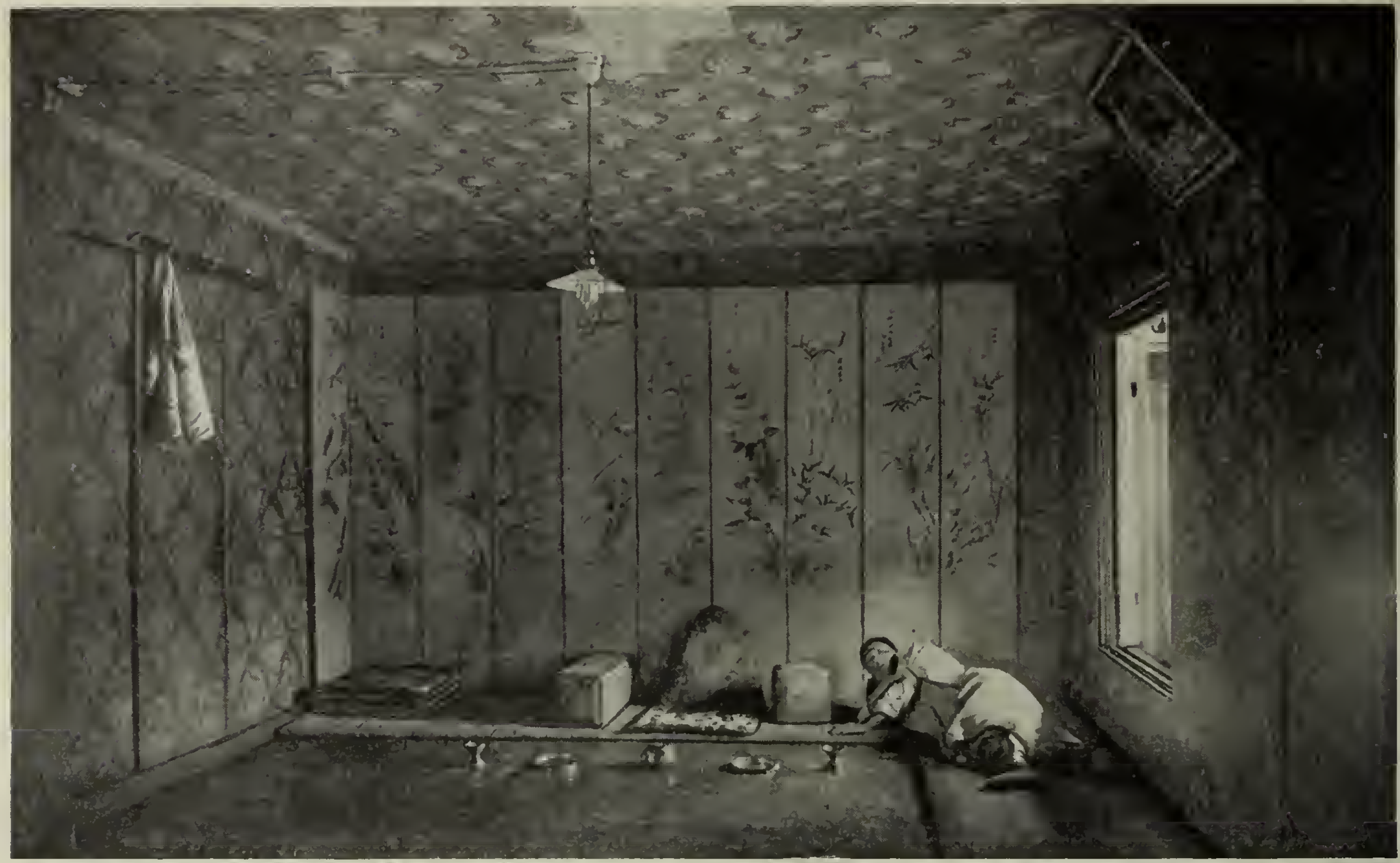
Reginald Silk



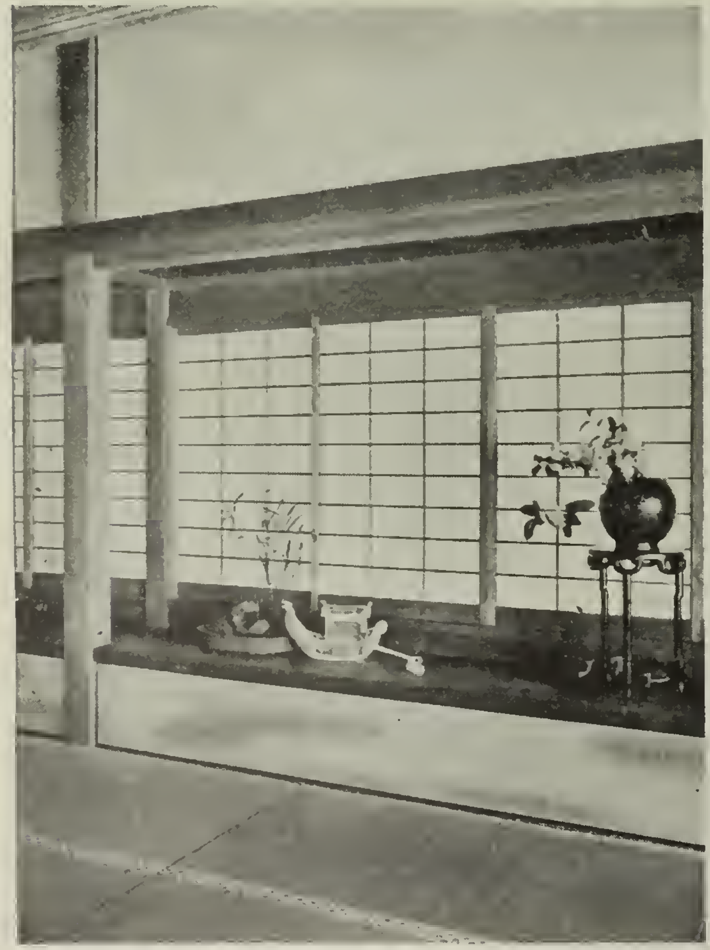
C. P. Skrine

SIMPLE HOMES OF NOMAD AND NATIVE, PORTABLE AND FIXED

When contrasted with the European, the native of other continents, with his standards firmly rooted in his racial past, easily betrays his tribal customs in his methods of living. The mud hut of the African (above), with a shelf of mud as a bed and a few pots for furnishing, is as adequate and as characteristic in its simplicity as the grey felt tent-hut of the Kirghiz of Chinese Turkistan (bottom). The latter has the additional advantage of being simply moved; a few men lift it from the inside and walk away with it bodily to its new site.



E.N.A.



E.N.A.

CLEANLY SIMPLICITY OF THE ORIENT

Both the Korean bedroom (above), furnished with a few cushions and a wooden head rest, and the Japanese room (below), with its sliding paper screens, delight the aesthetic eye while offering no satisfaction to sophisticated tastes.

guest room the chief object is a table placed against a wall, rather like an altar because it has vases, candlesticks and incense burners on it. On either side are large chairs. These are the seats of honour, and the only ones. Other people sit on the floor. On the walls are a few scroll-pictures and mirrors. The windows are of paper. On the altar-table incense is burned to ancestors.

The same custom prevails in Japan—at least, in the houses of old-fashioned people. The domestic shrine is looked after by the mistress of the house (see illustration in page 406). There is little furniture in a Japanese house. Soft mats are on the floors. Quilts are pulled under and over sleepers at night. There are no chairs or tables, no wardrobes, no sofas, almost nothing at all. The houses are built in such a way that one side is always open in the daytime. At night wooden shutters or sliding doors are put up. All the partitions between rooms can be moved (they run in grooves), so that a large room can be made at any moment out of a number of small ones. These partitions are of paper. All this sounds uncomfortable to European ears, but the Japanese would not at all like rooms full of furniture, much of it useless and cumbersome, and crowded with ornaments needing to be kept clean.

Nothing should be in a house, said William Morris, but what is either found useful or thought beautiful. In the East they have got nearer to that than we have in the West. But we are approaching it. We are simplifying our lives, and in the process our houses become simpler. And with greater simplicity we get, as a rule, more beauty.

CUSTOMS OF ARMISTICE DAY

SINCE it expresses national emotion and remembrance the observance of Armistice Day by the principal peoples affected by the Great War is of increasing solemnity and dignity, a fact which is demonstrated in these pages. Other chapters in which descriptions of mass emotion of a similar kind appear are How the Nations Mourn Their Heroes, and National Thanksgiving Days.

THROUGHOUT the world a steady process is at work by which traditions and old customs are shed. Lovers of the picturesque sigh, and declare that our modern world is growing drab and dull. There are others whose regrets have a more rational basis. They point out that human beings cannot live without ceremonial, whether religious or not. Formalism, they say, is something inherent in human nature. It is not sheer make-believe. It symbolises the way in which we are subduing nature, including human nature, and it trains us for further endeavours in the same direction.

Now, the first thing to be observed is that the process of simplification, of rationalisation and of standardisation is not a recent departure. Let us remember the numerous pilgrimages of medieval christianity. There are still pilgrimages in the Mahomedan world, and even in the west (see pages 391 and 609). But where, for instance, is the pageantry of S. James of Compostela, with its international intercourse and hospitality? And yet the nineteenth century has seen new centres for pilgrimage arise in the place of old ones. Lourdes is but one instance.

Can it be that the disappearance of customs is subject to some kind of law, that it is not gradual and steady, after all, but has its ups and downs like so many other things in human life? Let us take another instance, that of holidays. Medieval life teemed with holidays. The Church, which had a social as well as a religious function to perform, established festivals which alleviated the burden of existence for thousands and thousands of serfs and miserable workers, in whose lives they were the only spots of brightness.

Then came the new times and modern history, with its great economic expansion. New worlds were discovered, new markets opened, new energies were called for. The leisurely pace of the Middle Ages no longer suited the needs of mankind. Protestantism put a stop to the riot of saints' days and festivals. When the industrial revolution came, England discovered the need for intensified production, and the Sabbath went by the board to an extent we do not always realize. Even children were employed for six or seven hours on Sunday cleaning machinery, after working fifteen hours a day for the other six days in the week. A change came when the religious revival and the humanitarian spirit restored the weekly day of rest. Nor did the reaction stop there. New holidays, no longer of a religious nature, made their appearance. They were the popular bank holidays that have become so indispensable

IS there not, similarly, an historical explanation for the disappearance of customs and manners which is taking place in our own day? If the village has done—up to a point—with its folk dances and its May queens, is it not because the village has ceased to be isolated and is no longer self-contained? Certainly, in cases where the authorities have actually destroyed some custom or tradition, they have a reason for doing so. Whether the reason justifies their action is another question. The government of

Topical

GUNFIRE USHERS IN THE MEMORIAL SILENCE
Since clocks are not always synchronised, methods must be found to tell a great city the moment for the silence to begin. Guns, maroons and sirens all play their part. Here we see the Royal Artillery firing warning guns on the Horse Guards Parade, Whitehall, not very far from the Cenotaph, the heart of London's observance. The men in the crowd have uncovered at the sound.

Keystone

THE FIRST ARMISTICE DAY: ELEVENTH HOUR, ELEVENTH DAY, ELEVENTH MONTH

Of all the anniversaries to which the Great War gave birth that of its cessation struck the deepest and most enduring note. At that first eleventh hour the fierce strain relaxed. The occupied areas of France and Belgium were free again, and the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which had been under German rule for forty-seven years, knew that they would be restored to France. The double rejoicings in Strasbourg, capital of Alsace-Lorraine, are symbolised in this gathering of civilians and soldiers of the Allied Forces outside the civil headquarters.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha has abolished the fez and the veil. This is not due to a childish desire to introduce western headgear. But the new Turkish government knows that if Turkey is to hold its own in the modern world, it must modernise itself and do away with the disruptive local and traditional loyalties which still divide it. The traditional headgear is a symbol of the old, of which the Turkish authorities have decided, for better or for worse, to rid themselves.

We may conclude, therefore, that the disappearance of picturesque customs and manners is not due to mere vandalism, but is the reflection of social and historical movements of deep significance. It may be hastened by government measures, but such measures will only be successful if they correspond to some underlying reality. And we can also state with confidence that there is a periodicity, a coming and going of manners and customs, and that new things, which are often but the old under a new name, are taking the place of what is disappearing.

Who could have foreseen in 1910 that ten years later a set of customs and practices would have established itself, over a not inconsiderable portion of the inhabited world, in connexion with the date of November 11, which at that time had no special significance whatsoever?

And who is there to-day who will deny that these new customs have taken root among us, and are bound to stay with us in some form or other? No doubt other wars have been fought, lost or won, and war memorials have been erected on previous occasions. These memorials have been tended lovingly for some years, and then, as time swept away those more directly interested, they have remained no more than memorials of the past that have little meaning save to the historically educated.

One may safely predict that the end of the world war will continue to stand out as a special date in the memory of the peoples of the British Empire, because this war represented the greatest collective endeavour of the empire. It was a life-or-death struggle, and once engaged in the war, the empire was bound either to win or be dismembered. But a further and potent reason why the Armistice celebrations and all the ceremonial connected with them will endure is that they answer a real need, the need for ritual performances to take the place of the numerous old observances time is sweeping away.

We can detect two entirely distinct elements in the Armistice ritual of today. The first is the celebration of the victorious end of the war, the second is the grateful commemoration of those who gave their lives in the course of the struggle. It is true that the population of Great Britain did not undergo such deprivations and sufferings, during the world war, as did some of the other belligerents. Nevertheless, war-time restrictions and rationing were a reality, even in these isles. Air raids were causing loss of life and damage to property, and the necessity of taking precautions against them left nobody unaffected. And then there was the uncertainty of things, the daily war bulletins, the frustration of hope after hope, the casualty lists, with their dire message to many and their threat to all.

Keystone

Though not unexpected, the end of the fighting came as something not altogether credible, and after four years of anxiety people were suddenly given all and more than they dared to expect—relief and success. As, at eleven o'clock in the morning of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of the year 1918, the maroons boomed their glad message to the sky, the taut nerves of millions of people seemed to snap The British are supposed to be an undemonstrative race, although this is probably true only of a minority among them. They had shown once before in recent times that they could celebrate a victory in an exuberant manner, when, on May 17, 1900, in shouting themselves hoarse and in painting London red on receiving the news of the relief of Mafeking, they had given their language a new word. Now, the occasion being infinitely more important, a whole week was given to collective jollification.

Barnaby's, Ltd.

SCARLET POPPIES FOR REMEMBRANCE AND GRATITUDE

Flanders poppies made by disabled ex-Service men (below); have become the emblems of national remembrance, and the money from the sale goes to the support of the makers and their fellows in need. Above, an English seller in Paris is seen pinning the symbolic flower on the coat of a young French cadet from the military college of St. Cyr.

Many people, however, felt that although the spirit of exuberance was a natural outcome of the general sense of relief, it would not have been seemly to turn each subsequent Armistice Day into a festive occasion. If November 11, 1918, had been a day of the living, it was considered that henceforth November 11 must be devoted to the dead. And this is where the second and lasting characteristic of the celebration begins to make itself felt.

The apt formula for the tribute of the living to the dead was found by a South African, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, a pioneer of Mashonaland, who accompanied the Randolph Churchill expedition in 1891, and was connected with the Jameson Raid in 1895. He had observed that during the Great War the habit had existed, at Johannesburg, of blowing the hooters at the mines at midday, in order to invite people to pause for a moment and think of those who were fighting far away.

Sir Percy Fitzpatrick came to London in 1919, and put his idea before Viscount Milner, formerly Colonial Secretary and High Commissioner for South Africa. It was approved by the king and by the Government of the day. On November 11, 1919, a two minutes' silence was observed at 11 a.m. throughout the British Empire.

Other striking ways of paying tribute to the dead of the Great War came naturally to the minds of men. It would have been impossible, of course, to exhume and re-inter at home the 725,000 British soldiers who are buried all over the world. In any case, this would still have left it impossible to honour the remains of the 400,000 British sailors and soldiers who have no known grave.

Fox Photos

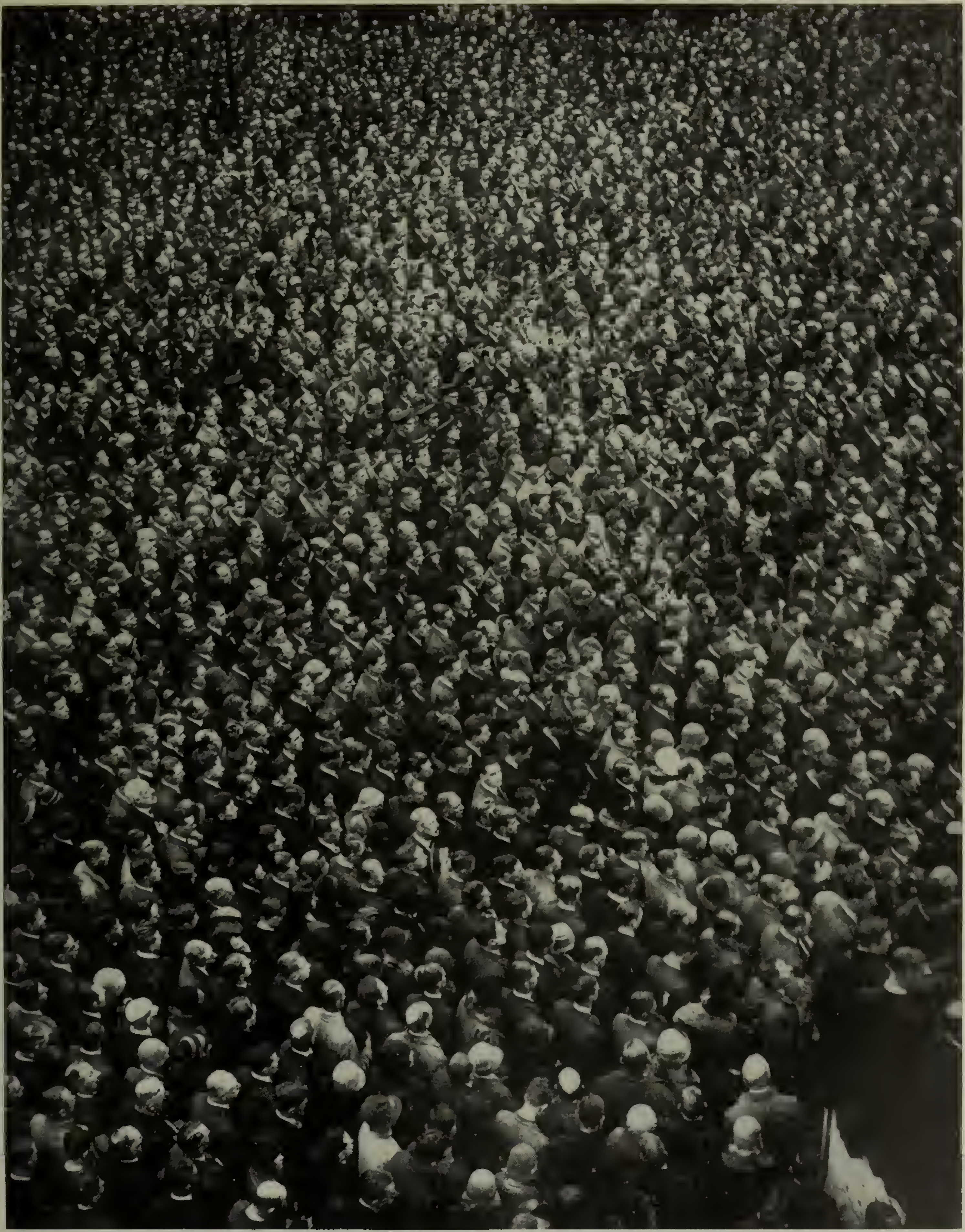
SILENCE OBSERVED IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Not only in the cities do men keep the two minutes' silence. It is observed throughout the land. The old Cotswold shepherd and the young Essex farm labourer, though alone with their beasts, bare their heads and turn their thoughts to the men who died

Now there is an instinct, almost as old as mankind itself, to provide the dead with a recognized and ultimate resting-place. We know to what trouble the Homeric Greeks would put themselves in order to recover the bodies of their dead friends, that they might be given a fitting funeral and lie at rest in mother earth. They believed that no rest was possible for the spirit of the unburied departed. And with the symbolism which has always appealed to men, they bethought themselves of a system by which they could thwart the decrees of Fate, whenever the body of a dear departed could not be found. They erected a cenotaph, which means an empty tomb, which was supposed to have the same propitiatory effect as an actual grave.

It was in answer, therefore, to an ancestral craving for propitiation that the British decided to erect an empty tomb, in the very heart of the empire, in Whitehall, almost under the shadow of the Mother of Parliaments, to all the victims of the Great War. A full-size model was erected, made of wood and plaster, after the design of Sir Edward Lutyens, and the Cenotaph was ready in time for the Victory March of representatives of all the Allied Armies in 1919.

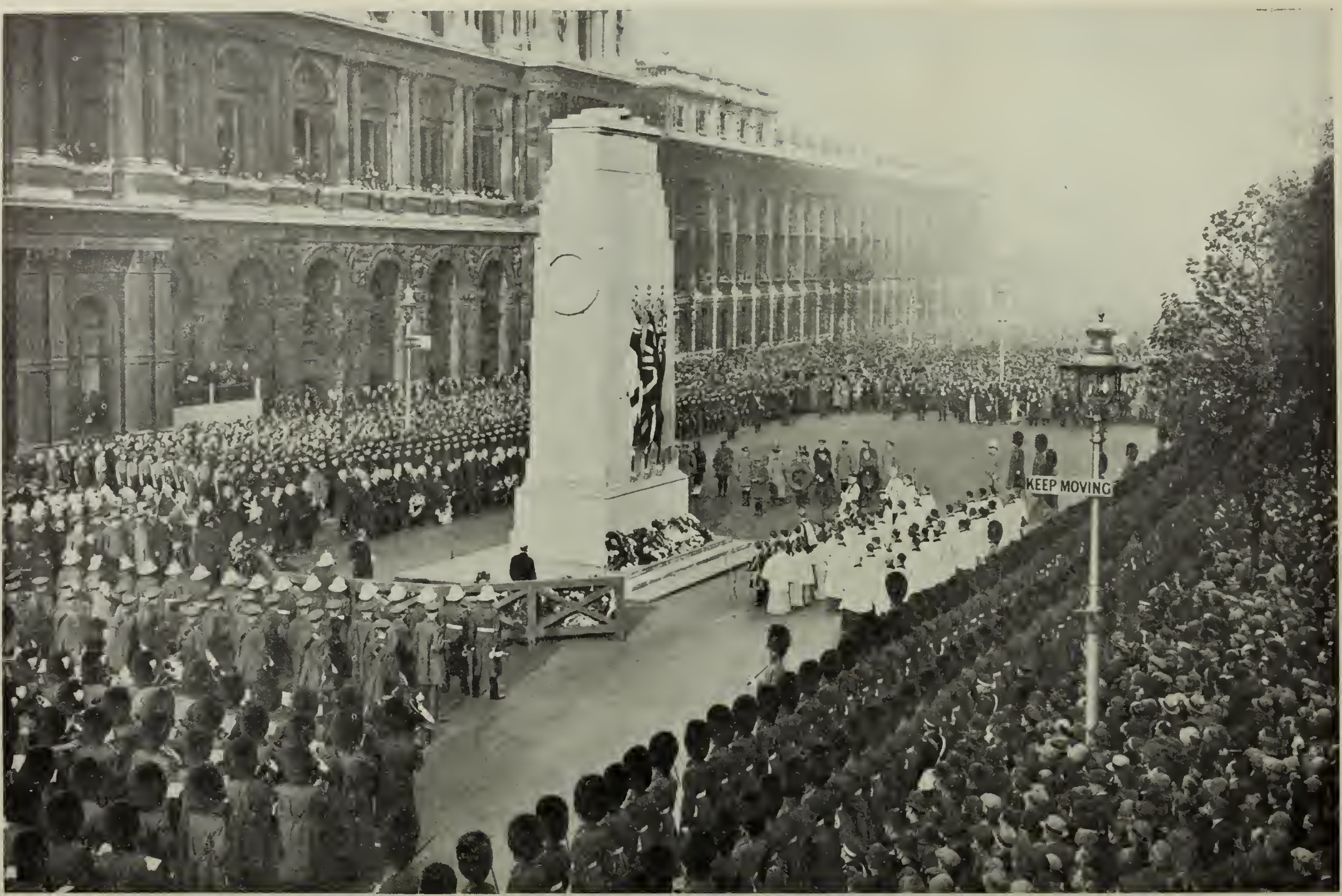
The solemn Armistice celebrations naturally centre round this memorial. Visitors from the country, visitors from abroad, are in the habit of depositing flowers and wreaths all round its base. On the eve



Central Press

ORDINARY MEN AND WOMEN UNITE FOR THE NATIONAL ACT OF REMEMBRANCE

As the guns sound there falls over London a mantle of silence so wonderful that each year it comes as a fresh astonishment—a peace out of pain. Great crowds assemble at certain chosen places where services are held and the national tribute paid. The photograph shows the crowd at the Royal Exchange, standing erect and motionless until the last ethereal note of the réveillé will bring them to life again. The unity of emotion in so great a crowd is an astonishing example of mass psychology.



Central Press

KING AND PEOPLE GATHER AT THE CENOTAPH TO HONOUR THE MEMORY OF THE IMMORTAL DEAD

As leader and chief of the people it is only fitting that the king should be, as it were, the chief mourner at the Cenotaph, and, as representative of the nation, so long as this deeply moving commemoration custom is kept up, should lay the first wreath on the plinth at the conclusion of the service. This is the central point of the whole national observance. The Guards and other troops keep the square, the choirs of the Chapel Royal lead the hymns, and far down Whitehall stretches the reverent crowd. Short though the moments of remembrance are, they have a deep and lasting effect upon those of the generation that passed through the war period which no other war in European history has produced.

Keystone

BELGIUM'S KING AND QUEEN HONOUR THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

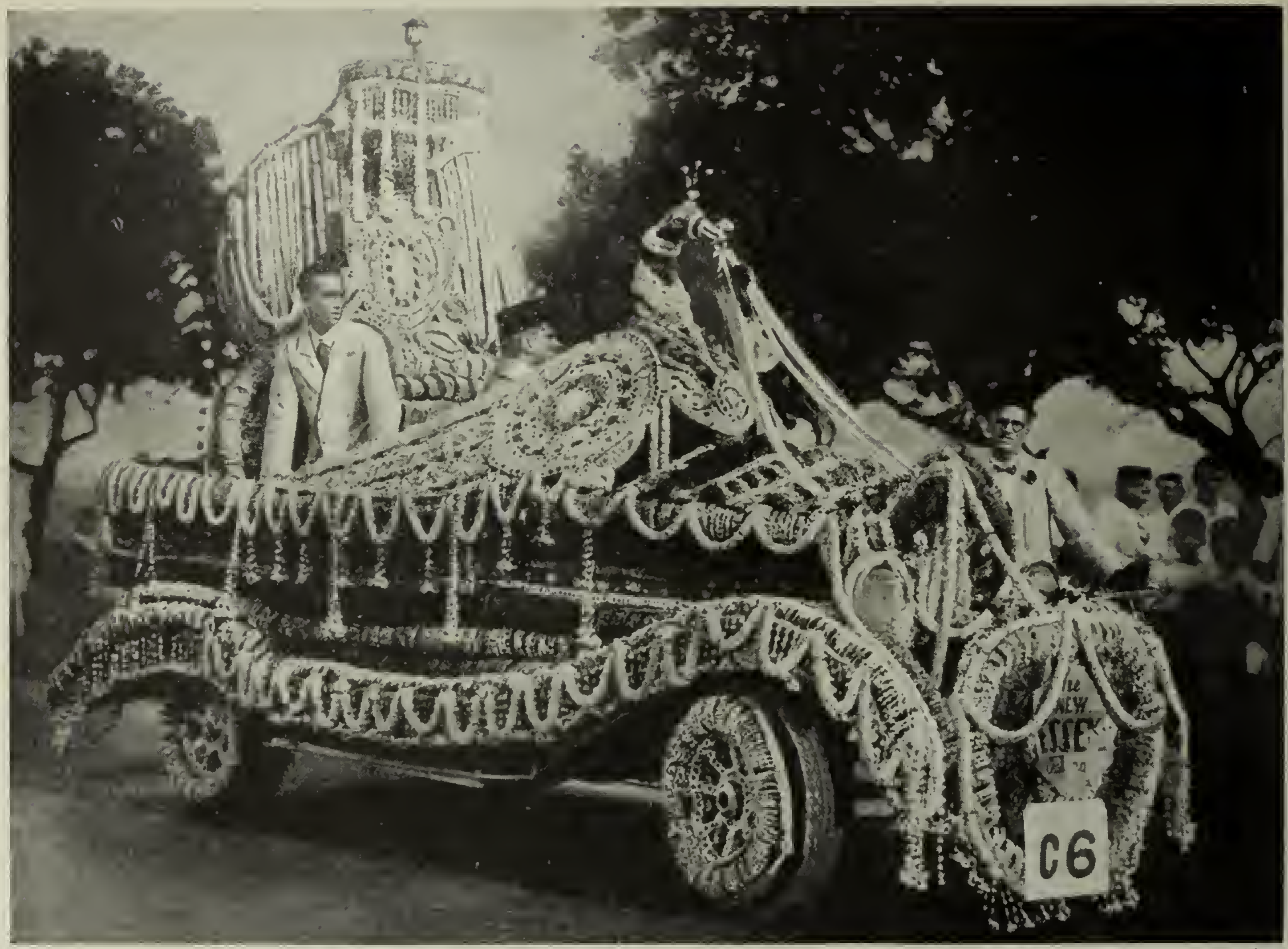
Great Britain was the first of the nations to bring the body of an unknown soldier from Flanders and bury it among kings and heroes, but other countries soon adopted the idea, together with that of the two minutes' silence. The King of the Belgians, warrior-king of a gallant people, is here seen with his Queen at the Unknown Soldier's tomb in Brussels, representing the nation as chief mourners for those who fell in the Great War. In Belgium, of all countries, the ceremony is a moving one.

of every eleventh of November a crowd of men, women and children begins to file past, in twos and threes, and continues to do so for more than twenty-four hours. They pile up their humble posies and their magnificent wreaths, provided with inscriptions, of which the following, noticed at the Cenotaph on November 11, 1930, is a typical example: 'In loving Memory of Daddy, from Doris, aged 16.' This must have come from a child who was four on the cessation of hostilities. Perhaps she never saw her father. Throughout the year, all men who pass the Cenotaph lift their hats, as a tribute to the dead, and also from a subtler motive, as a tribute to the collective reverence which has grown up towards the empty tomb.

The symbolism of the Cenotaph was not deemed to acquit the community of its duty towards the dead. An Imperial War Graves Commission, financed by all parts of the empire, has been set up in order to look after all the graves of British soldiers and sailors. Measures have been taken to secure the permanent upkeep of the graveyards where the bodies rest. For, in order not to prevent the restoration of agriculture in the devastated areas, it had been decided to concentrate all the graves into a few cemeteries.

As a still more tangible symbol of gratitude and devotion to the dead it was decided to transport the body of one unidentified soldier to the mother country. Among the hundreds of thousands whose names are not known, one body was chosen and solemnly transferred to London. On the second anniversary of the Armistice it lay in state in Westminster Abbey, the burial place of so many of the most illustrious of Britain's sons. There it was interred under a simple stone. A small chapel close to the grave was set apart for prayer and remembrance, and once a week a solemn service is held in this place.

Round these two monuments, the stately Cenotaph and the unobtrusive tomb of the Unknown Warrior, a whole ritual of remembrance has grown up. We may quote, as an example, the Armistice Day celebrations of the year 1930. Already on the previous night people started to file past the Cenotaph. At 10.30 a.m. a time signal was broadcast from Greenwich for the purpose of allowing all clocks throughout the country to be synchronised. At the same hour a service started in Westminster Abbey. At 10.45 a service began at S. Paul's Cathedral, and another for London troops at the Royal Exchange. At 10.55 the King, accompanied by his sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, deposited a wreath at the Cenotaph. Behind him came representatives of the dominions and governments at home and abroad. At 11 o'clock the great silence was heralded by the first stroke of the hour from Big Ben. The Last Post was sounded, a gun was fired from the Horse Guards Parade, and Outer London was warned by the firing of maroons from certain police stations. As a matter of fact a hush had already descended over the whole town a few seconds before. And with London and the King, who stood motionless and bareheaded at the foot of the Cenotaph, the whole country and the whole empire stood in silent remembrance. The silence is now much deeper than in the earlier years. Not only does the traffic halt in every street, but motor engines are stopped. A blind man



Keystone

LIGHTER SIDE OF ARMISTICE DAY IN AN INDIAN CAPITAL

Though the keynote of Armistice Day in modern times is remembrance, very unlike the wild rejoicing and uncontrolled excitement of the day when the Armistice came into force, there are sometimes festivities of various kinds held later in the day, often as a means of raising money for the British Legion and other Service charities. In Bombay in 1930 there was a procession of decorated cars, in which this one, dressed as a peacock, gained the first prize.

continued to walk, tapping his stick in front of him, at 11 o'clock. But a woman gently placed a finger on his lips and he immediately stopped.

At 11.2 the silence was broken by the sounding of the Reveillé at the Cenotaph. It was followed by the firing of another gun from the Horse Guards Parade and the discharge of maroons from police stations. The Cenotaph service now began, conducted by the Bishop of London. At 11.20 the public were admitted to the Abbey to file past the Unknown Warrior's Grave. In the evening further services were held.

Armistice Day is also celebrated in other countries. By now every country that took part in the war has its Unknown Warrior's Tomb. But there is, naturally, a certain variety due to the fact that November 11 does not mean the same thing to every nation. For Italy the war ended on November 5. In Germany there is no national ceremony, which proves that, although the element of jubilation has by this time disappeared from Armistice Day celebrations, it was, as has been pointed out, their original occasion. France holds a most impressive ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier under the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile, where the President of the Republic deposits a wreath at 11 o'clock after a solemn silence of one minute. But the silence has not become a habit of the French nation, which is constitutionally less inclined towards ritual than the Anglo-Saxons. In the United States the two minutes silence is growing in popularity. In some towns shops are compulsorily closed for the whole day.

If a prediction be possible, it is that as far as Great Britain is concerned, Armistice Day will eventually absorb certain other ceremonies that occur about the same time. The time is not perhaps distant when the Lord Mayor's procession will coalesce with Armistice Day, instead of being celebrated on November 9. Such a tendency is not new. The pagan celebrations of the winter solstice have gradually become part of the Christian ritual in commemoration of the birth of Christ, and Easter has taken the place of the ancient festival of spring, renewal and resurrection. Of course, nowadays, with our elaborate system of chronicling all things and keeping them in their place, the process may be a lengthier one. But there are tendencies that are stronger than human organization.

CUSTOMS OF SAVAGE TRADE AND BARTER

PRIMITIVE methods of trade and barter that still survive in various parts of the world are exceptionally interesting in the contrast their simplicity offers to the complexity of the operations involved in modern commerce. Especially thought-provoking is the primitive man's perception of the spiritual considerations, as here detailed, that should, and can, affect the pursuit of material gain.

WELFARE and wealth are not convertible terms for the savage, who, like the rest of us, seeks for the one, but, unlike most of us, does not greatly trouble about the other. Moral values weigh more with him than material values. In other words, his relations with his neighbours, whether human, subhuman, or superhuman, are of more importance to him than his standard of comfort, which is low. Thus it would be quite unscientific to try to interpret his history in the light of our political economy. To treat the savage as fundamentally a wealth-seeking animal amounts to sheer anachronism—a projection of the present into the past.

Indeed, in imposing our civilization on people of the primitive, that is, old-fashioned, type of culture and mental outlook we are apt to forget that an improvement of the physical conditions in which they live will not compensate in their eyes for an utter disorganization of the spiritual conditions. A little sympathy will go farther with them than all that money can buy. No doubt as such unsophisticated folk learn our ways they will become more like us; who, having more fully exploited the environment, have our satisfactions bound up with the use and abuse of an infinite variety of possessions.

Here, however, we have to do with the beginnings of the exchange of commodities among people of simple wants, and the first question to be asked is why they should hanker after alien goods at all. It might seem the natural thing for them to do; but the truth is that their instinct is rather to avoid the stranger and his belongings, so that a long process of fraternisation is required to enable them to overcome this aversion.

For the primeval society is self-sufficing. It keeps to itself and fends for itself, seeking peace and safety in more or less complete isolation. Of course, in proportion as its organization is at all complex, there will be lesser circles—clans, families, and so on—within the wider circle of tribal intimacy. On the whole, however, whether closely or distantly associated, all are comrades, who prefer to give and take among themselves rather than to buy and sell.

TO speak of communism in this connexion, as is often done, is to go too far, because, though some things such as food are shareable and for the most part are actually shared, other things such as ornaments and weapons are privately owned, being, as it were, vehicles and extensions of the separate personality of the owner. So much is this the case, that when a man dies those articles that bear the stamp

Ewing Galloway

GOOD BUSINESS IN AN ALGERIAN SHEEP MARKET

With the exception of the nomads of the desert the indigenous inhabitants of Algeria are an industrious agricultural and pastoral people, and large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep are reared. Under French administration the country is being developed in a most remarkable manner, and sheep raising is now a prosperous occupation.

of his individuality and, as the Australian natives say, 'smell of him,' are often buried with his body as unfit to be used by others. Infected as they are with his ghostly presence, they would be as dangerous for the rest as though they carried a curse. Conversely, if a man willingly parts with one of these objects so redolent of his very being, he is virtually making a second self of the receiver. From this point of view to exchange gifts is almost to exchange souls—very much as is likewise implied by the rite of blood-brotherhood. So bride and bridegroom exchange rings to symbolise their spiritual union.

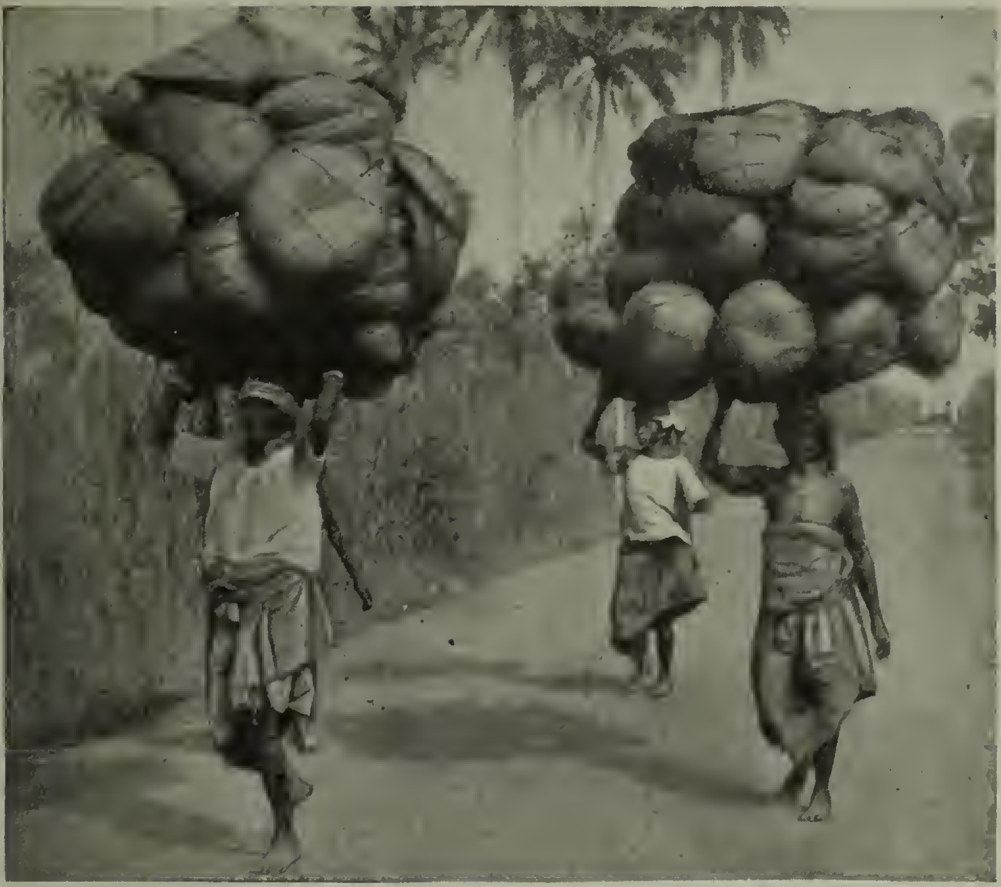
It is on such lines, then, mystic rather than economic, that most of the formal give-and-take, as contrasted with the casual sharing, must be interpreted in reference to societies of the simplest type. Gifts are primarily tokens of regard, whether towards equals, when they imply affection, or towards superiors, such as parents, parents-in-law, tribal elders and so on, when they express respect and the desire to honour. After all, there is nothing strange in such an attitude towards the employment of property; for we ourselves would feel it indecent if the spirit of the shop were to intrude itself into our relations with our nearest and dearest. It is only when individual gain supplants material good will as the be-all and end-all of social intercourse that the economic man, a characteristic product of civilization, appears on the world's scene.

Now, however much it may wander about in search of its daily food, the primitive society normally possesses a territory in the sense that it recognizes boundaries beyond which lies the country of the stranger, who is likewise for the most part the enemy. Even that mild-natured and feeble cave-dweller, the Vedda of central Ceylon, is wont to define his frontiers by cutting a mark representing a man with a drawn bow on the trunks of prominent trees along the limit

E.N.A.

TRADING OPERATIONS IN AFRICAN OPEN-AIR MARKETS

Great activity characterises African markets. The market places are merely open spaces reserved for the purpose and rarely have booths or tables, the goods being exposed on the bare ground. Sometimes the trading operations are conducted by means of barter, as in the hinterland of Nigeria (bottom), where natives are here shown exchanging cloth for produce. Sometimes money is used, as in Kenya, where among the Kikuyu there is a brisk demand for salt (top), a valuable commodity brought long distances from the salt lakes in the colony.



Reginald Silk

the primitive world go to prove how deeply the spirit of landlordism is implanted in the human bosom.

For the matter of that, however, the same holds of the poaching tendency, and it is by no means natural to man to refrain from helping himself at the cost of another, if that other does not belong to his own circle and crowd. Thus we hear of more than one Australian tribe that used to send expeditions to raid the land of the stranger when they needed red ochre with which to paint their bodies or the leaves of a certain bush called 'pitcheri' that were chewed for their narcotic properties. A regular war-party was organized, and it would fight its way through hostile country for a distance of two or three hundred miles, returning home with marvellous tales of

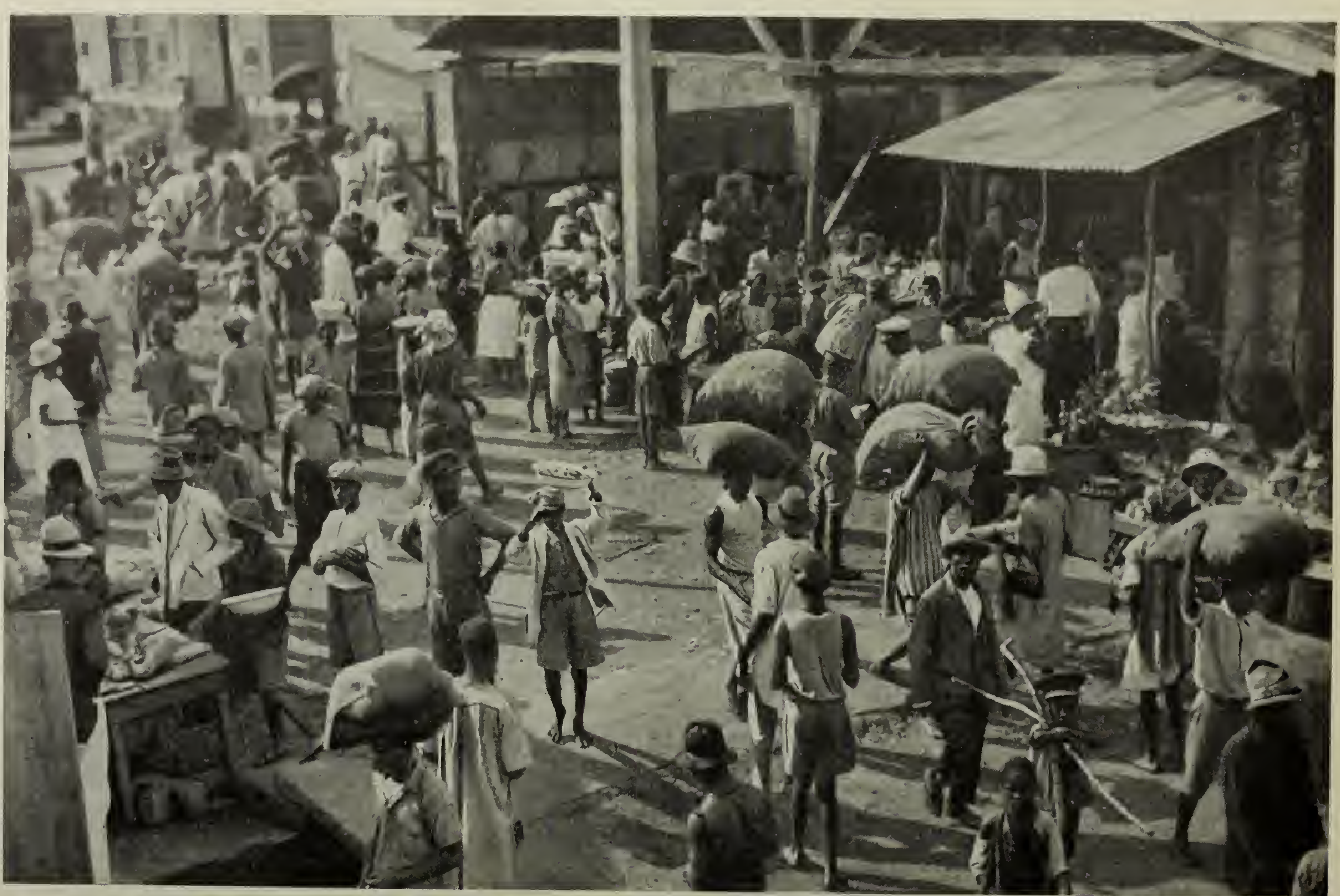
—a plain hint to the next group as to what would occur should they be disposed to intrude in search of game or of the delectable combs of the rock bee. It may be added in regard to such property marks in general that they are essentially warnings, and tend to embody a threat of more than merely physical penalties in store for those who do not mind their own business.

In the Solomon Islands, for instance, it is customary to taboo a fishing-ground or a garden or a particular tree, say a coconut or breadfruit, by placing on it a mark, for example, a dead branch, to signify that a protective incantation has been duly sung over it. Trespassers are threatened with running sores, distended stomach, head on one side, and so on. Such precautions are all the more necessary because, in addition to light-fingered gentry, there are wizards, and, again, ghosts that need to be kept at a safe distance. In short, supernatural man-traps and spring-guns in use all over

R. Dykes, F.R.G.S.

HUMAN BEASTS OF BURDEN THAT ENJOY A MARKET DAY

African natives have a bargaining temperament and crowds of them attend the frequent markets. The lower photograph shows a normal market day throng in Oyo Province, Nigeria. The women above are coming in from the Bush to market carrying loads of calabashes—large gourds whose outer cases when hard and dry serve as washing bowls, cooking utensils and receptacles for stores. The loads are not so heavy as they look.



ANIMATED SCENE OF EXCHANGE AND BARTER IN THE MARKET PLACE OF MONROVIA

Martin Munkacsy

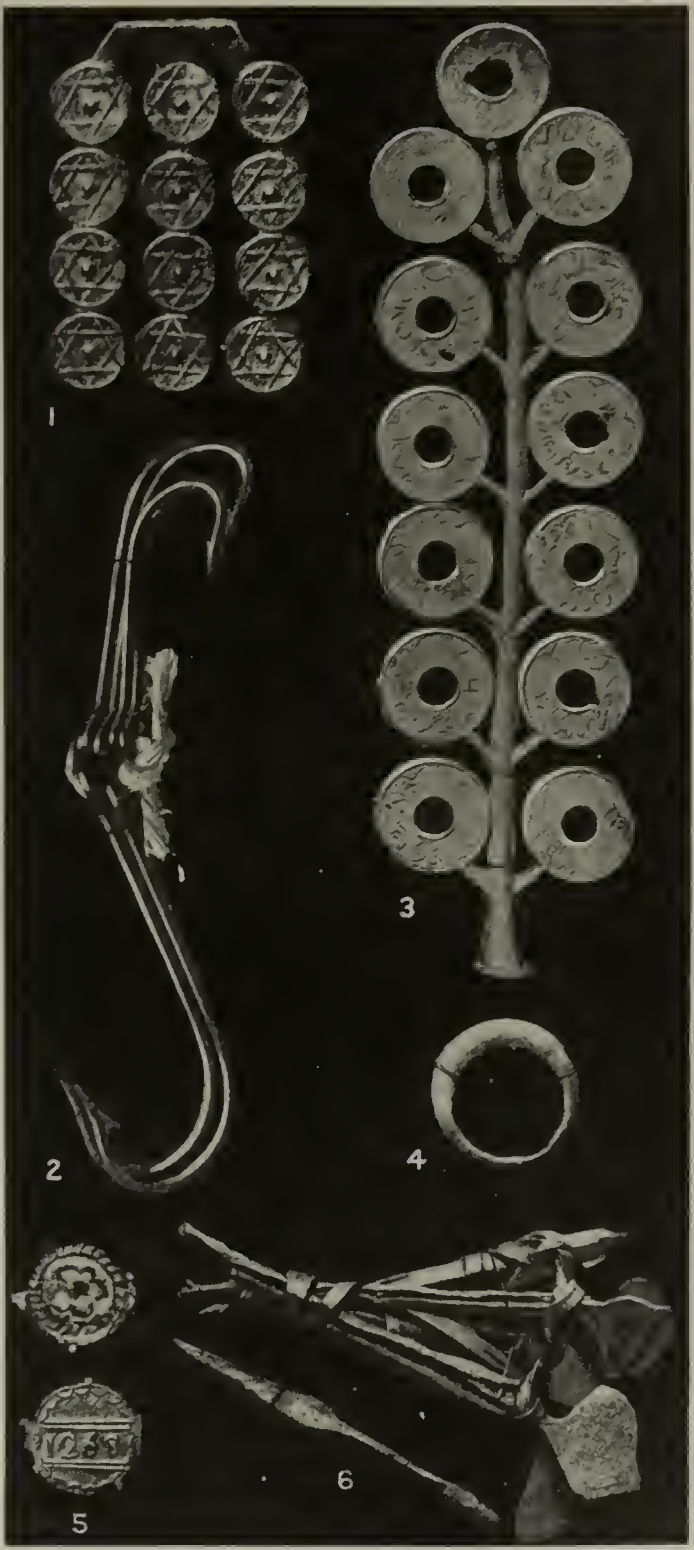
Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, has a population of about 6,000, and as a port of entry is a busy place. Since the Great War road-making has been undertaken, but roads are still few, and even in the capital hardly any vehicles are in use in the stony, grass-grown streets, porters providing the only means of transport. Brisk trade is done in the market in rice, manioc, vegetables, fruit and fish, but meat, except tinned, is almost unknown. The official currency of the republic is in dollars and cents, but native payment is still made in kind in sticks of salt or in cowries, or in barter; a wife, for example, being worth about half a dozen brass kettles, fifteen kegs of powder, and a few pieces of cloth.

adventure among monstrous peoples who grew toes on their heels. Only picked men could join the muster. They must carefully arm and paint themselves for the part, they must never halt too long by the way, or fail to set a watch at night ; in a word, it was a sheer act of invasion on a par with those forays across the border that occurred in the good old days when Scots and English perpetually coveted each other's cattle.

Nevertheless, paradoxical as it may sound, mutual aggression may be an avenue to mutually profitable intercourse. Though there is nothing to be said for rapine in itself, unless possibly that it serves as a check on over-population, yet in the course of actually 'knocking up against' each other a certain grudging respect may be engendered, together with a desire to acquire whatever attributes and possessions are supposed to make the other side powerful and lucky. The same line of thought that leads a warrior to partake of his enemy's heart may take the mitigated form of promoting interchange of complimentary presents. Peace-making, in fact, is usually accomplished in this way, and the underlying idea is that a real bond is formed by thus participating in one another's intimate belongings. It is, for instance, a regular method of terminating a blood-feud among the Australian natives.

NOR is it a very far cry from these occasional foregatherings to periodic meetings between groups who would seem to enjoy quarrelling almost as much as fraternising, but ingeniously make use of these contacts so that, ill will being exhausted, good will has a chance of coming to its own. There results something that is a cross between a tournament and a fair. Recriminations are hurled at each other, weapons are brandished, and perhaps a regulated combat ensues, or more often a culprit stands up passively to a shower of spears which he dodges until his assailants have blown off their steam. Thereupon all is peace and festivity, and a general swapping of effects — essentially a generous form of commerce, since it amounts to an interchange of olive branches—becomes the order of the day. Thus, historically, trade is of the same progeny as war—a younger sister with a kindlier face. As a native put it to Howitt, its object is 'to make friends.'

Yet making friends is none too easy among wild folk who tend to be as suspicious of one another's intentions as two strange dogs. After all, there is some reason for this attitude. For even under more civilized conditions the distinction between commerce and piracy sometimes remains a fine one. Thus in Homeric times a trading vessel was apt to snatch up a woman or two and be over the horizon by daybreak ; while in our day the natives of a Pacific island have often been kept guessing whether barter or 'blackbirding' was the true business of the white man's visiting schooner. Hence there is a justifiable caution at the back of the institution known as 'the silent trade.' I deposit a stone implement from my tribal quarry in a clearing one evening, and next day it is gone and an opossum skin has taken its place. Of course it is a little awkward if what I really wanted was a bone nose-plug or a hardwood spear ; but by taking some things and leaving others each of us may gradually come to form an idea of the other's needs. The only merit of the system, in fact, is that the mystery attaching to the foreign



From the Zerbe Collection

QUAINT TOKEN MONEY FROM DIVERSE REGIONS

(1) Moroccan coins cast in a mould and divisible as (5) for small change ; (2) fish-hook money from islands off Alaska ; (3) tin 'tree' money from Malacca with detachable coin branches ; (4) Zulu ring money ; (6) primitive African money in the shape of crudely formed miniature weapons.

Mondiale

SUDANESE CORN MERCHANTS IN THE NATIVE GRAIN MARKET OF OMDURMAN

Situated as it is on the bank of the Nile, facing Khartum, with a river frontage of something like seven miles, Omdurman is the headquarters of the chief native traders of the Sudan, and has long been an extremely important native mart, supplied by camel caravans travelling across the desert and by innumerable dhows plying on the Nile. A brisk trade is carried on in the native grain market, where, as usual throughout Africa, the goods on offer are laid out on the ground for general inspection.

article is so enhanced that it acquires special value as a luck-bringer. Thus in Ashanti 'suman' are fetishes or charms that consist of knotted porcupines' tails, of snail shells, of beads, and so forth. As a native informant explained to Captain Rattray: 'Suman come from the "mmotia" (fairies), by whom they were first made and from whom they are still obtained. You place ten cowries on a rock, go away; on your return you find your cowries gone, having been replaced by a suman.'

On the whole, however it is simpler if the two parties can learn to trust each other, and in Australia they have thought out an ingenious, if by no means obvious, way of bringing this about. A child's umbilical cord is preserved and tied up in the middle of a bunch of feathers, being then known as a 'kalduke.' Two fathers of different groups exchange these objects, thus causing their sons to become 'ngiangiampe,' that is, taboo to one another. When they have grown up, these individuals become the agents through whom all tribal barter is carried out The only trouble is that they are barred by the very sacredness of the tie between them from ever speaking together; so that their dealings can only be conducted through third parties. Thus from the merely practical point of view this mode of creating spiritual union has its drawbacks.

But the savage puts communion before commerce, and in his preoccupation with the mystical aspect of the transaction pays little heed to its material consequences. By this symbolical exchange of life-tokens he makes palpable to all the notion of a friendship void of all offence, because exempt from all the incidents and accidents of ordinary intercourse. It is no mere diplomatic gesture but a solemn act of religion which thus, as it were, weds the two tribes together in the persons of their representatives, so as thus to bring a blessing on all their subsequent relations. For us, however, who have lost this way of looking at life, it is very hard to see a connexion between brotherhood and business, or to imagine how the spirit of Christmas could be extended from Christmas presents to Christmas bills.

That such an institution can remain difficult for us to appreciate even though established on a grander scale is proved by the parallel case of the 'kula' or so-called trading-voyage of the Trobriand Islanders, as described by Dr. Malinowski in his fascinating but bewildering account of these 'Argonauts of the Pacific.' Just as the Greek heroes who sailed in the Argo—'the Swift'—were after the Golden Fleece for its magical value, so these Melanesian mariners, who in their outrigger canoes maintain inter-tribal communications between islands scattered in a wide ring, are primarily identifying the main interest of their lives with a non-utilitarian purpose. On every island and in every village there is a limited number of persons who are 'in the kula' for life, and it is their privilege to participate in a constant exchange of white-shell armlets and red-shell necklaces which move round and round in opposite

Capt. Goschen

directions and bind these men of different groups in honourable partnerships which impose obligations of mutual service in proportion as they consecrate and adorn the social tie. The more important of these ornaments have individual names, like our Crown jewels, and the owner for the time being feels uplifted, as does also the friend to whom he passes on the precious object in due course, always as a gift and never on the basis of a *quid pro quo* bargain.

On the whole, concurrently with this romantic business, there goes on a good deal of minor interchange of useful articles, and no doubt the absence of haggling that as a matter of ceremonial decency must accompany the transference of the symbolic gifts tends to spread to these subordinate affairs that come nearer to ordinary marketing. Whereas, then, the modern economist would appraise the 'kula' as no more than indirect stimulus to sea-trading, for the Trobriander it is in and for itself a consuming passion whereby he is moved to take a positive pride in not receiving more than he can return.

Ewing Galloway

MARKETING IN CELEBES AND THE NEW HEBRIDES

Of the many tribes who inhabit the Dutch East Indian island Celebes the Bugis are the most civilized, with a native aptitude for commerce that has made them famous throughout the Malay archipelago. Among the cannibals of the New Hebrides (bottom) tobacco is a highly prized commodity, and they eagerly board every trading vessel to barter for it with copra and other island produce.

We have only to turn, however, to another part of Melanesia to see how commerce based on the use of a currency, together with the beginnings of a banking system and of a taste for the higher mathematics, can evolve out of the trading of pieces of shell of various colours to which different values and often individual names are attached. Mr. Armstrong in his excellent book on Rossel Island gives a very full account of the monetary system

Ewing Galloway

RIVERINE COMMERCE IN THE REMOTE HINTERLAND OF BRAZIL

Brazil has so fertile a soil that sufficient to support life can be produced with very little trouble. Thus, left to themselves, the native Indians are an indolent folk, only working on those plantations where scarcity of labour secures good pay for them. In the state of Matto Grosso, on the upper waters of the Paraguay, rivers are almost the only highways, and along these the Indians travel to the riverine settlements to trade rice and cassava, fruit and some of the native medicinal plants that grow wild in the forests.

there in vogue, the complications of which turn on the fact that only particular ' coins ' have the precise purchasing value required for particular transactions ; so that, however rich he may be in shell-money of other denominations a man who needs a precise coin must start a series of exchanges that go on until the required token comes to his hands. Hence there has come into existence a regular class of financial operators who, in much the same manner as a London bill broker, make a profit by lending on shorter terms than those on which they borrow, using magic to stimulate their debtors to repay promptly and their creditors to be correspondingly slow in claiming their due.

HAVING thus acquired the right coins a man is in a position to buy the appropriate object, say, a pig, though even so it is not a matter of conducting a private deal so much as one of initiating a communal festival. Characteristically it begins with a sort of quarrel between the groups concerned. ' Not much of a pig, that ! ' says the spokesman of the one side ; to which the reply of the owners is, ' Eat it and see ! ' Compensation being handed over in the shape of the conventional equivalent which includes coins of so sacred a character that they must be handled with reverence and in a crouching attitude, there follows a feast which is definitely supposed to adjust the relations between the two parties.

One more illustration must suffice of this primitive tendency to subordinate the material to the spiritual benefits of the exchange of goods. The ' potlatch ' or distribution feast of the north-west coast of America is on the face of it a display of reckless prodigality inasmuch as the clan that gives entertainment strips itself bare of its property in order to send away its guests loaded with complimentary gifts. Did it stop here, they would have lost everything except honour. It is incumbent on the visitors, however, unless they would be disgraced, to hold similar feasts in due course, so as to repay the favours shown them with no less prodigal interest. Yet it is surely a noble form of rivalry not to be outdone in generosity rather than in the art of snatching a profit.

So, too, then, all over the savage world the prime function of most of the ceremonial giving and taking is to betoken mutual regard and a readiness to share as is proper among friends. Very false, therefore, are the contrasts drawn by early travellers between the hospitable folk that met them at the shore with freely tendered gifts and the thieves who boarded the vessels in order to lay hands on everything that took their fancy. In no case is it likely that the savages in question did not envisage their duties as hosts and their rights as visitors as equally binding clauses of the law of nations. Prone as they are to ill will towards the stranger—for ignorance ever breeds suspicion—these simpler peoples are thorough in their reactions, and, if they turn to good will, do their best to establish a complete reciprocity Modern commerce might well borrow from its old-world prototype something of that non-calculating, non-competitive spirit that proclaims getting to have little or no value apart from giving.

MYSTICAL SOCIETIES, SAVAGE AND CIVILIZED

TRANSCENDENTALISM is the distinguishing characteristic of mystical societies as dealt with in this chapter, their sole, or at any rate primary concern being with religion. Secret societies are primarily political in intention and are treated in a separate chapter. Practices closely associated with the general subject are described in The Rites of Circumcision, and Initiation and Other Ceremonies of Puberty.

PROPERLY speaking, a mystical society is a body whose members engage in the pursuit of mystical knowledge, whose endeavour is to gain a closer union with God and a fuller understanding of the hidden side of the universe. With savage or barbarous peoples this may imply supernatural fellowship with a god, demon or deified ancestor. Such societies generally have a definite system of initiation and orders, and even in some instances a certain political bias, but although their rites and ceremonies are invariably carried on in secret, they differ from secret societies proper in having a paramountly religious or quasi-religious intention. Secret societies—dealt with in another chapter—nearly always have a political intention and outlook.

Mystical societies have been known from time immemorial. In ancient times and in the savage world they were and for the most part are associated with the life-story of a god or ancestor, usually a god of growth or a great culture-hero, such as Osiris, Ceres or Bacchus, the drama of whose life is enacted in their ceremonies, the main intention being that the members or initiates of the group shall be enabled to achieve unity with him both in this life and after death. In order to accomplish this they generally must undergo several successive stages of initiation until they are finally 'reborn' as adepts or are perfected in their communion with the deity or presiding power, and this commonly implies a more or less prolonged course of preparation, purification, meditation and sometimes study, as well as abstention from certain foods. These rites must be differentiated to some extent from puberty initiations, which are not usually of a similar character and which are usually of a preliminary kind.

MANY societies of the kind exist in Africa. A good example is that of the Ndembo or Kita, which flourishes on the Lower Congo, and the rites of which begin with the assumption that the neophyte is dead. A number of candidates ceremonially 'die' at one time, and are carried to an enclosure outside the village. They are supposed to decay until only a single bone is left, and this the chief is believed to bring back to life within a period lasting from three months to three years. The disciples, on returning from the dead, behave as though they had actually come from another world and had been reborn. They take new names, pretend to be taught to eat, and do not recognize even their parents. They are then called 'Nyanga,' or 'Knowing Ones,' and employ a secret language of their own.

The Belli of Liberia act similarly in their initiatory system known as Belli Paaro, which is described as a death, a new birth and an incorporation in the community of spirits. Like the Duk-duk of New Pomerania, they call themselves 'spirits,' people ready for the life beyond. The Tulka-Susus of Sierra Leone have a mystical society called Purrah, consisting of a tribal lodge for each of their five divisions and a grand lodge presiding over all. The tribal lodges accept initiates of not less than thirty years of age, but the grand lodge will not admit a man before the age of fifty. If a neophyte cannot stand the tests or reveals the secrets he is killed at

E.N.A

DERVISH MYSTICS' NEW YEAR CAROL

A Persian mystical organization with considerable political influence is the very old-established society of The Lions. It has branches in nearly every village, and outside the house of the local leader of one of these, three Dervishes identified with the society are here shown singing on the occasion of the Persian new year.

once. He dwells for some months in a hut in the sacred grove and is fed by people in masks. Speech and freedom are forbidden him. The tests are of the most terrible description, and it is said that fettered lions and leopards are made use of in the mysteries, and great fires lit at which the candidate is nearly roasted alive.

The Purrah acts as a species of police, administering justice to malefactors and mediating between warring clans, sacking the lands of the offending village. Its members recognize each other by signs and passwords. Above all, however, it is a spiritual society and claims communion with the supernatural.

The Egbo or Esik—the name means 'tiger'—of Calabar is a mystical society divided into eleven grades, entrance to which may be purchased. Its inner circle, the Nyampa, is presided over by the king, with the title of Cyamba. Each grade has its own day of celebration, controlled by the Idem, or 'spirit-master,' and when this is announced, women and children hurry from the village. As a rule the Idem is a hermit who lives in the bush, and is masked and fantastically attired in mats and branches. At festivals the heads of the order are linked together by a screen of leaves which makes them appear as a connected mass.

Like the Purrah, the Egbo exercises political powers, and Europeans are frequently enrolled in it in order to recover their debts. Candidates are first sent to the Mokokos, a bush tribe in the interior, with whom they live naked in the fields, bathing in the river clad in green leaves. The mysteries are said to circle round a sacred goat, which the people seldom set eyes on, and this appears to form a link with European witchcraft.

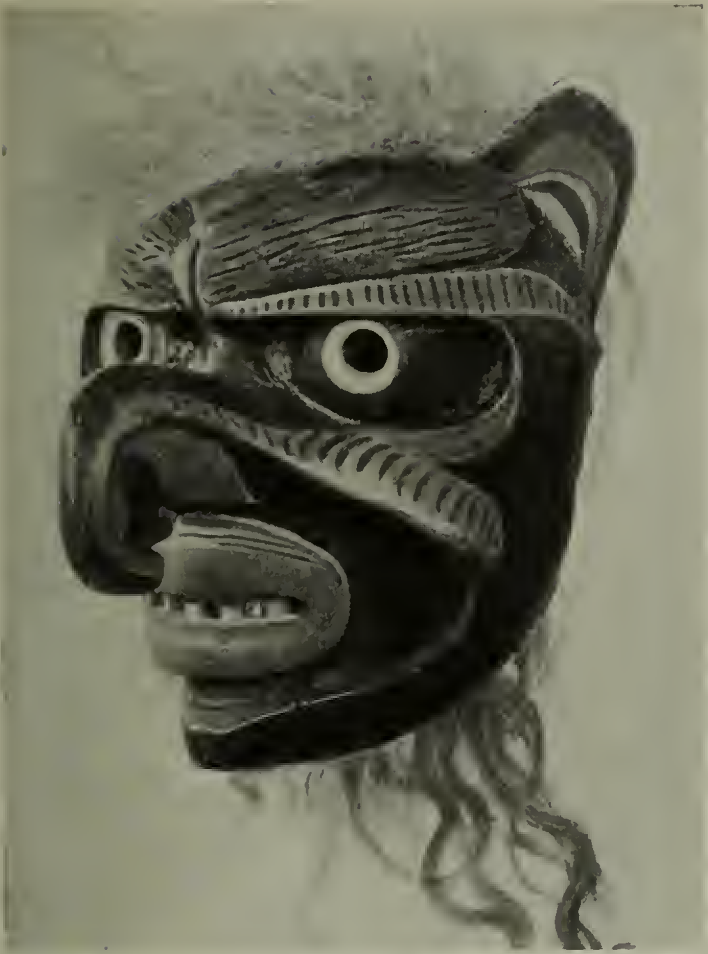
The Indian tribes of America still have numerous mystical societies. Perhaps the best known of these is the Midiwiwin society of the Ojibway Indians. It is said by them that Michabo, their god, instructed the otter in the mysteries of the cult, giving it a sacred rattle, drum, tobacco and other necessary implements, all of which implies that the society is a 'medicine' or magical body. The neophyte must first live in a wigwam for four days, taking a steam bath every day to purify himself. On the evening before initiation he visits his teachers to receive instruction, and next day is taken by them to the lodge. He then sings three songs to the Bear Spirit, the presiding medicine genius, to be permitted to enter the first grade. He is retarded through the several grades by different spirits, and first by the snake spirits, which guard entrance to the initial grade. This recalls Egyptian practice, but these demon-guardians, after feastings and prayers, are compelled to retire, and the Great Snake raises its body, forming an arch through which the neophyte enters the second grade. Bear spirits bar his way to the third, but he has now supernatural power, is enabled to see into the future, and can touch friends and foes, however far off they may be. In the third grade he gains still further might, can perform extraordinary exploits, and has power over the whole world of spirits. The fourth grade makes him a perfected adept.

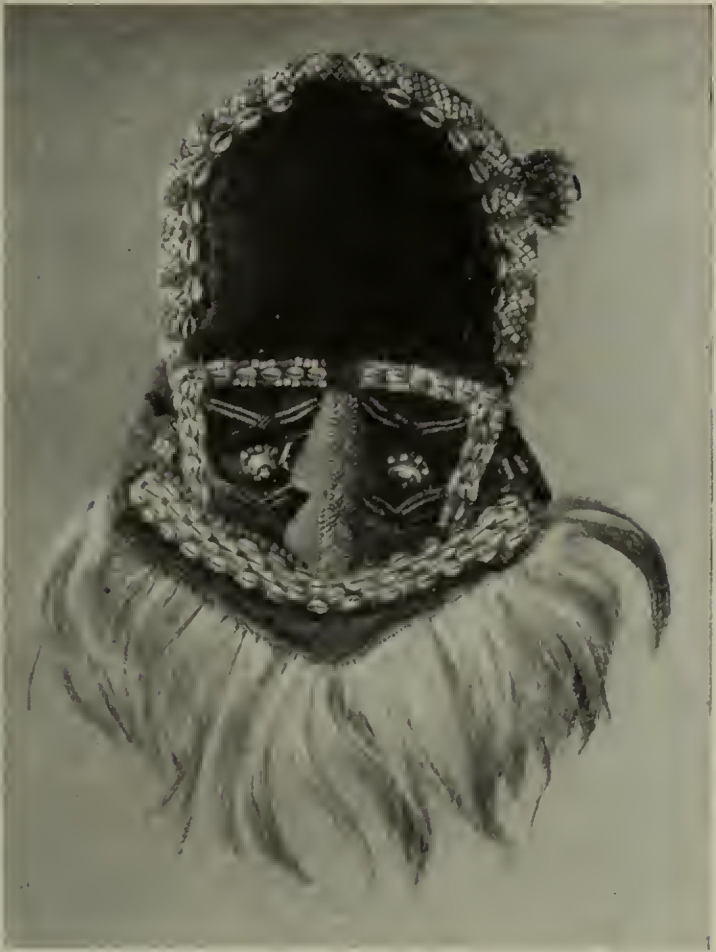
In South America the mystical cult of Jurupari of the Uapès Indians of Brazil provides a good example of a society into which men alone are initiated. When arrived at man's estate Jurupari invited the men of the tribe to a drinking-bout, but the women refused to provide the liquor, and thus gained his ill will. He devoured the children of the tribe because they had eaten of the uacu tree, which was sacred to him. The men, enraged at the loss of their offspring, fell upon him and cast him into a fire, from the ashes of which grew the paxiuba tree, which the Uapès say is the bones of Jurupari. Whilst it was night the men cut down the tree and fashioned it into sacred instruments which must never be seen by the women, on account of the dislike Jurupari conceived for them. Should a woman chance to see the sacred symbols pertaining to the worship of Jurupari, she is at once poisoned. On hearing the 'Jurupari music' of the priests on the occasion of one of his festivals the women of the tribe wildly rush into concealment, nor dare to emerge from it until all chance of danger is past. In all probability this custom proceeds from the ancient usage common to most American and other barbarous tribes that the rites of initiation of the men of the tribe must not be witnessed by the women thereof.

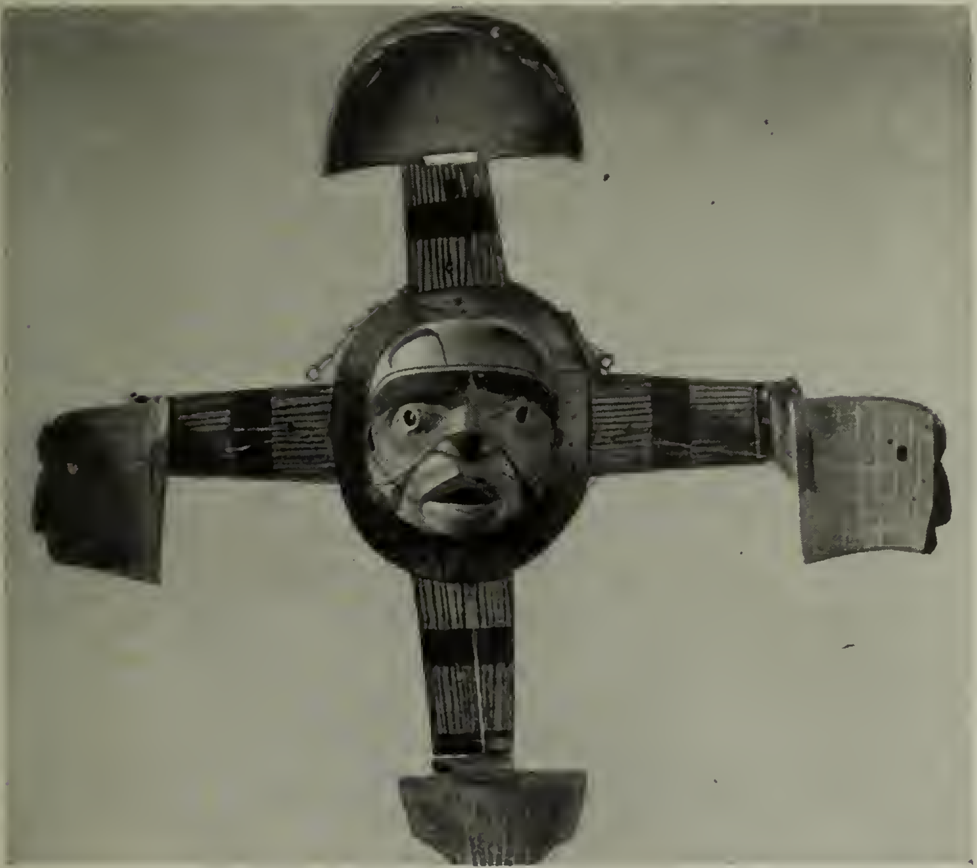
The Botuto or 'Holy Trumpet' society among the Indians of the Orinoco is composed of adepts who submit to celibacy and severe scourgings and fastings. Both in Mexico and Central America a religio-magical system called Nagualism obtained, the purpose of which was to bring occult influence against the whites for their destruction. The rites of this strange cult usually took place in caverns and other deserted localities, and were naturally derived to a large extent from those of the suppressed native religion. Each native worshipper possessed a magical or animal spirit-guide, with which he was endowed early in life. This system certainly flourished as lately as half a century ago, and there is good reason to believe that it is not yet extinct.

The Katean society of the Moluccas may be cited as representative of the many that flourish in Oceania The neophyte is introduced into the Katean house through an aperture in the form of a crocodile's jaws or a cassowary's beak. He is then said to be 'swallowed by' the god. Having remained there a few days, he is secretly removed to a remote spot. At the end of two months he is permitted to rejoin his relatives—a full-fledged member of the Katean society, but he may not reveal the nature of the mystical noises which he has heard nor the other wonders he has experienced, and is regarded as 'helpless' and new-born.

Several mystical societies, which have also a certain political hue, are found in the Near East. The Persian society known as 'the Lions' has branches







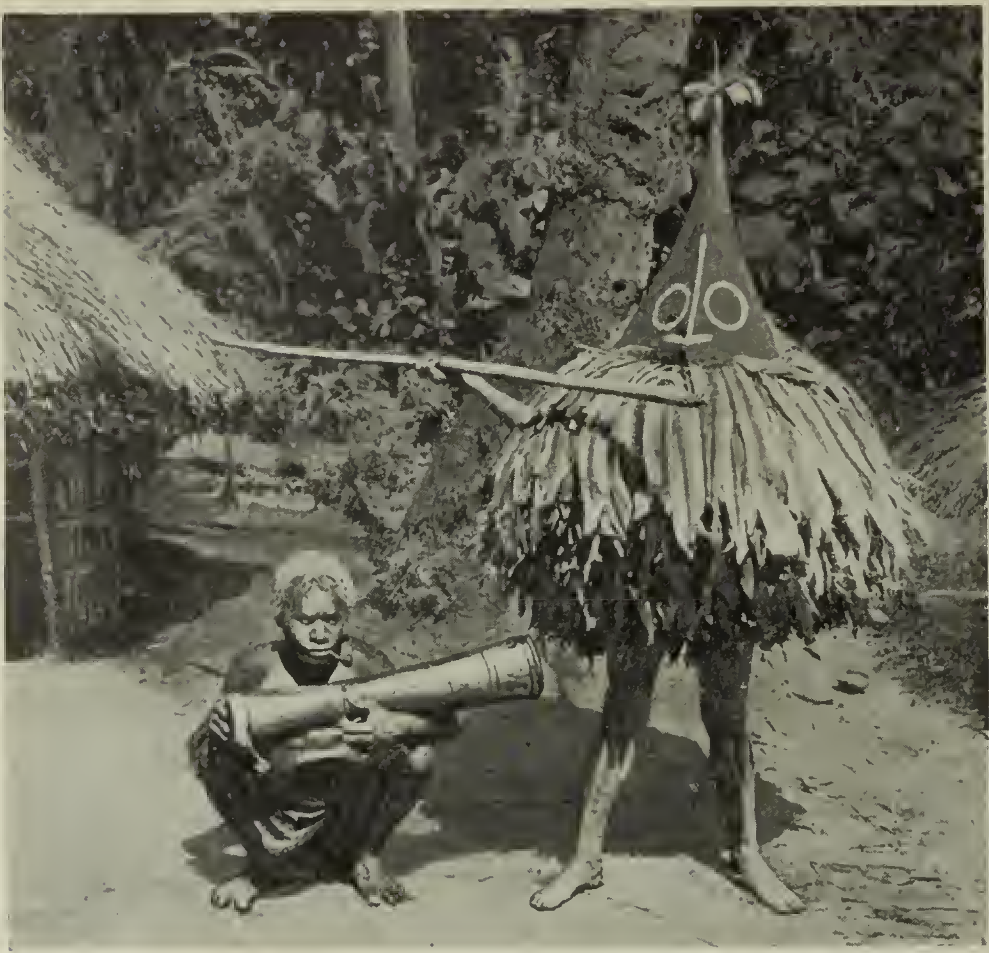
American Museum of Natural History

CEREMONIAL MASKS FROM AMERICA AND AFRICA

Almost every organized society, secret or non-secret, has its ceremonial regalia. Among primitive people the mask is usually the principal item of such costume. Of these specimens that on the top right is a beaded mask of the African Bushongo of the Kasai river. The other two are British Columbian : a Beka Coola mask and, above, a mask from the north-west coast.

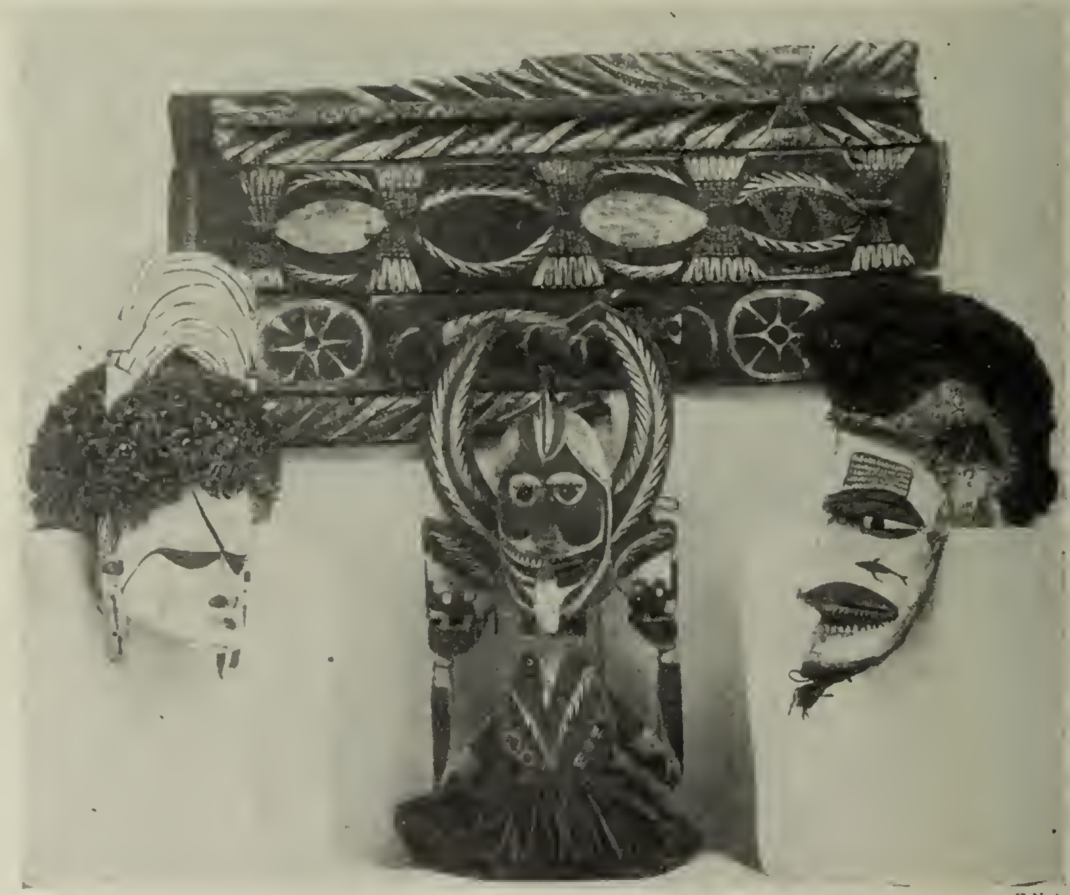
in nearly every village, and these are popularly believed to hold extraordinary secrets. They are credited with the knowledge of a process by which they can soften the face of a man to make him look like a woman, or harden that of a woman to make her resemble a male. This society is believed to be of extremely ancient origin. Certain Sufist societies in Persia and northern India still cultivate the mystical side of the Islamic faith.

Of the very numerous mystical societies in existence in China, the majority are political as well as esoteric. The Thian-ti-Lwii, or League of Heaven and Earth, said to have been in existence in 1674, professes to continue a system of esoteric brotherhood derived from ancient customs, and its candidates must successfully answer 333 questions of a mystic and occult character before admission. The Triad society is a similar body, conserving ancient sodalities.



The candidate, scantily clothed, is brought into a dark room by two members, who lead him to the president, before whom he kneels. He is given a living cock and a knife and, still kneeling, takes a complicated oath to assist his brethren in any emergency, even at the risk of his life. He then cuts off the head of the cock and mingles its blood with his own, the three assisting individuals adding some of their own blood. After being warned that death will be his portion should he divulge the secrets of the society, he is initiated into them, and is entrusted with the signs of recognition, which are in triads. For example, a member must use three fingers only to lift any object.

Many details are forthcoming about mystical societies in Europe associated with the cult of Lucifer or Satan, but discrimination is required in dealing with these. Modern 'Luciferians' are divided into two groups—those who worship the deity they adore as the evil principle, and those who regard him as the true god, in opposition to Adonai or Jehovah. The sacred host is frequently stolen from Catholic churches for the purpose of a Satanic rite which requires the destruction of the consecrated wafer as a ritual act. In 1894 a hundred consecrated hosts were stolen from Notre Dame by an old woman in circumstances that clearly proved that the vessels which contained them were not the objects of the theft, and an extraordinary number of such larcenies occurred in all parts of France about the end of last century, no fewer than thirteen churches in the diocese of Orleans being thus despoiled. In the diocese of Lyons measures were taken to transform the tabernacles into



E.N.A.

HORRIFIC PARAPHERNALIA OF DUK-DUK MYSTERIES

Secrecy is carried to extremes by the Duk-Duks of the Bismarck archipelago. They conduct their mysteries in secluded spaces which no uninitiate or woman may enter, and occasionally rush out, hideously masked and garbed (top), to terrorise the villagers. Below are some paraphernalia of a branch of the Duk-Duks in New Pomerania: two ceremonial masks, an idol and some carved tablets.

E.N.A.

IDOLS WHOSE BLOOD-STAINED PEDESTALS ONCE STOOD IN BENIN CITY

No other people in the world have indulged in such fearful excesses in fetishism as did the Beni of West Africa before the British occupied their territory and incorporated it as a province in Southern Nigeria. Intensely superstitious and at the same time readily amenable to organization, they were as clay in the hands of their medicine men, and secret religious societies flourished among them. Human sacrifice was a feature of their religion, carried out with a cruelty that made their capital, Benin, known as the City of Blood.

strong-boxes, and in eleven of the dioceses similar acts were recorded. In Italy, Rome, Liguria and Salerno suffered, and even in the island of Mauritius an outrage of this kind accompanied by peculiar atrocity occurred in 1895.

Although Satanist lodges certainly exist in Europe and America, one must take with a very substantial grain of salt all the nonsense written about them, especially as regards their activities in France. Equally absurd, for the most part, are the statements published regarding the great Rosicrucian Society. The Rosicrucian Brotherhood was first heard of in the second decade of the seventeenth century by the publication of pamphlets which expressed the intention of this body to purify an unrighteous world. These stated that the Order of the Rosy Cross had been founded by one Christian Rosenkreuze for this purpose, and set forth the objects and traditions of the order, which is therein described as having several degrees. Not only princes, nobles and the wealthy, but 'mean and inconsiderable persons' were admitted to its ranks, provided their intentions were pure and disinterested. The order, we are told, possessed an esoteric language, and had accumulated more gold and silver than the whole world beside could yield. It was not, however, the mere gathering of wealth with which it was concerned, but mystical philosophy and the inculcation of altruistic sentiment.

Research, however, has proved that the Rosicrucian principles were borrowed almost wholesale from the 'Raguaglio di Parnasso' of the Milanese writer Bocalini, who suffered for his Protestant faith in 1613. This is inspired by older arcane writings, Gnostic and cabalistic, and may be founded on circumstances of fact more ancient than its author himself appreciated.

Mondiale

AMAZONIAN INDIANS GATHERED FOR A SERVICE FOR MEN ONLY

Concealment of the rites of initiation into manhood from the women of the tribe is common to almost all primitive peoples, and probably is the basic explanation of the fact that the women are so often excluded also from the mystical cults. Among the Indians of Brazil this is the general rule. Here, for example, the men of a tribe living on a tributary of the Amazon are awaiting the arrival of candidates for initiation into a secret society, all women being forbidden access to the vicinity or to set eyes upon the sacred ritual instruments.

The point for us, however, is that certain societies calling themselves Rosicrucian still exist in England. The Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia, founded in 1867 by Robert Wentworth Little, still flourishes, and admits only Master Masons. It is largely cabalistic, dealing with the occult properties in nature, alchemy and so forth. The officers of the society consist of three magi, a master-general for the first and second orders, a deputy master-general, a treasurer, a secretary and seven ancients. The assisting officers number a precentor, organist, torch-bearer, herald and so forth. The society is composed of nine grades or classes.

There were also a Yorkshire College and an East of Scotland College of Rosicrucians, the latter only recently disbanded. There are similar associations in America, notedly the Societas Rosicruciana of Boston, and others less reputable, which actually advertise correspondence classes on occult lore. In France the Order of Martinistes, devoted to the study of the ancient Jewish doctrines of mysticism to be found in the Cabala, is still in being, as is a mixed pseudo-Masonic body, the Suprême Conseil Universel Mixte, founded in 1899, which admits persons of both sexes.

Freemasonry is, of course, of the nature of a mystical society, and in Great Britain and America is established on the purest principles of Christian fraternity. But on the Continent its aims are often as much political as transcendental. The 'Grand Orient' type of Masonry which obtains in Catholic countries is not only anti-Catholic, but is also frequently revolutionary in its tendencies, as the speeches and writings of its champions clearly reveal.

STRANGE rumours drift through occult circles concerning a mystical society of a subversive nature, and based on the principles of the Cabala, with headquarters in Germany and affiliations in London, inspired by Jewish world-agencies. There is said to be in use in this society a certain mystical force known as Kundalini, of an electro-magnetic description, which the adepts employ to hypnotise and 'enslave' the neophyte. These stories will be accepted at their true worth by all reasonable persons. It may be that such a society exists, but its associates are scarcely to be taken seriously.

Theosophy is a mystical society whose philosophy is based on the wisdom-religions of the Orient; it has more than one centre of official sanction because of the schisms which have occurred in it since its inception. Scores of similar mystical bodies exist in Europe and America, the mere enumeration of whose titles would occupy more space than can here be accorded them

HUNTING THE TAME AND THE WILD

Man indulges in hunting for two wholly distinct reasons—to secure food or protection, or purely for the sake of the sport and adventure it provides. In what follows the most notable methods employed in both categories are surveyed. Reference may be made to the chapter on Habit and Custom in the Art of Fishing, as dealing with a closely allied subject.

In his struggle to survive man has had to wage war upon the lower animals from time immemorial, either to feed himself or to protect himself. In the process of evolution our butchers' shops and the whole of the elaborately organized 'dead meat trade' have, in civilized countries, taken the place of the individual or tribal hunt for food, and the most successful pursuit of those pests which prey upon mankind is carried out nowadays by biochemists in laboratories. The stock-yards of Chicago and the freezing chambers of the Argentine and New Zealand have solved for a great portion of the world the problem of food supply, and we know now that far more dangerous to the human species than the man-eating lion and tiger or the rogue buffalo are the germ-bearing rat and insect.

In uncivilized countries man still hunts to live. The pot has to be filled, and its ingredients cannot be purchased 'round the corner.' In civilized countries the hunt largely survives as an amusement, and though an excuse is found for the pursuit of the fox on the grounds that he is a pest, everybody knows that Reynard could be destroyed more swiftly and more economically by other means. If we include the pursuit of wild animals, such as the bear, and the seal and the silver fox, for their skins as due to man's desire to defend himself adequately against the inclemencies of the weather, the reasons for hunting still fall broadly under the two categories of food and protection.

The survival of hunting in Great Britain and such countries as France and Germany is due largely to man's atavistic instinct for adventure. Except in Ireland, where anybody who can get across anything on four legs will hunt, the pursuit of the fox or the stag, or even the drag, has become an elaborate social rite. Of late years there has been a growing feeling against all blood sports, and as a counter to this movement there exists now a Blood-sport Defence League. Although, even including those who indulge in the more humble sports of beagling and coursing, it is safe to say not one per cent. of our population ever hunt at all, that love of old customs and manners ingrained so deeply in the heart of man makes an account of a good run with the Bicester or the Quorn read like a romance, and the sight of the red coats and the peaked velvet caps and the wise, clamouring hounds on a fine sunny morning creates a pleasant thrill which logic is unable to explain.

'It is a fine day; let's go out and kill something'—to quote the famous French gibe—is still true of Englishmen. If we take into account all the organizations that have grown up around hunting and shooting and stag-stalking in Scotland—the hunters, the beaters and ghillies, the horse-breeders, the gunsmiths, the ammunition makers, the estate agents—blood sports in this country may be said to be one of its great domestic industries. Since the coming of William the Conqueror hunting has had the cachet of a royal sport, and our Game Laws, once so savagely administered, retain to a certain extent some of the old spirit which made the unauthorised taking of a stag a hanging matter. As a set-off to

Topical

LITTLE HUNTERS OUT AFTER BIG GAME

As used by the pygmy bowmen of the Ituri forest of the northern Congo the poisoned arrow is an unerringly fatal weapon. They shoot at close range, and within half an hour the poison takes effect and the animal dies from a form of tetanus. The portion of flesh struck is cut out and the animal bled, and the meat is then quite wholesome to eat.

'The Times'

CUB HUNTING WITH THE SOUTHDOWN PACK ON THE SUSSEX DOWNS NEAR LEWES

As soon as the grain crops have been gathered in, cub hunting begins, the object being primarily the training of the young hounds and secondarily the breaking up of the litters of foxes. The hounds have already been brought to perfect physical condition with all superfluous fat worked off and their feet hardened by carefully regulated walking, trotting and fast exercise. A start is made at 4 or 5 a.m. and the young hounds, accompanied by a few old hounds, are taught to stick to the scent of a fox, the cub being tracked by his drag, i.e. the line he took to his kennel on his return from foraging. Cubbing in September and October is a most enjoyable sport and is indispensable to the success of the hunting season proper, which begins in November

Keystone

To pursue, and to trap, and to strike from a distance, are, roughly speaking, the three methods of hunting universally employed.

We have touched briefly on fox and stag hunting in this country, and it may be noticed that packs of hounds are also used in the same way on the Continent. Technically, hounds are dogs which pursue by scent, and include beagles and otterhounds. Bloodhounds were once employed in the wild forays on the Border, and are still occasionally used in attempts to track down criminals. A greyhound is not technically a hound, as it

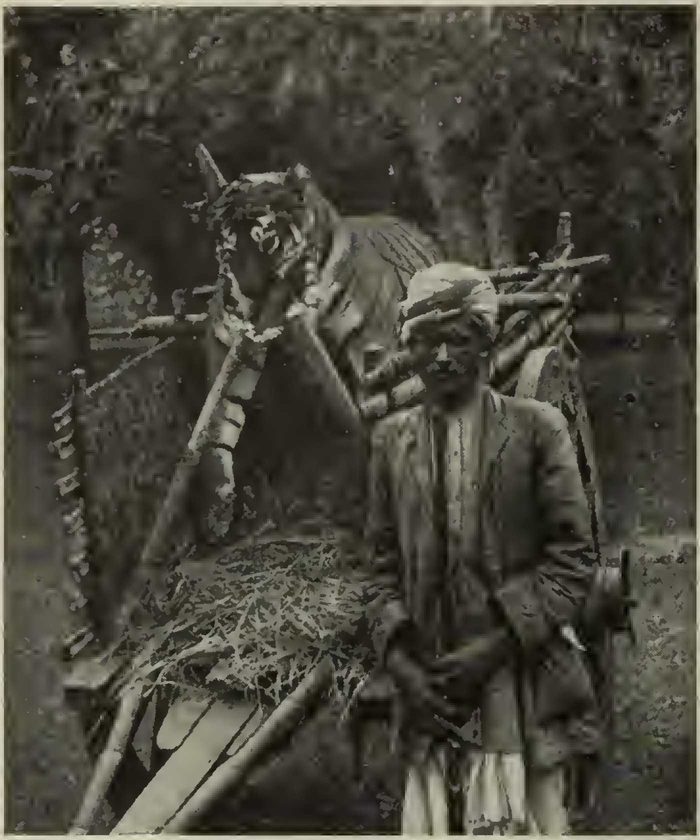
this view it may be mentioned, as a curious side-light on human nature, that the poacher has always been a popular character, so that at any community singing today it would be difficult to tell which is the more popular ballad—' John Peel ' or that chorus which declares ' It is my delight on a shiny night in the season of the year.'

The sport of hunting can best be classified by the methods employed, which, if we substitute bows and arrows for modern rifles, date back to the earliest days of man's struggle for existence. The use of dogs to pull down the quarry—the employment of falcons for the destruction of winged game—are as ancient as history itself, and the decoys we employ in our wild-duck shooting at home are but a reflection of the methods used by native tribes of Africa and Asia. Indian pig-sticking is a variation of the wild-boar hunting in Germany, and the Red Indian who pulls salmon out of his native rivers with steel hooks has his counterpart in the Eskimo who waits, javelin in hand, for the seal in the frozen wastes of the Arctic. Even the poison employed by certain African tribes is not unknown to our poachers at home.

News Illustrations

GOOD SPORT AFOOT AND ON HORSEBACK

Hare hunting afoot with beagles is an exhilarating form of sport that calls for considerable skill and provides splendid exercise for youthful sportsmen. Eton College has its own pack of beagles, here seen (top) enjoying a run near Slough. Below is a remarkably graphic photograph of steaming horses at the end of a long run of the Heythrop pack of foxhounds in Oxfordshire.

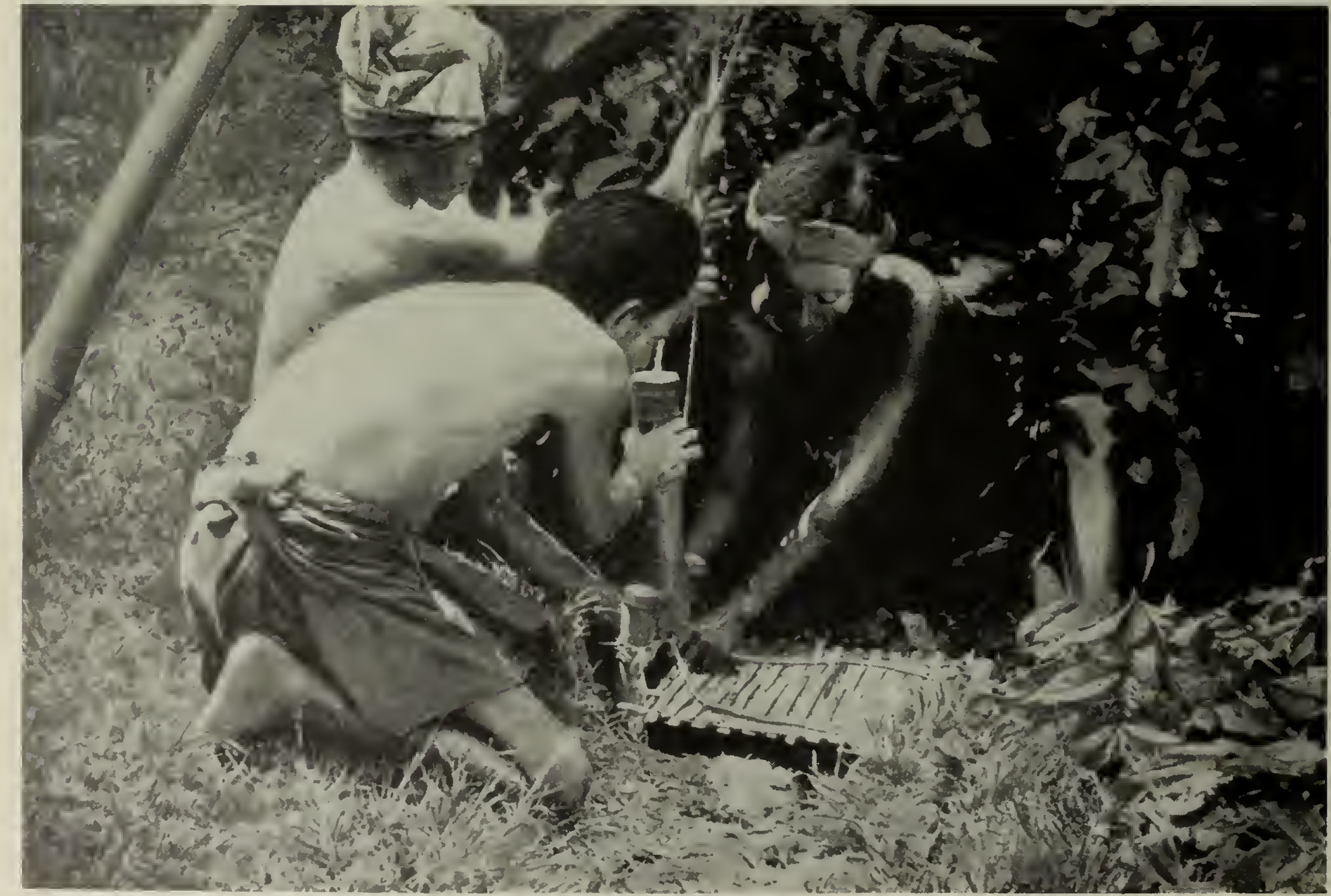


A. R. Slater

pursues its quarry by sight and not by scent. Falconry, once such a feature of English life, has almost completely died out in this country, and the attempts to revive it have not met with much success. In the Far East, however, the practice of employing birds of prey in the interests of man's larder is still used.

In Chinese Turkistan hawks are employed for hunting hares and other small game, and eagles—especially the magnificent gara gust—for bringing down antelopes and sometimes wolves. These eagles are carried on the right wrist, which is covered with a thick fleece gauntlet, and as the birds, which often measure three feet from beak to tail and seven feet from wing-tip to wing-tip, are very heavy, they are further supported by a wooden prop fixed in the saddle of the hunter. The Beduins of the Arabian desert also employ falcons in the hunt for food.

Trapping, which is used on an almost mass production scale to supply the fur market, is also employed in almost every uncivilized part of the world where man, unprovided with weapons of precision, has to match his cunning against the dangerous beasts of the jungle and the swamp. Leopards are caught by pitfall traps in the Indian



G.P.A.

WAR ON GREAT CATS THAT MENACE INDIAN VILLAGE LIFE

In many parts of India the depredations of both tigers and leopards are a serious and constant menace to village life, large numbers of cattle and not a few human beings falling victims to them every year. When a native hunter kills a tiger he props the carcass upright in a cart, wreathes its neck with garlands, and wheels it round the jubilant village. For getting rid of leopards the Indian villagers dig pitfalls (below), trapped in which the great cats can be dispatched without risk.

jungle, and everybody who saw that wonderful film 'Chang' is aware how elephants are lured into a specially constructed kraal and there forced to submit themselves to the dominion and service of man. The natives of Borneo employ ingenious bamboo traps, of which our rabbit snares are but a poor imitation, to protect themselves against the depredations of the leopards.

One of the most mysterious methods of trapping elephants is that employed by the Ba-Fanh, or the Fan people, who inhabit a tract of land just above the equator on the Gaboon river. In India the elephant kraal is a vast and complicated trap, with an opening a mile or so in width into which the elephants are driven gradually, and which is closed behind them as they advance into smaller and smaller prisons. The Fans, however, build a quite slight enclosure made of ordinary posts and railings which any elephant could break down. There is an opening just wide enough for one of the elephants to enter. They build this trap within reasonable distance of any spot where elephants are known to be. Their subsequent procedure is a mystery. According to their own account 'the medicine men make fetish for them to come in. They come in. The medicine men make fetish for them to remain, and they remain.' It is an amazing fact, vouched for by white observers, that not only do the elephants walk into the trap of their own accord, but they lie down there and remain quiescent until the new moon, when they are killed with spears, cross-bows and guns. It has been suggested that the method employed is some form of hypnotism.

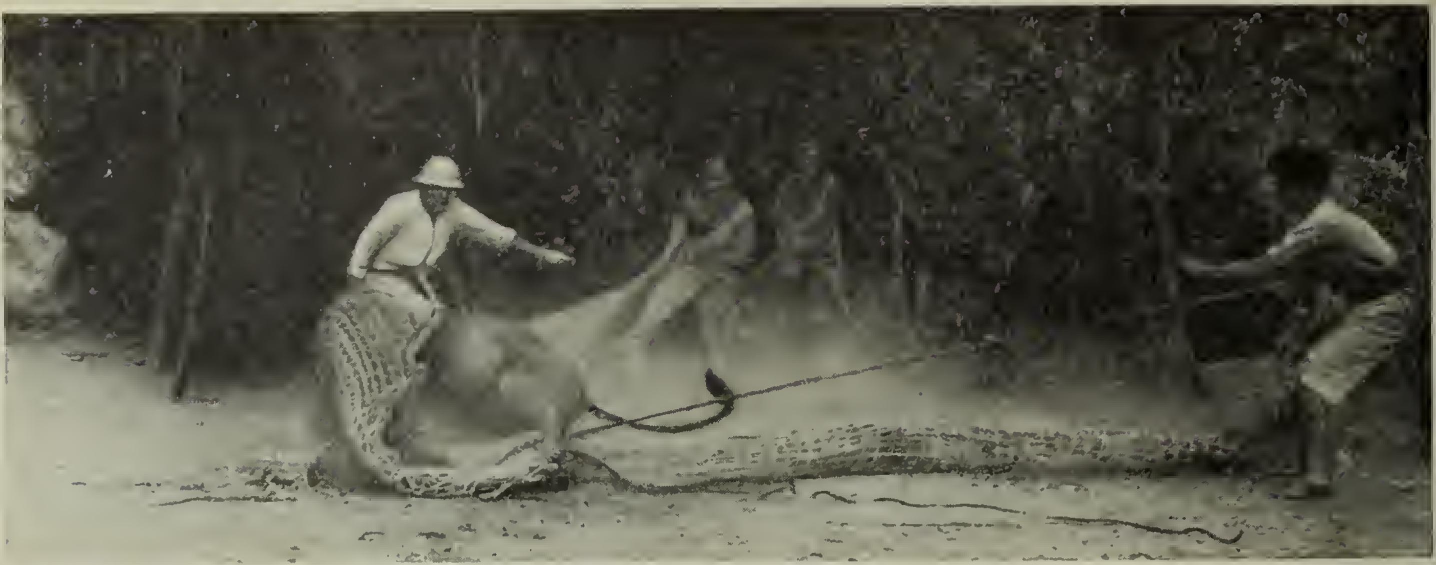
C. P. Skrine

A KIRGHIZ BEG WITH HIS HUNTING EAGLE

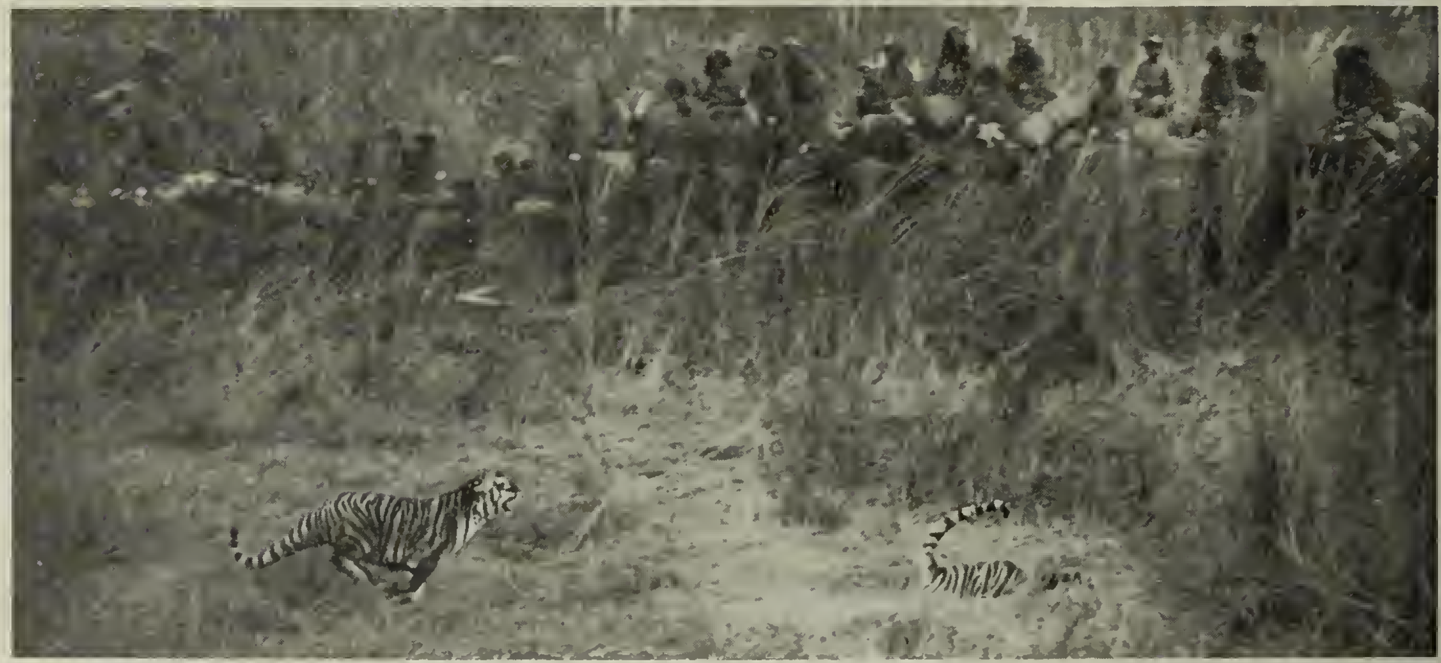
Falconry—including the use of eagles—still flourishes as a sport in Mongolia, Chinese Tartary and among the nomad tribes of Central Asia. The splendid bird seen here is a hooded gara gust, the black hunting eagle described in the text. These birds are very fierce, requiring much patience in their training, but when well trained they are perfectly amenable to their owners.

Traps, of which no sportsman approves, except in an emergency, are threatening wild life all over the world. Civilization is the urge behind this slaughter, which in some cases is leading to extermination. Because there was a large market for their hides, the bison were almost wiped out from the prairies of America, and the same thing is going on now among the African fauna.

It must be remembered in defence of the African native that until the coming of the white man he had been the sport and victim of the wild life by which he was surrounded. The carnivores killed his stock; the herbivores trampled and ate and uprooted his crops. When he began to settle down to cultivate the land like a civilized being, war on the wild animals was almost essential. He has conducted it, however, on the most reckless lines. The snares he employs are sometimes 150 feet long—loops of rope into which herds of wild animals are driven. In Tanganyika this contrivance has been described as of devilish effectiveness, capturing anything from gazelles to giraffes, often in hundreds. Another device is to dig rows and rows of game pits, into which the animals are driven and then massacred



Nature Magazine



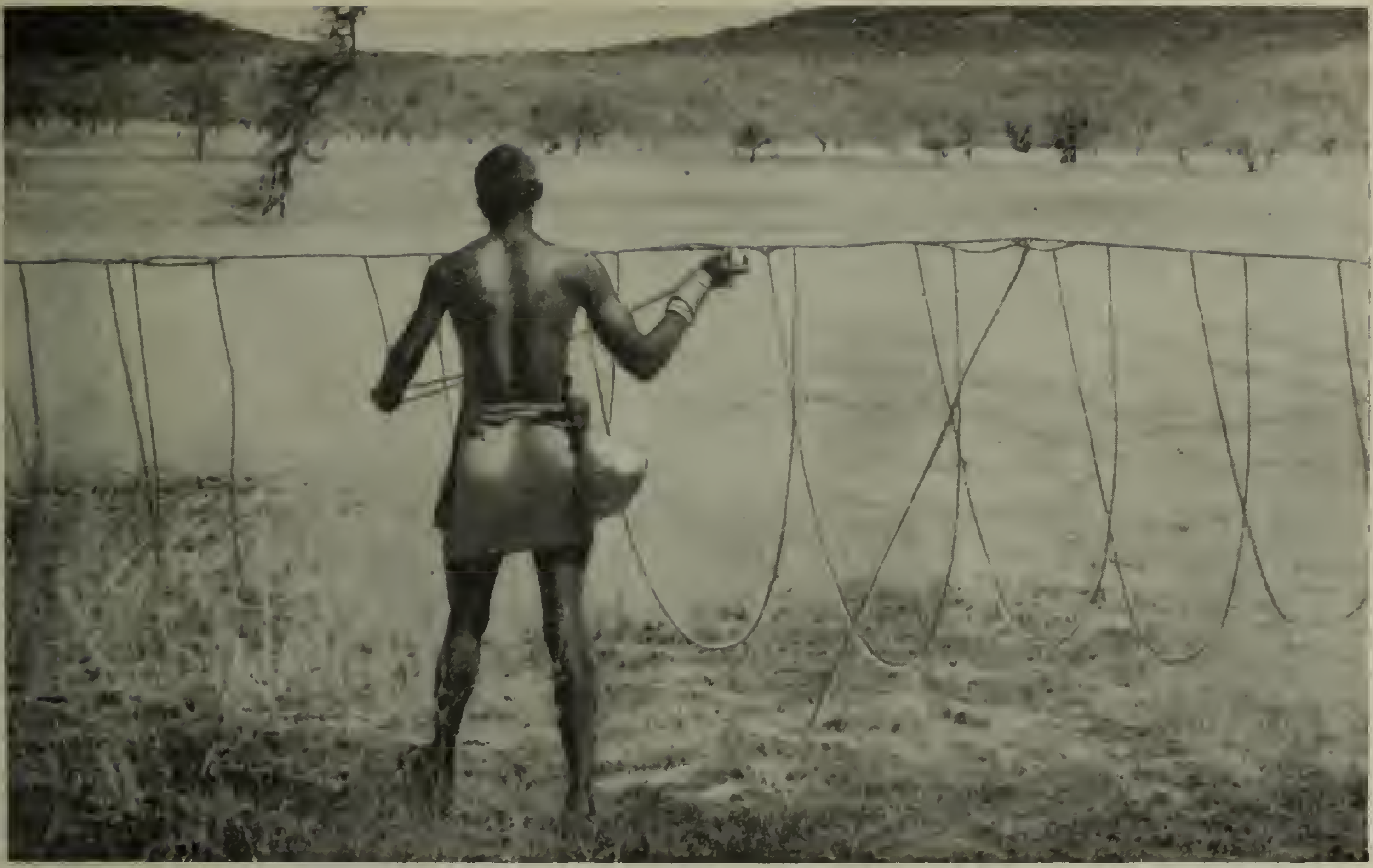
Hertzog & Higgins

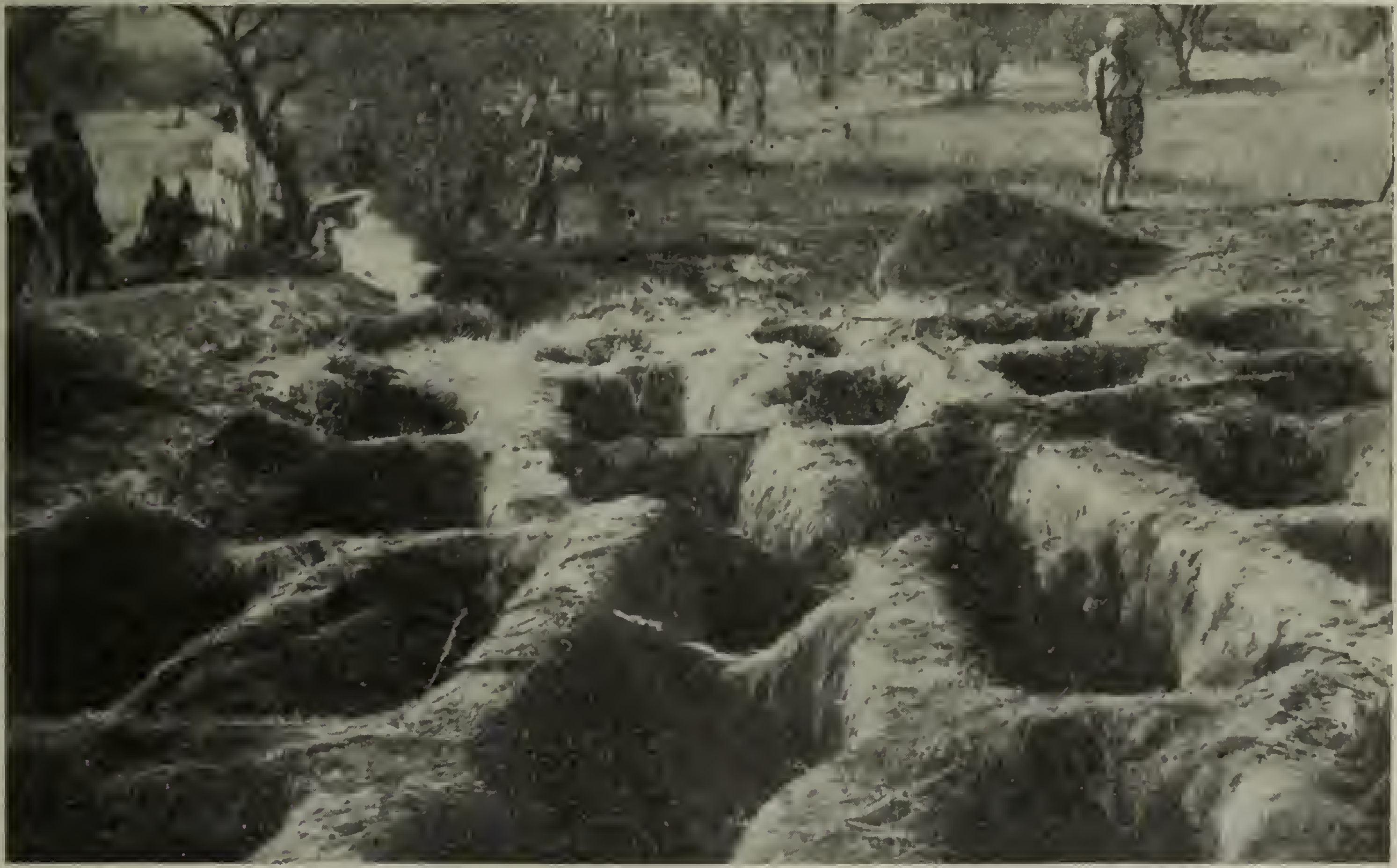
THRILLING MOMENTS FOR THE HUNTER IN AFRICA AND INDIA

When it is desired to capture a lion alive, netting is resorted to. A baited net is spread in a clearing attached to ropes held by natives hidden in the surrounding bushes. Above, a lion is seen just being enveloped in the net, with a white man standing by ready to shoot if the beast should break free. The lower photograph shows a tiger battue in Nepal, with one tiger hit just as it was disappearing in the tall grass, and a second about to spring towards the encircling elephants.

indiscriminately. The practice of catching lions in West Africa in nets almost ranks as sport compared with some of the methods used in the Dark Continent. Sometimes huge herds of game are driven into rivers and there despatched in hundreds by native spears. In other places circles of bush fires are made round animal communities, which result in the beasts being either burnt to death, or in their escaping terribly scorched. Among the pygmies of Africa this indiscriminate slaughter is carried on in the neighbourhood of water-holes, where the animals come to drink and are dispatched recklessly with poisoned arrows. Among the contrivances used may be mentioned spears that fall when the animal blunders against some rope, nets and nooses.

There is a real danger of the fauna of Africa being stamped out by those methods, and already there is a movement on foot, similar to that in America, for setting aside reserves or national game parks where these specimens of wild life may exist in peace. It is interesting to note, however, that while man in his greed has been stamping out animal life in some parts of the world, in other parts he has stocked territories with game. The wild boars of America are the living descendants of the domestic porkers brought over by the Pilgrim Fathers, just as the horses which used to roam the prairies trace their origin back to the first horses imported by the Spanish invaders. In 1824 buffalo were imported into Queensland as beasts of burden. Having performed their duties they were liberated. Multiplying rapidly, they are nowadays to be found in great herds in the Benma Range. The hunting of them and the sale of their hides, thousands of which are exported annually,

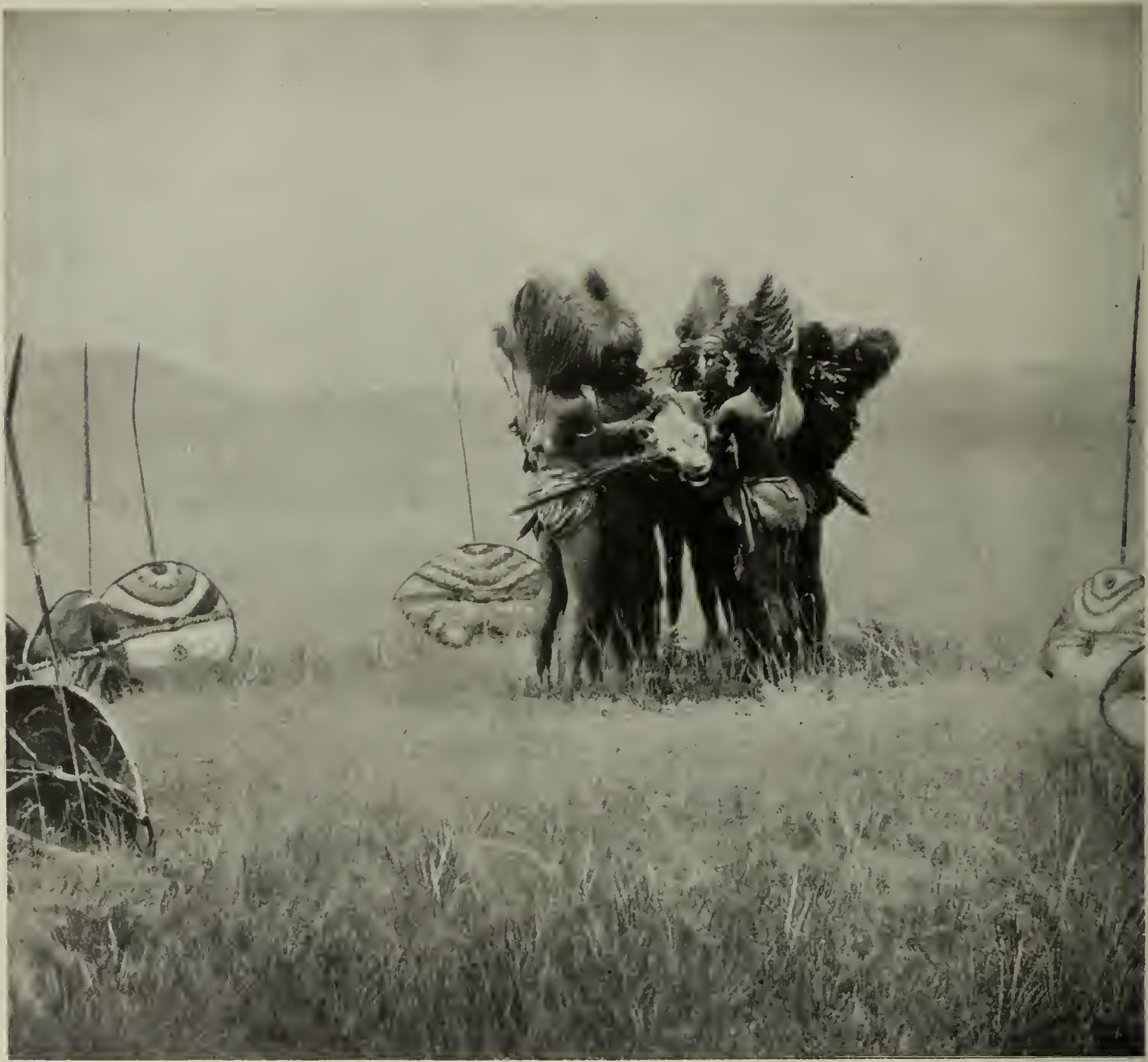




Courtesy of Society for Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire

MASS DESTRUCTION OF WILD LIFE IN SAVAGE AFRICA

Snares and pitfalls are two of many methods employed by African natives in their wholesale slaughter of wild animals. An extremely effective contrivance is a line of snares about 150 feet long (top) into which herds of any kind of game, from gazelles to giraffes, are driven and caught by the hundred. Even more indiscriminate and certain are game-pits deep enough to render the escape of the most active animals impossible and covered over with a thin layer of leaves through which the driven beasts crash to await slaughter.



Paul Hoefler (Columbia

LAST HONOUR TO THE KING OF BEASTS FROM THE MASAI LION POLICE

For sheer courage in facing a charging lion the Masai lion police are unexcelled, and equalled only by the lion hunters of the Nandi tribe. Their method of stalking, surrounding and killing a lion is described in the text. This photograph shows the last phase of a hunt: the men, wearing head-dresses made of the manes of lions they have already killed, raising the dead body of the splendid brute just slain to bear it away from the scene of its defeat with the respect due from brave men to a worthy foe.

have become an important industry. The huntsman pursues them on horseback and shoots them at close range with a sawn-off rifle. Natives are employed in skinning and loading the hides and afford a curious contrast with the motor lorries which carry them down to the rail head.

To bring his wild quarry down in the hunt man, inadequately supplied with teeth and claws, has invented a variety of weapons. Some of them are of the simplest kind, such as the hunting kerrie of the Kaffir, which is really a knob stick some twenty inches long. He can throw this with such force and precision that he can bring down not only rock rabbits but bustard, quail and other birds. The boomerang, peculiar to the Australian aborigines, is really a wonderful variation of this hurling weapon, and is employed with great effect against small game.

The use of poisoned arrows in hunting both man and game is to be found in most parts of the world. They are very dangerous weapons in the hands of the bushmen in South Africa and the pygmies of the Congo, and it may be noticed as a curious fact that their use would seem to be limited to races of abnormally low stature. The shaft of the arrow is hollowed at one end and this hollow is partially filled with poison, surrounding the origin of which there is still some mystery. Into this hollow the barbed metal point is so loosely fitted that when the arrow strikes, the barbed head remains in its victim, though the shaft may come away. It is known that one of the poisons employed among the bushmen is extracted from snakes.

The chase has always been a mirror of the sterner game of war, and in this fact is to be found probably the reason for its continuance in civilized countries, where the real need for hunting has long ceased to exist. Among savage races of the more primitive kind the weapons of war and the weapons of the hunt are usually the same, and the skill acquired in the daily chase for food is employed in the hour of tribal conflict. The pygmies of the Ituri forest in the Belgian Congo afford a good illustration of this.

For generations they have held intact their forest domain, and it is a very difficult matter to secure carriers to enter those tropical shades, for these dwarfs—they are rarely more than four feet high—can shoot their little poisoned arrows faster than a white man can operate a bolt-action rifle. These deadly weapons are normally employed in hunting, for in the division of labour among the pygmies it is the man's duty to provide flesh for the larder, while the women gather herbs and fruit.

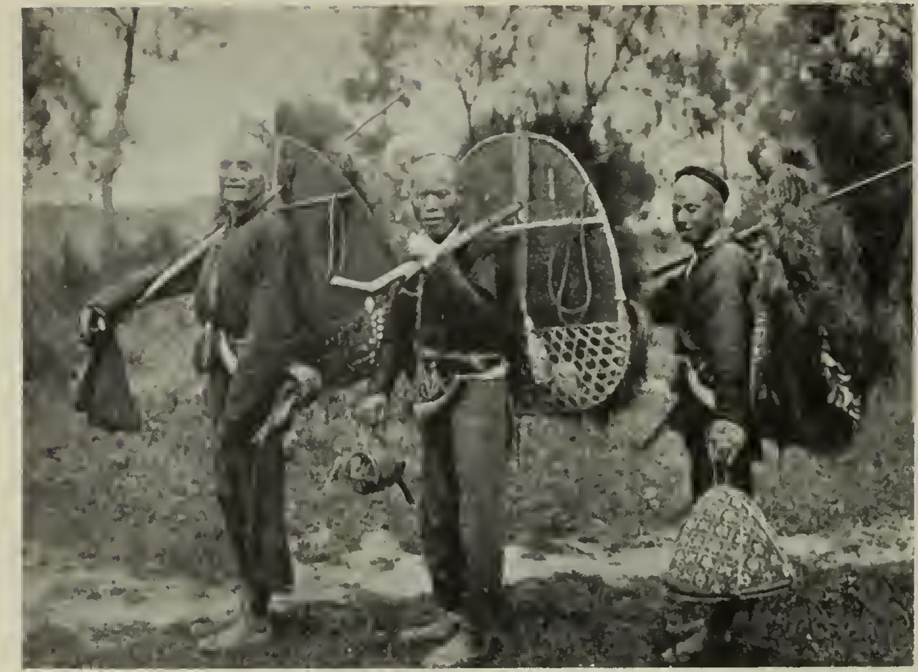
No one has yet discovered the secret of the poison in which their arrows are steeped. This is all the more curious because it would seem to be in direct contradiction of the theory that a secret shared with anybody else is no longer a secret. For they do not mix the poison themselves. They have an official poison mixer who is a natural-sized native always belonging to another tribe. Such skill have they acquired with their weapons, and the courage that comes from skill, that they attack the biggest game with their primitive bows and arrows. It may be mentioned that science has not yet discovered the antidote to the poison they employ.

Classical literature supplies many stories of the destruction of big game by spears, and this inadequate weapon, as it appears in modern eyes, is still employed among the savage tribes of Africa. Among the Nandi tribes in Equatorial Africa the spear is the sole weapon used against the lion pest. These weapons of the lion killers are called 'Ngotit,' and are manufactured by their own blacksmiths from soft metal. The hunters carry shields made of buffalo hide and the skin of the giant forest hog, and they decorate themselves with ostrich feathers and the manes of the lions they have already killed. In the Masai tribe lion-killing is organized on a

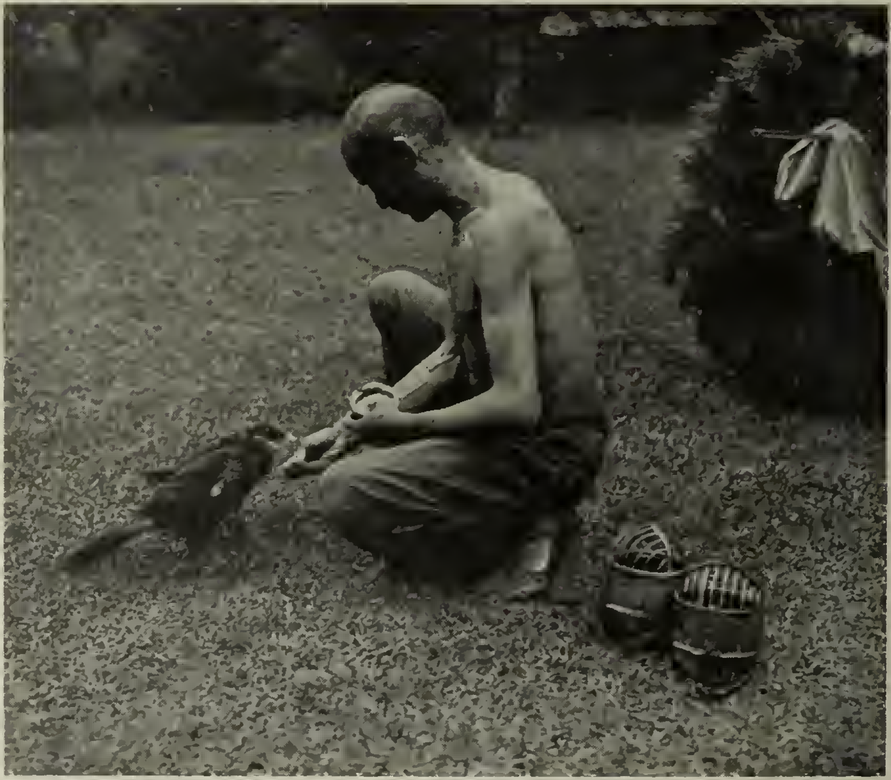
Dr. W. D. Walker

HUMAN SLEUTHS THAT NO LIVE BEAST CAN ELUDE

Many native hunters are astonishingly clever at tracking game, but by common consent the Australian aborigine is unrivalled in this respect. His powers of observation and deduction almost amount to a sixth sense, and he can follow his quarry over stony places with far greater ease than a white man can follow the plainest of trails in sand. A blackfellow of Northern Australia is seen here looking for tracks at the edge of a waterhole, and above are some of the tracks left in sand by a lizard.



community basis. They have a proper body of police to control the depredations of the king of the forest. These men live outside the ordinary village and are armed with long narrow-bladed spears and buffalo-hide shields. Their uniform consists of leopard-skin girdles and caps or head-dresses fashioned from the mane of a lion. The lion is stalked by these men across the grass-covered open country. They advance in a long line—the open order of military manoeuvres—and eventually surround the quarry in an extended ring formation, which gradually closes in till the warriors are shield to shield with the lion in the middle. The charge of the animal is then coolly awaited, when, if fortune is favourable, the animal is dispatched by the spears. The animism which is their religion makes them regard the spirit of the lion with respect, and however great his offence —however appalling the depredations he has committed—he is never allowed to lie on the spot where he falls. Once he is dead his spirit must be spared as far as possible the humiliating reminders of defeat. During the Prince of Wales' visit to East Africa the prince took part in a lion hunt at Voi, where the only weapons used were the long spears of the young native warriors. The prince filmed some of the scenes during this dangerous chase.



PHEASANT SHOOTING WITH DECOYS IN CHINA

Though rather unsportsmanlike to Western thinking, pheasant shooting with decoys is a business proposition in Kiangsi province. The decoy hens are very tame and feed readily from the hand (bottom). The bamboo screens have pockets on the inside to serve as bags, a peephole for sight, and a hole for the gunbarrel.

There is one system of hunting to which reference must be made, for on account of its cruelty it aroused considerable comment during recent years in Europe. In classical times the devilish ingenuity of man discovered that a song bird if blinded goes on repeating its note indefinitely. The quail trappers of Italy, now suppressed by Mussolini, employed this fiendish device. Blinded quails were used as decoys, and placed at the entrance to the nets, where the constant repetition of their note attracted other quails. These blinded birds were often sold for as much as a pound apiece.

A very similar method, though robbed of its cruelty, is employed by the farmers in the Kiangsi province of China to cope with the depredations of pheasants, which have there become a pest. They employ tame hen pheasants as decoys. A hunter takes up his position behind a bamboo shield camouflaged with greenstuff. The gun projects through this shield. The decoy birds are carried in a little basket. Hearing a pheasant's call the hunter sets up his shield, and taking the decoy in one hand and a rice ball in the other, throws both together into the air before the shield. The bird flies down to get the rice ball, and the fluttering of her wings attracts the attention of any cock bird in the vicinity, which comes walking towards the shield, presenting a sure target to the man with the gun.

All over the world the destruction of animal, bird and fish life goes on in obedience to the clamant call of survival, and man has invented hundreds of methods of stocking his larder or protecting himself.

DEATH AND BURIAL CUSTOMS OF THE FAR EAST

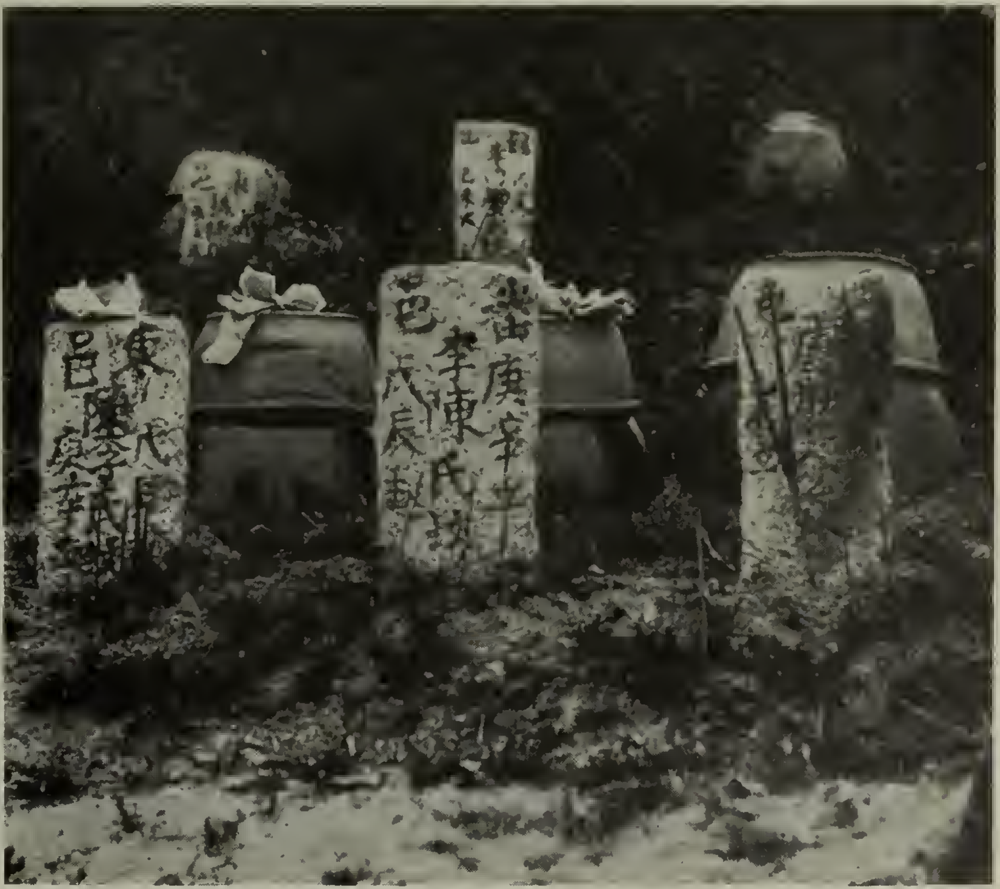
EASTERN burial customs as here described have for a connecting link the fear of the return of the spirit of the dead man. Certain special aspects of similar Chinese beliefs are enlarged upon in the chapters on Ancestor Worship and on 'Feng-Shui,' the Chinese System of Burial Divination. Other Asiatic customs are discussed under the headings Exposing the Dead, and Where the Dead are Burned.

BURIAL customs in Eastern Asia, even had they no other features worthy of study, would be of interest for the variety in the attitude of the people who practise them towards the dead after life has left the body. This ranges from the apparent neglect of the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula, who cast the body into the jungle to be the prey of wild beasts—a method practised also in Siam and Korea—to the elaborate respect of the Chinese towards one who is about to become an ancestor and receive the tribute of worship.

The spread of Buddhism to the countries of Eastern Asia, as a rule, has had a profound effect on burial customs. This is true even when the rite is not of the Buddhist order. Yet beneath there are indications, to be noted here and there, of racial difference and of primitive custom which a more highly developed philosophy of life and death has not entirely obliterated. Thus in China the elaborate and expensive ceremonial after death has no place in the burial of unimportant individuals. children and the unmarried, because, having no descendants they have no hope of attaining the influence and dignity of ancestral rank and family worship For them it must suffice to be wrapped in a mat and to be left exposed in some convenient open place, virtually a reversion to the primitive rite. This abandonment of the body is discussed in the chapter on Exposing the Dead.

Again, in Tibet, although a debased form of Buddhism is the creed of a considerable proportion of the population, in burial they cling to the tradition of the Tibetan form of Shamanism, more popularly known as devil or demon worship (see page 267). Only in the case of the lamas and the more wealthy do they employ the Buddhist rite of cremation. This is, indeed, the factor which gives peculiar interest to the burial customs of Tibet. The acts pertaining to the rite must be performed by a priest, and to touch the body is strictly taboo for a layman, unless closely related—a mark of fear of the ghost and not of respect for the sanctity of death, as might be concluded hastily. Hence Tibetan practice presents the anomaly of a Buddhist priest engaged in a ceremonial of which the intention is the crudest animism.

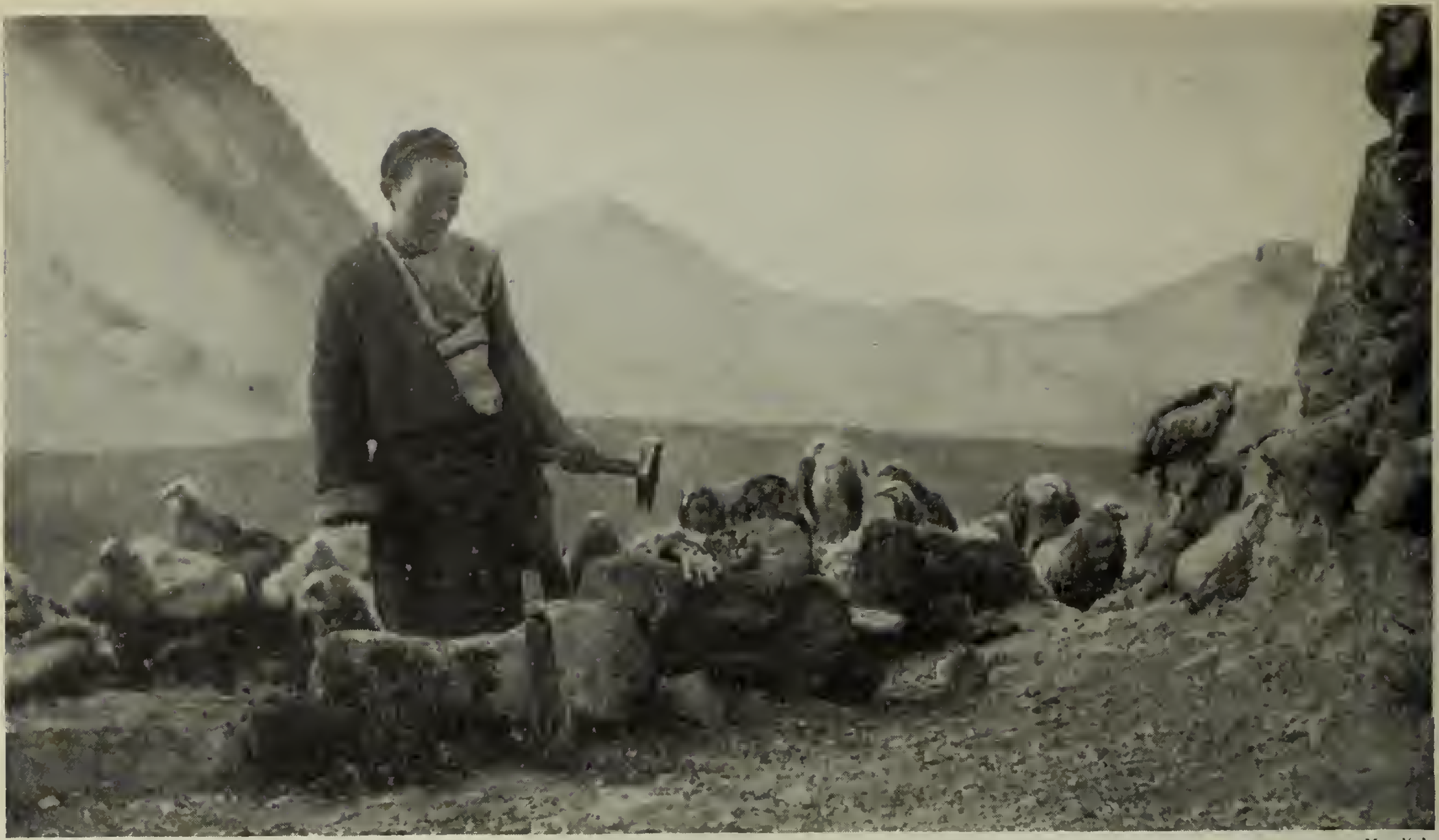
IN Tibetan belief and in the death rites, death is regarded as the work of a 'death demon,' from whose influence the relatives and the abode of the dead man have to be freed as soon as possible. It is not believed that the soul after death is born again in an earthly incarnation, as in Buddhist belief, but it is held that it goes to a paradise, which is now identified with the western paradise of the Buddha Amitabha. The object of the death rites



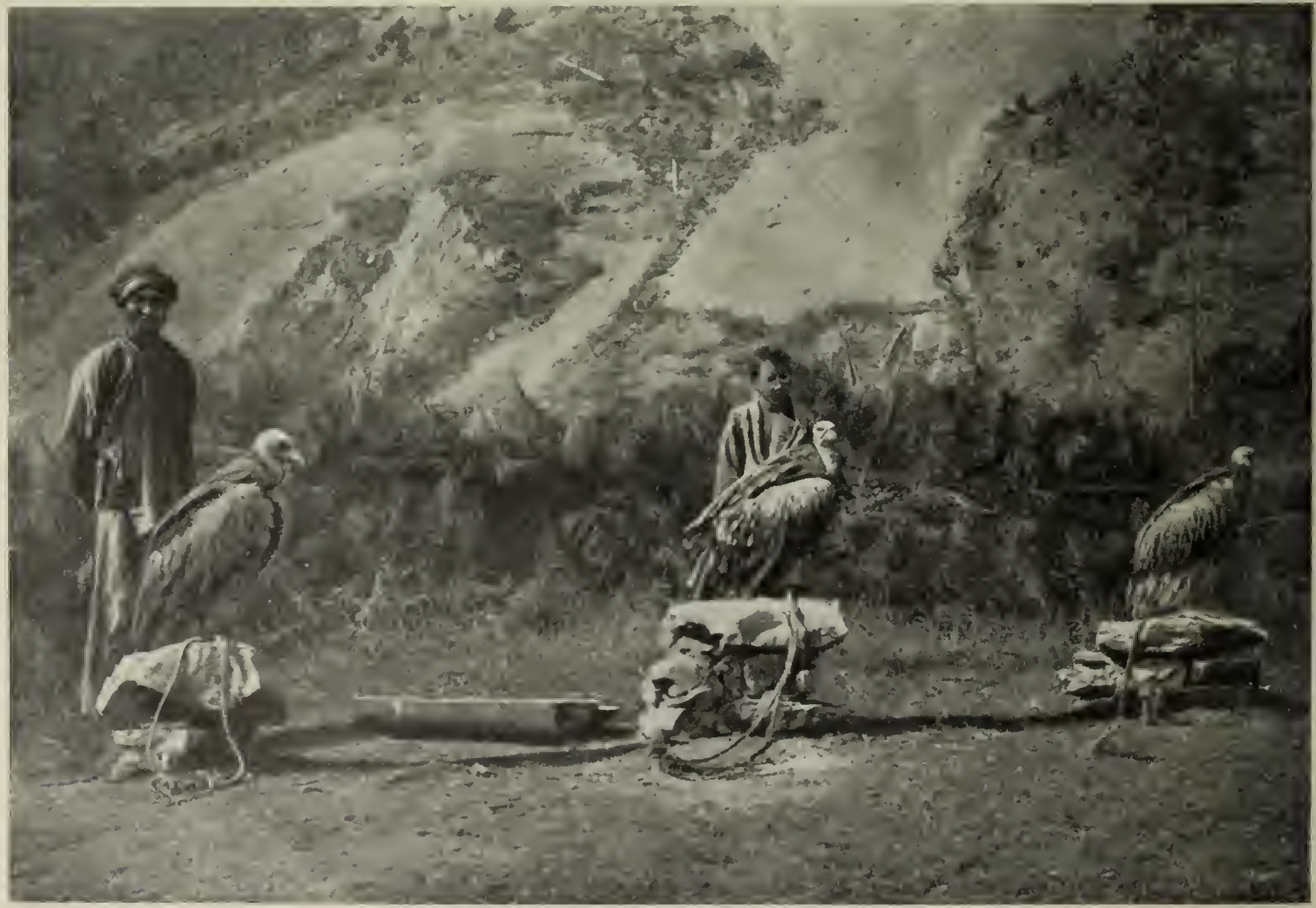
E.N.A.

CHINESE DEAD AWAITING AUSPICIOUS RE-BURIAL

The elaborate geomantic rites governing the choice of the resting place of Chinese dead are described in pages 387–389. Sometimes the favourable influences desert the original grave and the bones are disinterred and placed in urns such as these at Kowloon to await auspicious re-burial. The soul of the dead must be completely at rest or the family fortunes will suffer.



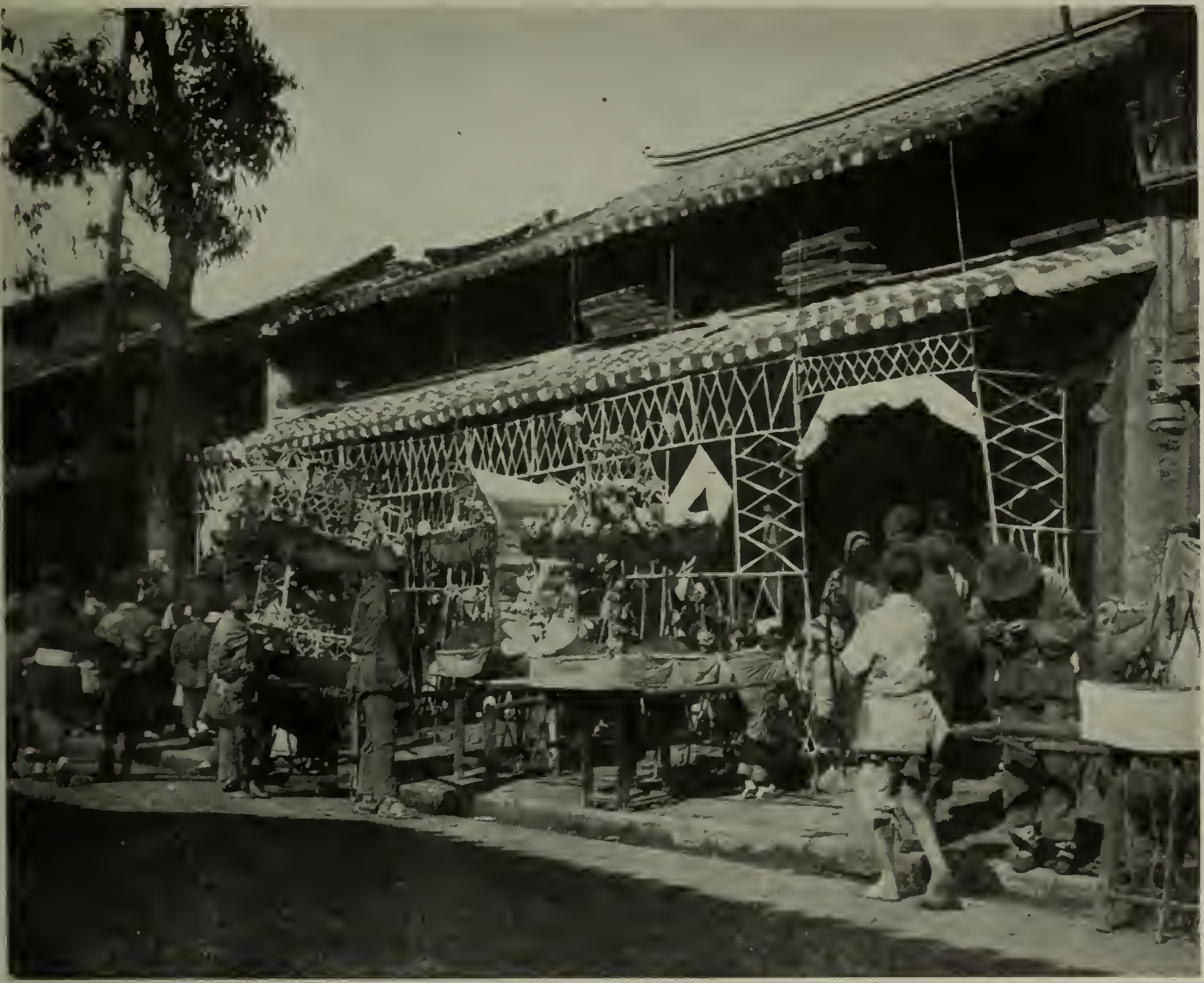
Mondiale



F. Kingdon Ward

CRUDE ANIMISTIC RITES OF BURIAL IN BUDDHIST TIBET

In no section does Tibetan Buddhism show to less advantage than in ceremonies connected with death, which represent a degraded admixture of shamanistic demon worship with Buddhist rites. For fear of ghost survival only priests may perform the essential ceremonial. Thereafter the priest feeds the flesh of the dead man to vultures and animals in a lonely hill cemetery (top). As the most happy disposal of the dead is to be devoured by vultures alone, monasteries in Eastern Tibet keep and train birds for this purpose (bottom).



Thomas Butler

LAVISH FUNERAL DECORATION OF A CHINESE HOUSE

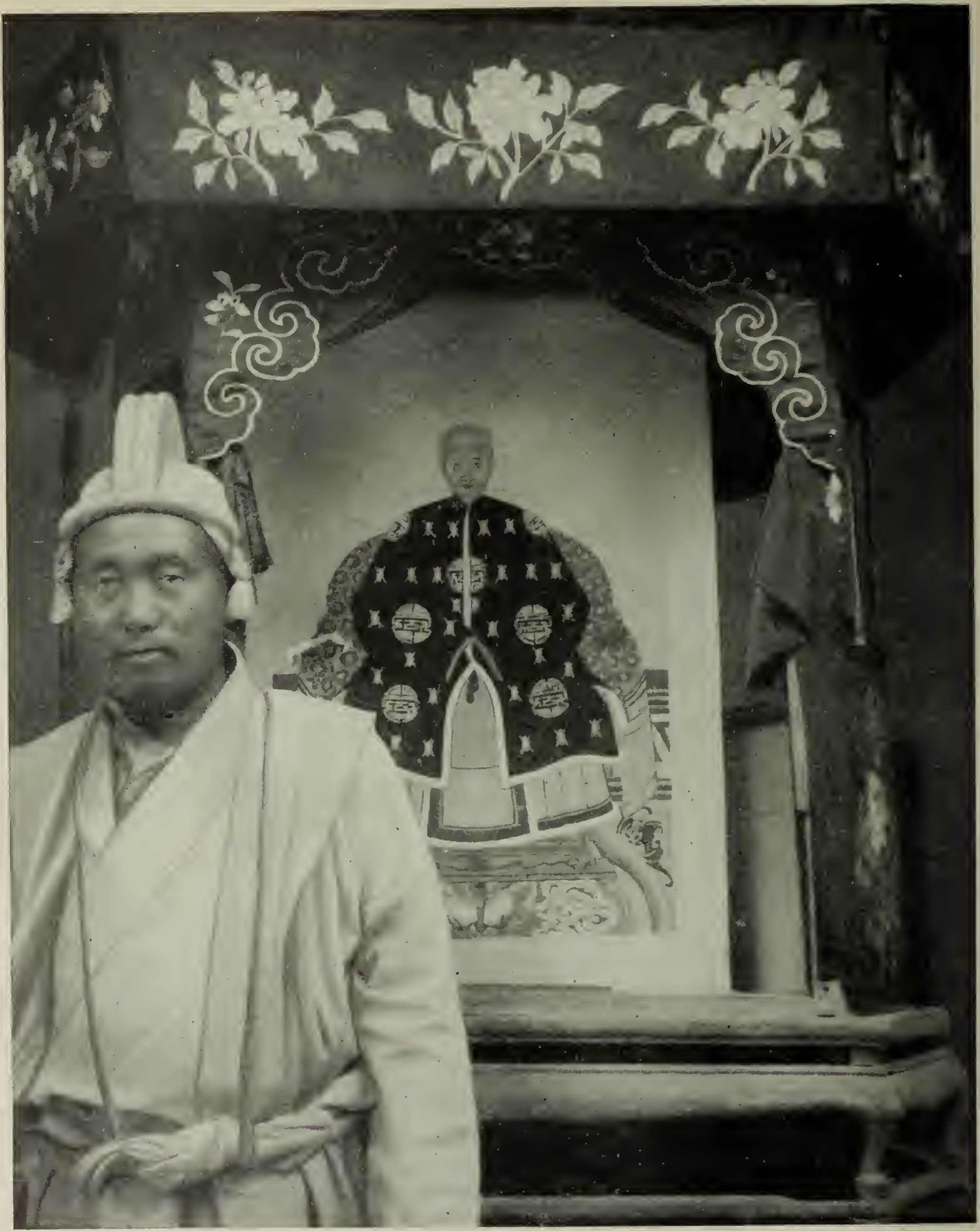
Whereas the European darkens his house and removes all signs of colour when a death has occurred, the Chinese, as in this example from Yunnan-fu in Western China, goes to considerable expense in decorating his house for a funeral. The special bamboo screens erected here are painted in white, the mourning colour. The portable bamboo pavilions on the pavement are sent as signs of respect by relatives and friends, and with bearers, musicians, flags and lanterns—all hired for the purpose—appear in the funeral procession.

is to help the dead man along the journey to this paradise, and during the whole of the forty-nine days after death which the soul of the dead man spends in an intermediate state, a species of purgatory, the priest offers prayers and utters invocations at weekly intervals, on each occasion, it is believed, helping him a stage farther on his journey. For should he fail to attain paradise he becomes a malignant ghost.

It is also the duty of the priest to start the soul on its journey, for it does not leave the body immediately after death ; it lingers for a period which may be as long as four days. Immediately after death the relatives send for one of the higher priests, who is known as the ‘ Mover ’ or the ‘ Shifter.’ He chants the ‘ directions for the soul,’ which instruct the dead man in avoiding the dangers to be encountered on his path, exhorts him to give up his attachment to earthly things and to leave the body. He then takes hold of three hairs on the crown of the dead man’s head and tweaks them. This, it is supposed, releases the soul at the roots of the hair, as if the priest’s action had perforated the skull. All laymen are excluded from the room in which the body lies.

The corpse is now prepared for disposal. None but a member of the father’s family may handle it, and if a man has no brothers he will adopt himself into the family of a friend. In Lhasa the preparation of the body is, however, the work of recognized scavengers. It is doubled up into a contracted position and tied with rope. If rigor has set in, the bones are broken. It is then covered with some clothes of the deceased and put into a sack of hide, cloth or blankets and carried to another room, where it is placed in a corner. If, owing to climatic conditions, burial is long delayed it will be swung on a rafter.

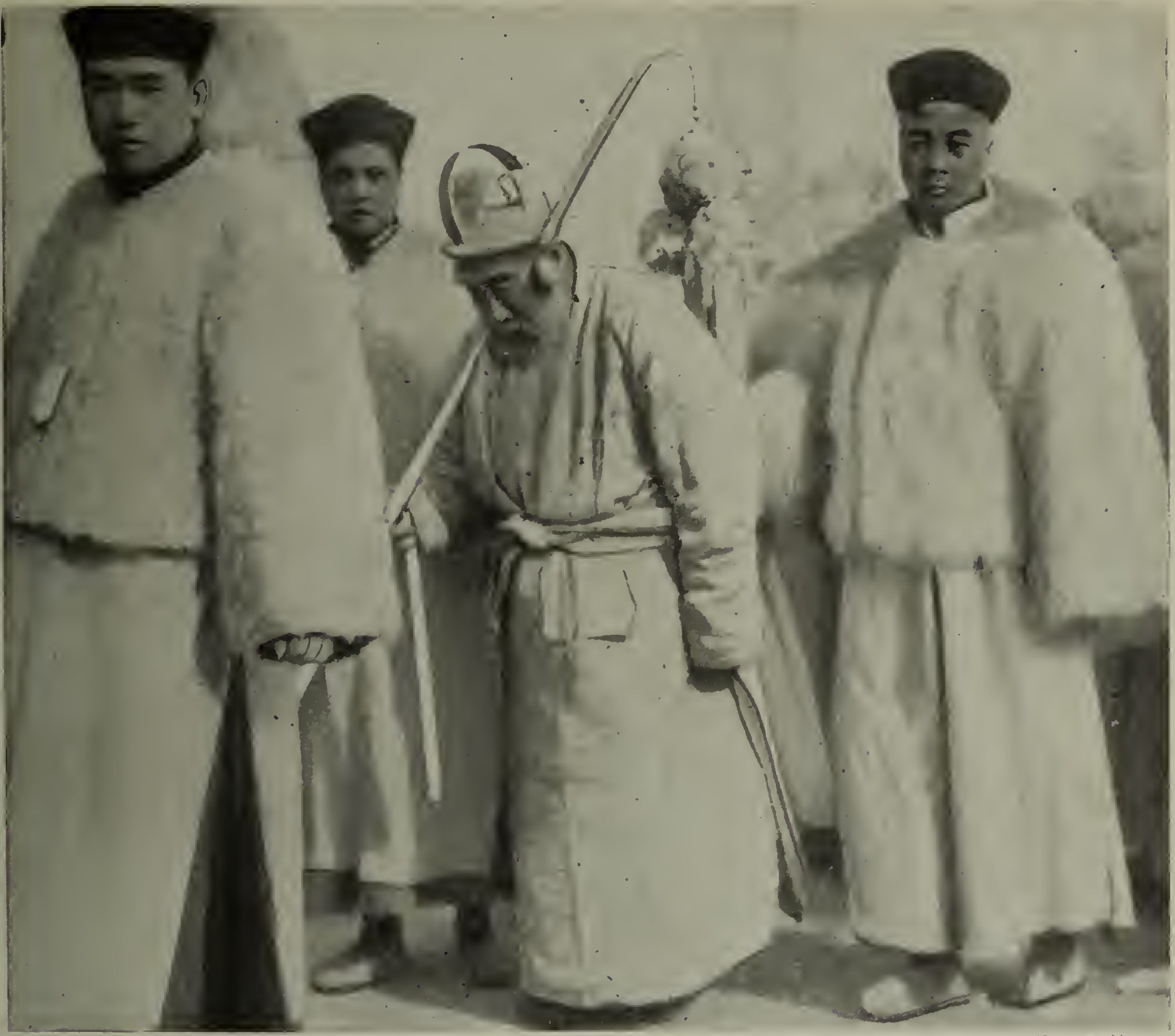
Priests keep watch before the body night and day by the light of lamps, which vary in number from



H. von Perckhammer

FILIAL PIETY AND DUE CEREMONIAL IN A CHINESE DEATH CHAMBER

When the preliminary rites and ceremonial washings after death are completed the dead person continues to take part in the life of the family. Seated in a chair or placed in a coffin the body is kept behind a screen in the death chamber until the actual funeral. It is supplied with mock money (paper, which is burnt) to meet the other world expenses and with food. This ornate death screen carries a full-length representation of the dead woman. Such portraits, generally made after death, are intended to serve as a resting place for the spirit of the dead and to permit continued life among the descendants of the dead. In front, garbed in proper white, is her son as chief mourner.



H. von Perckhammer

WHITE-CLAD THRONG OF MOURNING RELATIVES

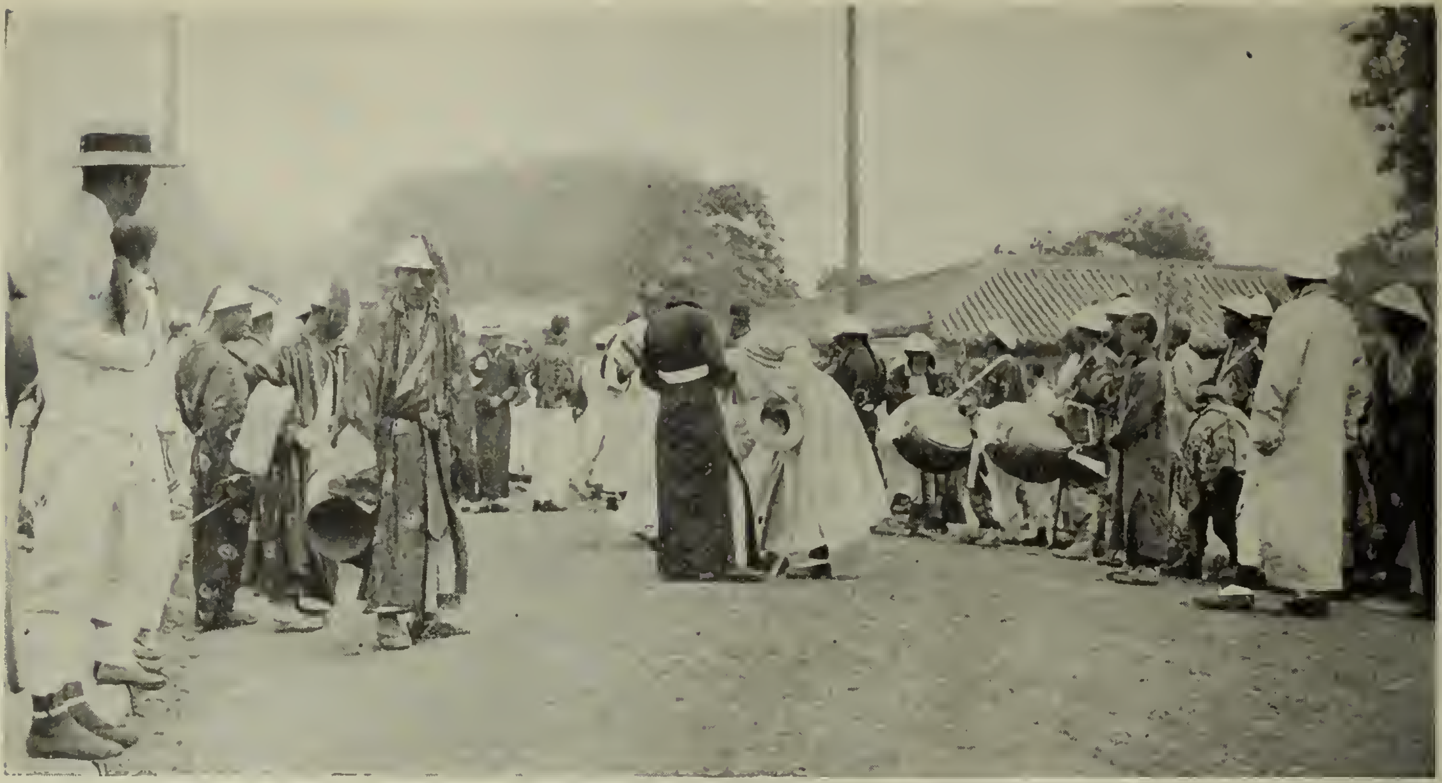
The ancient Chinese sign of deep mourning is the wearing of white, half and light mourning being indicated by the use of grey and blue. During the early rites before the funeral relatives and attendants wear coarse brown sackcloth, generally hired from a 'shop of soul pavilions.' In the funeral procession the principal mourner, the son or nearest relative, wears a white linen gown and a cap of helmet shape from which hang white plugs to prevent his ears from hearing. He goes bowed, carrying a short bamboo mourning, or weeping, staff, and a longer one over the shoulder with soul streamers attached. Other mourners, of secondary or lower grades, wear white clothing of various kinds

five to a hundred and eight, according to the means of the family. In another room relatives offer food and drink—tea or beer—in the deceased's bowl, which is kept always full. Afterwards the food is thrown away, as the spirit is believed to have extracted the essence. After the removal of the body, no one will eat or drink in the house for a month.

For the funeral the body is carried to the door by the chief mourner, where it is placed in a square box-coffin provided by the monastery conducting the funeral. If the chief mourner is a woman, she does not accompany the funeral, but she walks round the coffin three times while it is at the door, and is then conducted back to the house. When the funeral procession moves off, it is headed by priests chanting 'mantras' (spells) from the Buddhist scriptures and beating drums, ringing bells and blowing horns. The chief priest leads the coffin by a long scarf, one end held in his left hand, the other end being attached to the coffin. With his right hand he beats a skull drum.

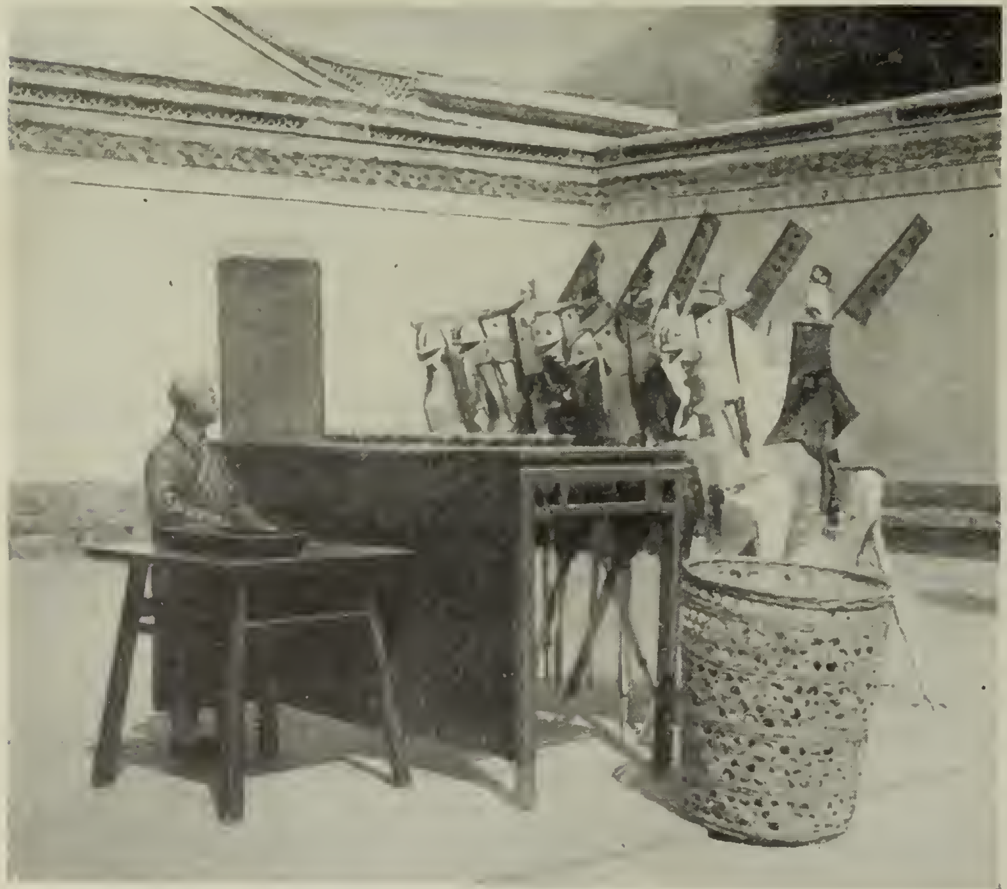
The actual disposal of the body takes place at a cemetery on the top of a lonely hill. If the coffin should be set down anywhere before this spot is reached, the final ceremony must be performed there.

The most common method of disposal is that in which the priest cuts the flesh from the bones, to be eaten by the vultures and animals which frequent the cemetery. As the most auspicious disposal is for the flesh to be entirely devoured by vultures, sometimes attendants are paid a small fee to keep away the animals. The skull of a body eaten only by vultures is valued for use as a most precious libation



Thomas Butler

In Chinese funerals the valuables and food which in primitive times accompanied the soul to the other world are represented in paper and burnt at various stages of the ceremonials. Large quantities of ' treasury money ' in paper and paper folded to represent ingots of gold and silver are packed in bamboo or paper boxes and placed in charge of paper puppets called ' treasury officers,' who are to take care of the deceased person. After being invoked by the priests and presented with food they are burned to the accompaniment of music and drum In this photograph members of the funeral procession are stooping to set light to a pile of ' money.'



W. F. Taylor

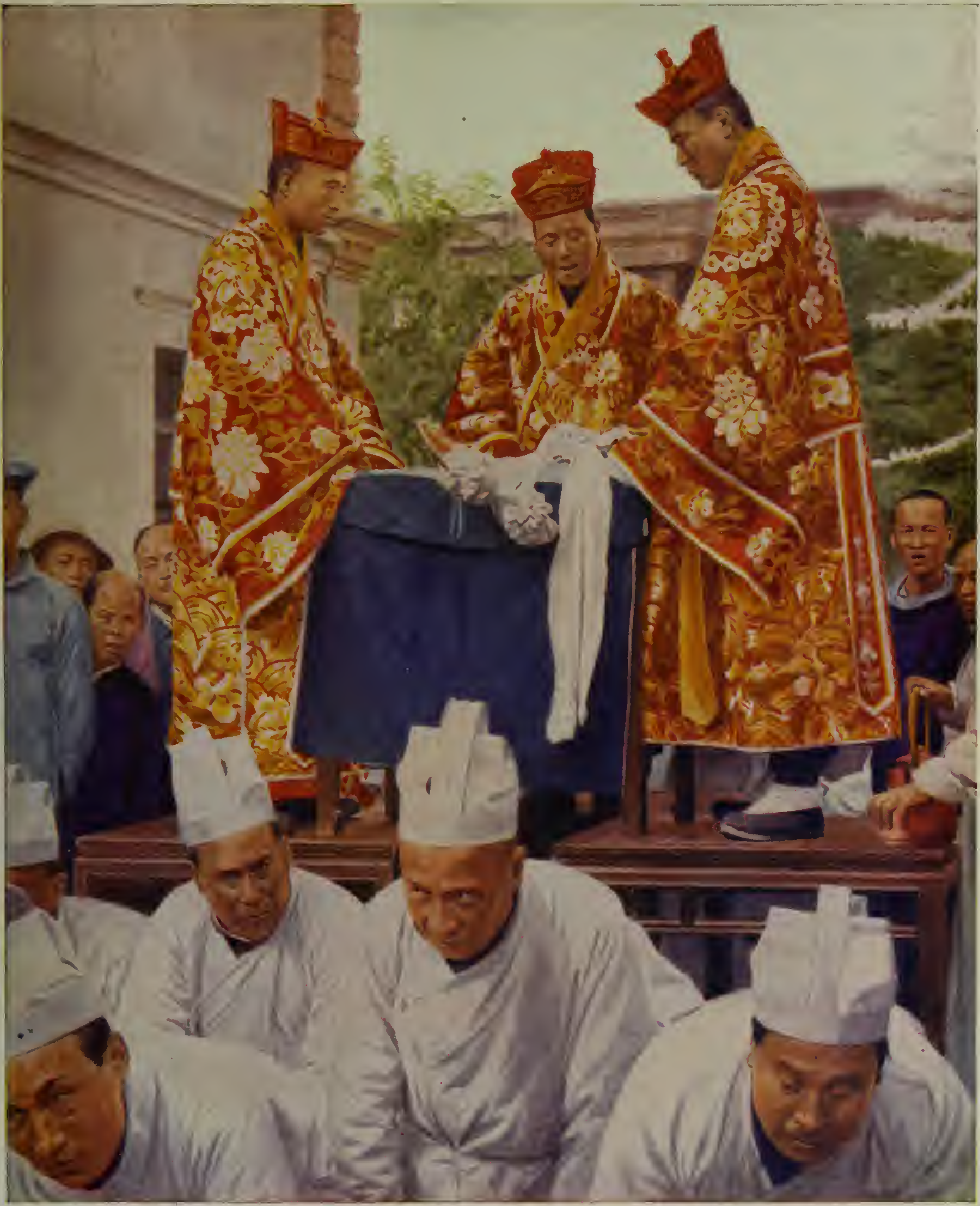
ANCIENT SACRIFICES REPRESENTED IN PAPER FORM

The association of animals with the corpse is a matter of careful attention, since, for instance, contact with a cat on a ' tiger day ' is very unsafe. One of the Chinese time cycles is that based on animal month-names, in which the seventh month is under the influence of the horse. In this photograph five paper horses, with food in saucers on a table and riders carrying the deceased person's soul tablets, are lined up before a priest. During the ceremony they will be burned.

bowl, while the skull of an enemy is regarded as an auspicious drinking goblet. When the skeleton has been stripped of its flesh the bones are buried. If the dead man was wealthy a tower is built over them. According to another method of disposal, the bones may be ground up with the flesh and so given to the birds and animals.

Cremation is practised only for the higher lamas and the very wealthy, owing to the scarcity of fuel. Embalming by means of salt is practised in the case of the Grand Lamas of Lhasa and Tashilumpo. The preserved body is set up in a room in the palace, with its regalia and sacred implements. It is worshipped, and offerings are made on the altar which stands in front of the body as it sits in the attitude of the Buddha. The post-funeral ceremonies occupy the period of forty-nine days to which reference has been made.

In China, as might be expected from the stress laid on filial piety and the cult of the



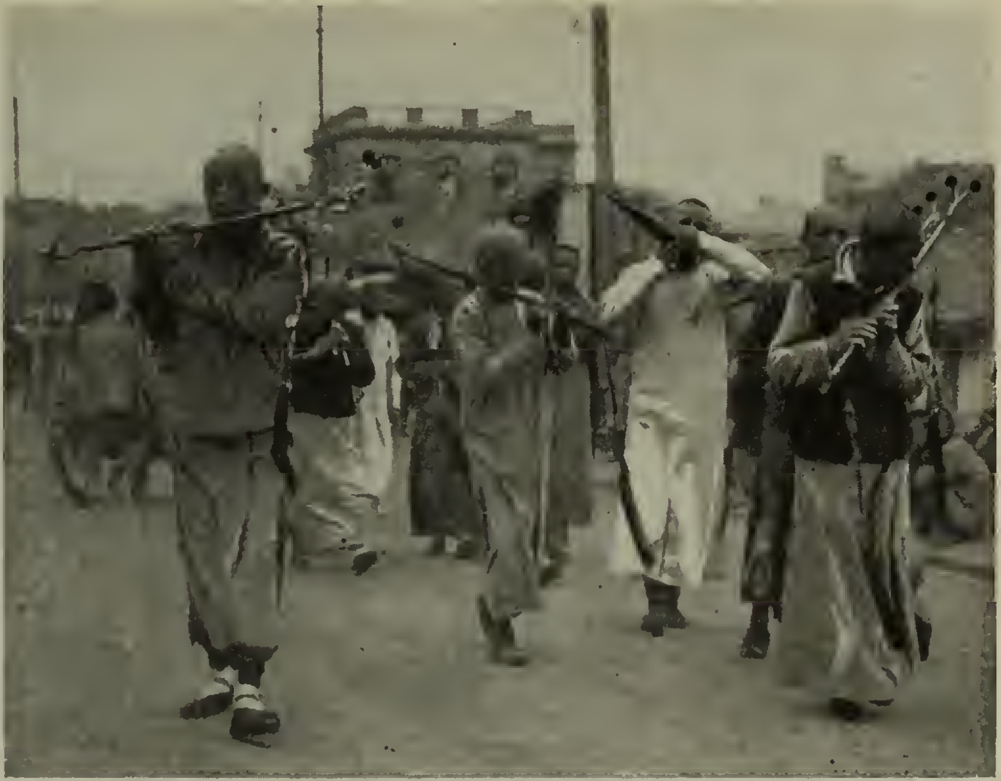
H. von Perckhammer

PRIESTLY SPLENDOUR AND ELABORATE CEREMONIAL AT A TAOIST FUNERAL

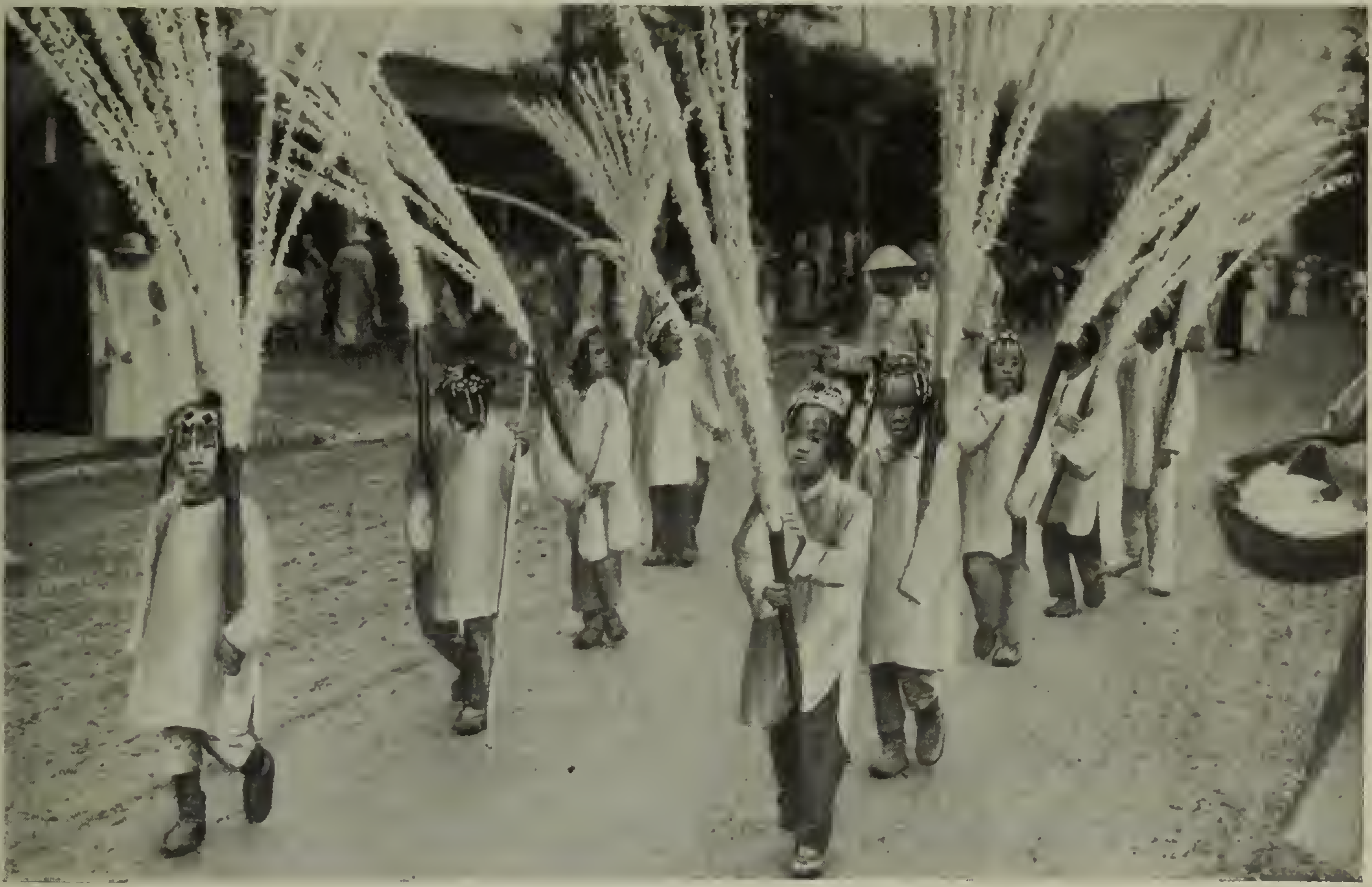
Garbed in rich robes, the Taoist priest, with his two assistants, perched on an improvised platform, chants prayers over the 'soul streamers' as part of the detailed ceremonies which precede the actual interment. Below are the sorrowing relatives robed in mourning of coarse white linen and wearing special helmet-shaped caps. Among the watching crowd a servant of the family waits with a teapot to refresh the priests. These ceremonies necessarily vary in detail throughout so vast a country as China, and their elaboration also depends upon the position of the deceased. The funeral represented here and in pages 1004 and 1005 is obviously one organized by a family of considerable wealth.

ancestors, the greatest importance is attached to the rites of death and burial. Although these vary greatly in detail from one part of the country to another, and notwithstanding recent political changes, their general outline is similar.

The function of the chief mourner, the eldest son, is everywhere of great importance. Not only has he to play the principal part in the details of the ceremonial, in so far as these do not fall to the officiating priest, but it is clear that up to the time the body is laid in the coffin he also impersonates his father. For instance, from the moment after death when the ritual performance begins he wears the ceremonial dress which the corpse will wear in the coffin, only taking it off at the moment when the body is to be wrapped in it. He also represents his father when he goes to 'purchase'


Thomas Butler

No public function takes place in China without music, least of all funeral processions. Families of quite moderate means will provide a band of clarionets and pipes, as seen in this Nankin procession. Richer people add drums and cymbals (see opposite page) and multiply the bands which accompany or drown the ritual howling of the mourners. Chinese ritual music is said to be 'passably sweet' in character.

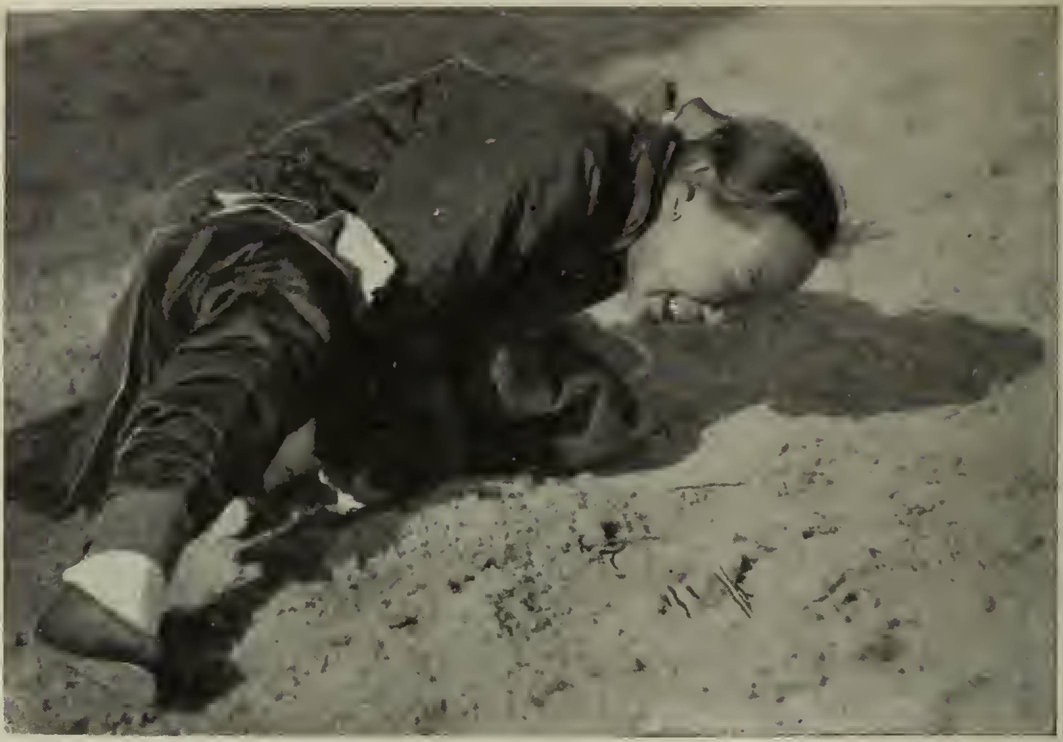

Ewing Galloway

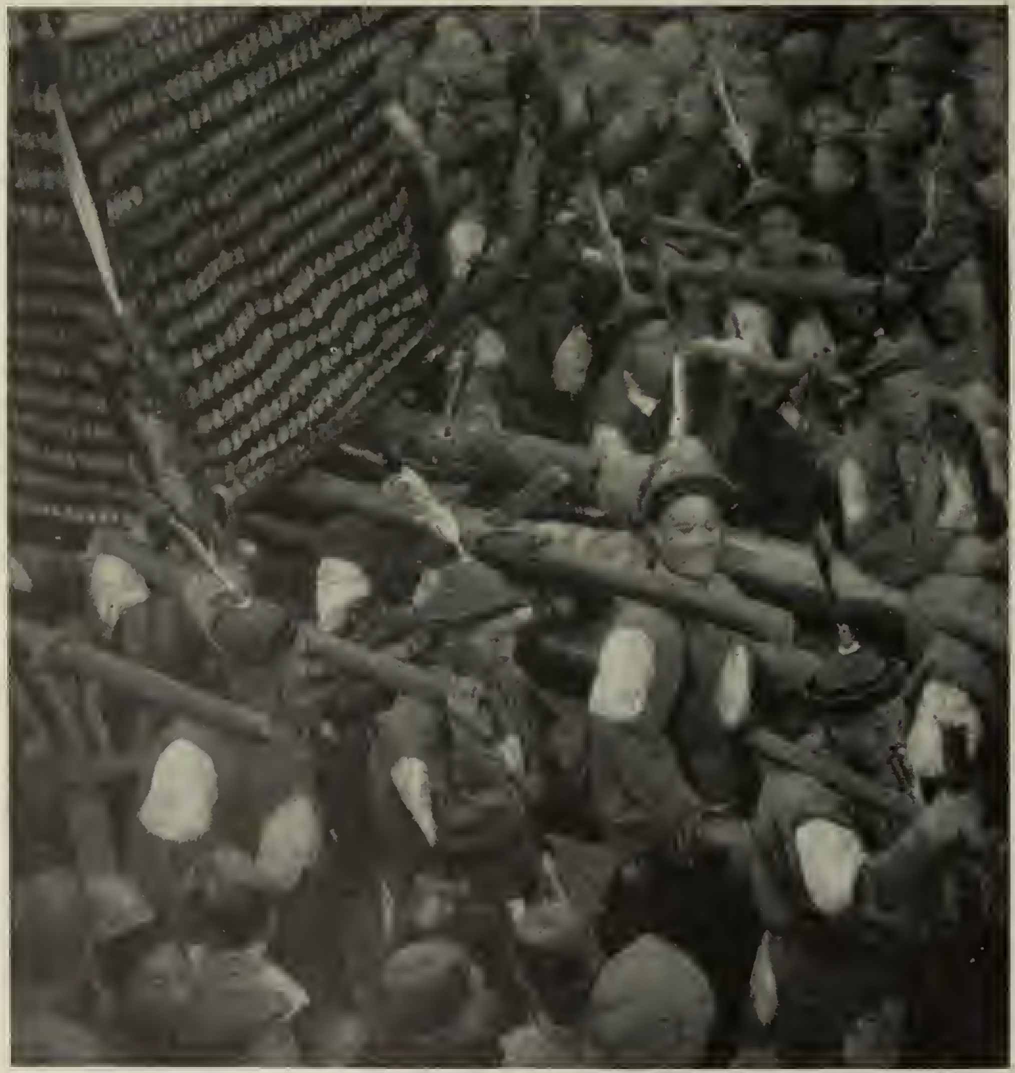
SACRED MUSIC AND RITUAL WEEPING, WITH WAVING MOURNING PLUMES

The more wealthy the mourning family the greater the display and the more elaborate the attention paid to the detail of the ancient ritual. Bamboo is of outstanding importance in Chinese life and naturally obtains ritual significance. Besides the use noted in page 1003, sprigs of the flowering plant in stems of bamboo are carried at the head of the funeral procession. These ten children dressed in white mourning overshirts are, with all other funeral details, hired for the occasion.

water for the ceremonial lustration of the body, paying for it by casting into the river a coin with a nail through the centre. Whenever the body is moved he carries the head, while his wife, the daughter-in-law, looks after the feet. She also holds them in her lap as the body is fastened in the chair in which it sits until it is placed in the coffin. To the son and daughter-in-law, too, falls the duty of placing the body in the coffin.

The function of the daughters is also of great importance. They should be present with the sons at the last moments, as their tears open the gates of heaven for their father; and, with the daughter-in-law, it is their duty at the ceremonial lustration of the corpse to comb the dead man's hair. When the coffin is nailed down with the four nails, they must crouch underneath it, otherwise the vibration of each blow might cause the dead man's eyes to start from his head.





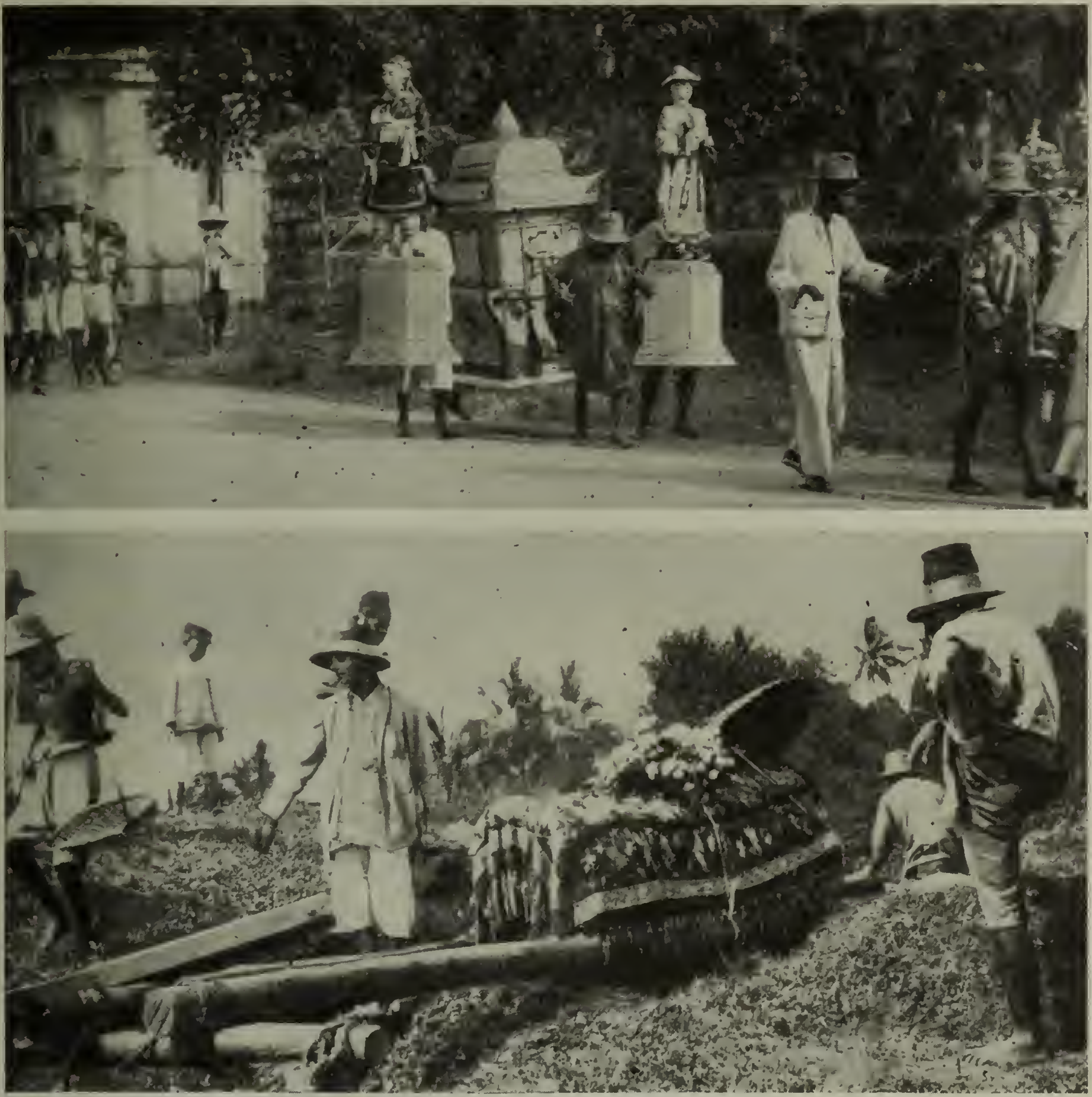
H von Perckhammer

HIRED MOURNERS AND THE SORROWING WIDOW

Grief in a rich man's family is indicated partly by the number of attendants hired for the ceremonies This coffin in Peking is being borne by 94 coolies supplied by the undertaker. They wear bamboo sprigs in their hats and white patches on their garments. Above, a widow performs the ritual of 'howling' over her husband's grave, probably many months or years after his death.

The importance of tradition is illustrated by the dead man's dress. His hair must be arranged in the traditional top-knot in use before the Manchu conquest, and the clothes placed in the coffin are of the ancient traditional style, including the old Korean riding-jacket. These are the clothes he will wear on his forty-nine days' journey to the underworld, while the clothes which the body actually wears is the ceremonial dress with the official cap bearing the red button, which he will put on once more, it is believed, for his interview with the gods of the underworld. In Japan, however, the clothes worn by the corpse, which are put on inside out, are not the ceremonial dress. This is put in the coffin.

The Chinese conception of death is peculiar. It is regarded as an arrest by the god of the



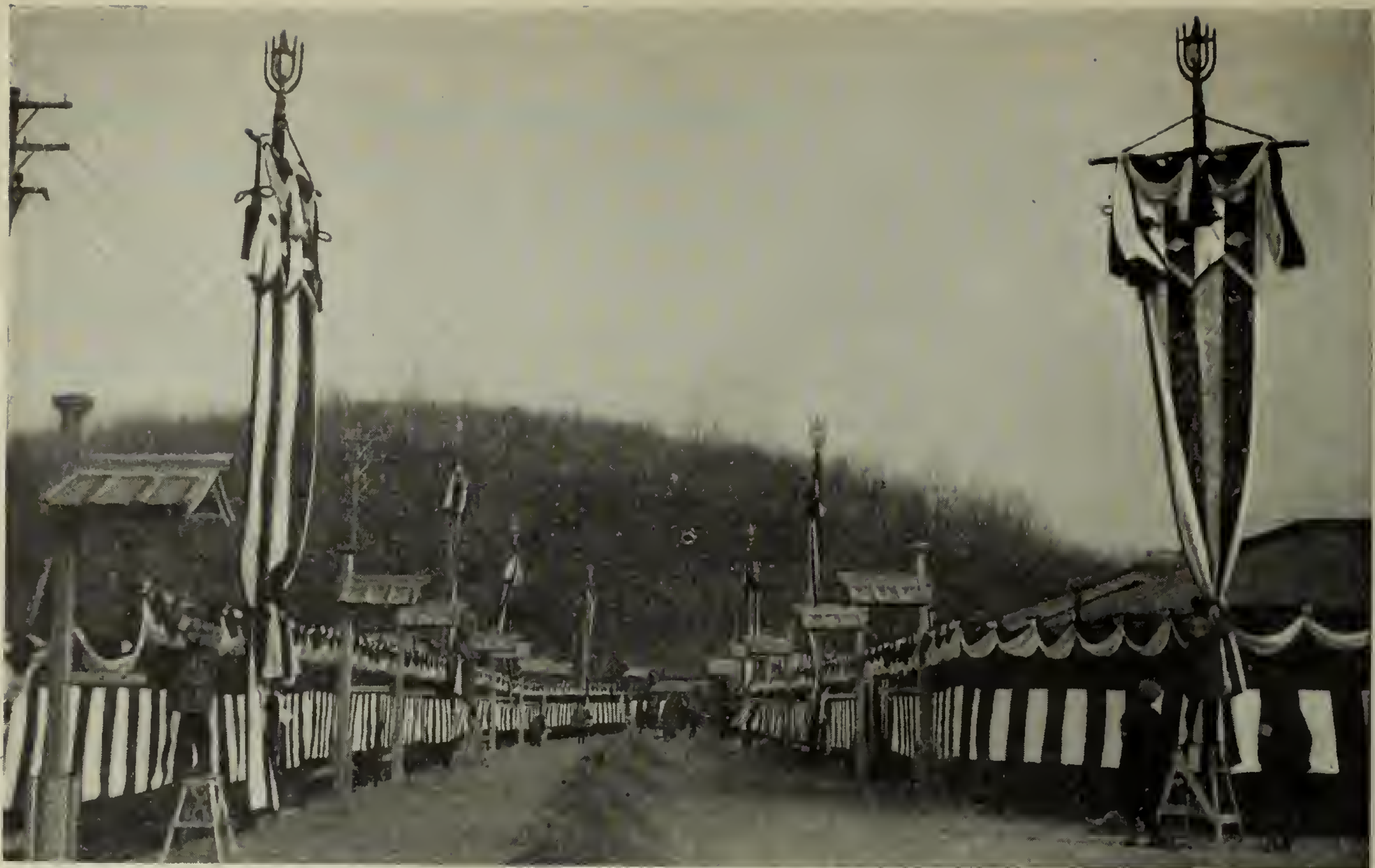
Dorien Leigh

CHINESE IN FOREIGN LANDS BURIED WITH ALL PROPER RITUAL

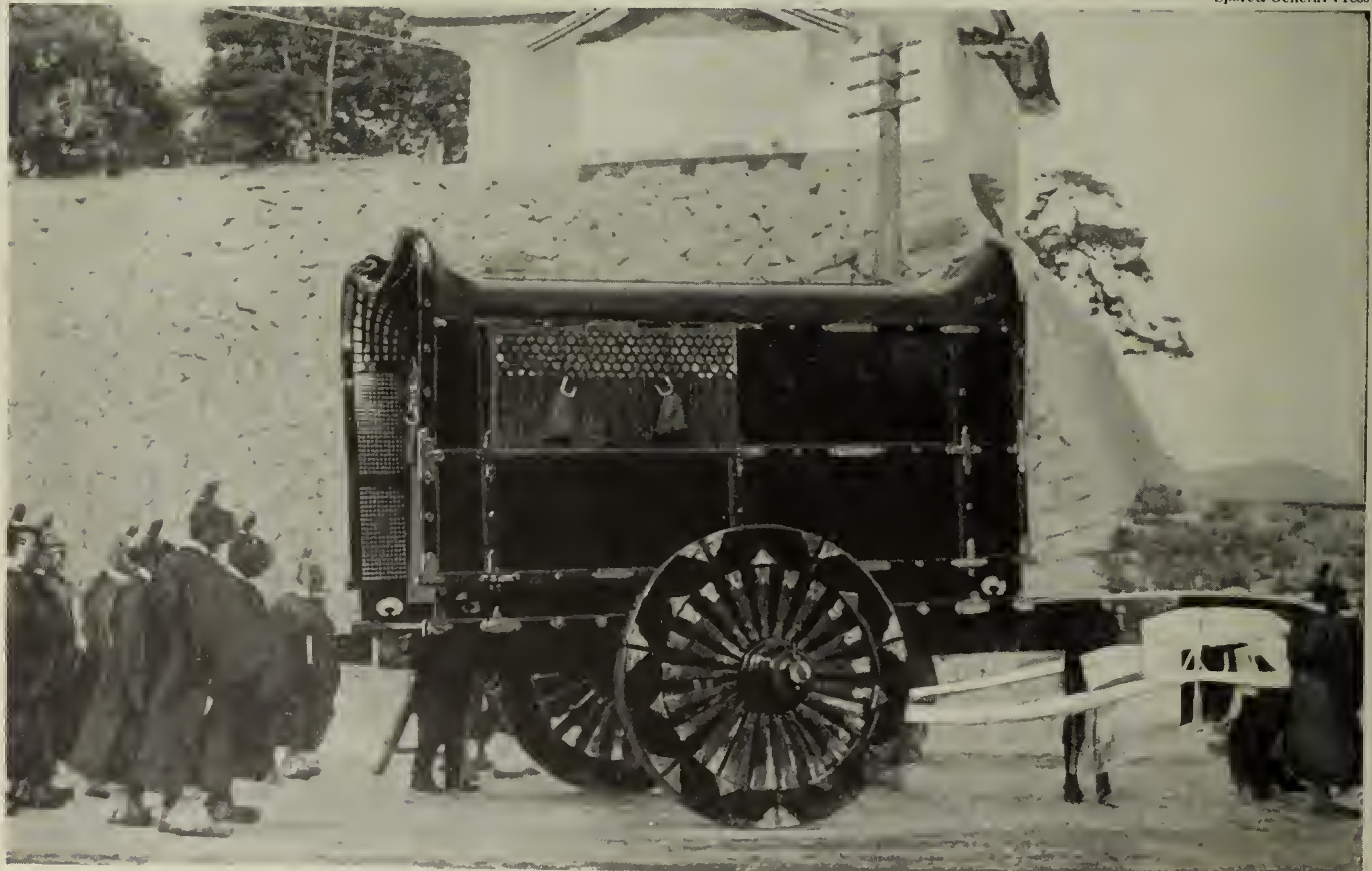
According to a Chinese saying 'The most important thing in life is to get buried well,' and wherever he may die the Chinese is assured that he will be buried with the proper ritual, its elaboration varying with the money available. This funeral in Batavia, in the Dutch East Indies, is as correct in detail as if it were carried out in Canton. Above, the household altar is carried in a palanquin with attendant spirits; every precaution is taken to ensure against attacks by ghosts or evil spirits along the route. Below, the coffin with its silk cover, red for a man and blue for a woman, has reached the grave pit, from which spirits have been duly exorcised.

underworld, who sends two spirit messengers to summon the dying man. Of these one must be the spirit of a man still living, who acts as a guide to the house. When death takes place candles are lit before the ancestral shrine and the shrine of the god of the hearth, as these must countersign the warrant of arrest; and one of the first duties of the mourning sons after the death is to go to the temple of the god of agriculture and burn paper money as payment to the god who has acted as the agent of the god of the underworld in effecting the arrest and must be paid for his services. This is compared to the 'squaring' of the officials of the 'yamen' to obtain a favourable judgement, for at the end of his journey to the shades the dead man will have to appear before a tribunal consisting of the god of the underworld, the god of the city walls and the god of agriculture.

In the Chinese conception there appears to be little sign of fear of the dead, except perhaps in the observance that the bed upon which the dead man has been lying is burnt in the street, and fireworks are let off and guns fired at different times; while



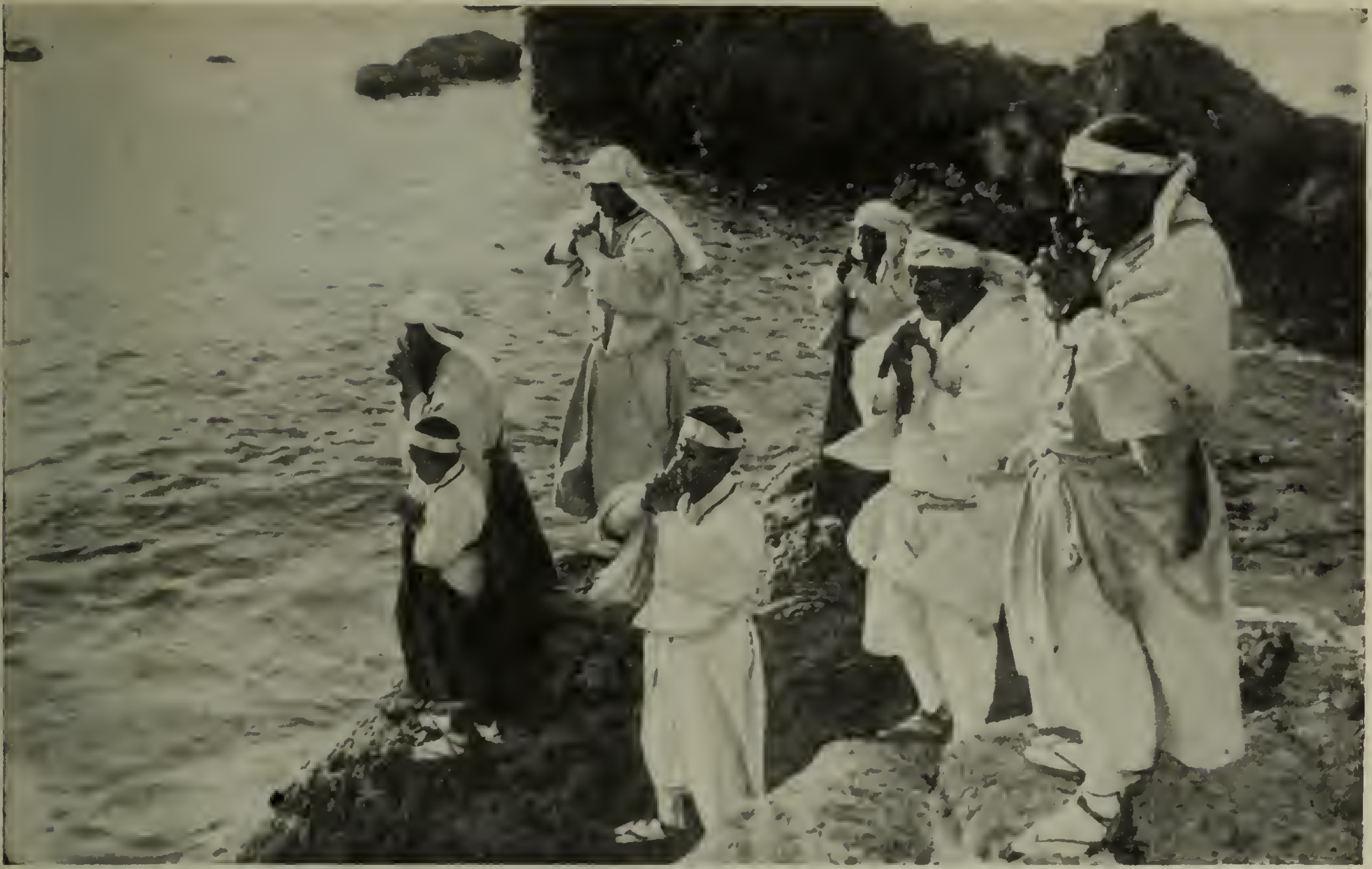
Sport & General Press



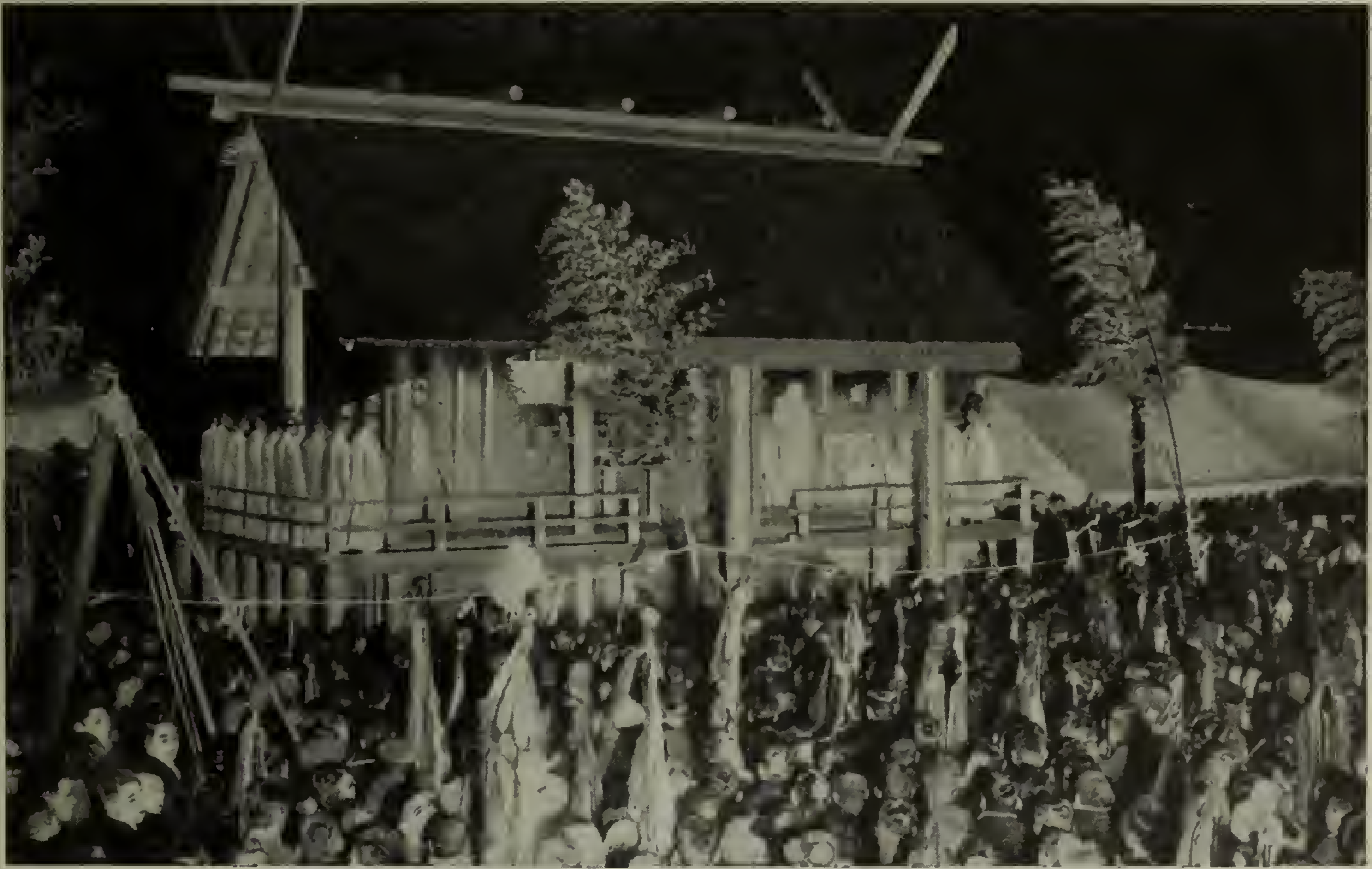
Topical Press

RITE AND RITUAL IN A JAPANESE ROYAL FUNERAL

Naturally the funeral of an emperor is attended with punctilious performance of ancient rites, but except perhaps for richness of detail the ceremonies at the death of the Mikado Yoshi-Hito, in 1927, may be taken as representing those performed in all correct Japanese funerals. The royal catafalque (bottom) was drawn by sacred black oxen and followed by the animals attendants, in ancient garb. The wheels of the hearse were so arranged as to make seven sounds of woe as they revolved. Funereal decorations in white and red (at Tama, above), together with troops and sorrowing subjects bowing low, were seen in all the streets where the procession passed.



Underwood



Sport & General Press

PRAYERS BY THE SEA AND SERVICE BY NIGHT IN TOKYO

Notwithstanding differences of race, funerary rites in China and Japan are essentially similar. During the period between the actual death and the final disposal of the body numerous rites are performed. Among these are ceremonial lustrations associated with them, being prayers recited near water (top) for the safe passage of the dead. These Buddhist priests are praying for the Mikado Yoshi-Hito. The final funeral ceremonies, as is proper in Japan, were held at night (bottom). A special building was erected at Shinjuku, Tokyo, for the ceremony. Even if the funeral were conducted in daylight lanterns would be carried in the pretence that it was night time.

Keystone

MOURNING IN MASS FOR THOUSANDS OF EARTHQUAKE VICTIMS

Buddhist priests are here seen offering prayers before a special shrine at Hongo, Tokyo, at the place where more than 33,000 persons met their death during the great earthquake of 1923. This is something more than a form of memorial service and represents an attempt to carry out such parts of the funerary rites due between death and final burial as can be made appropriate. Priests are holding offerings to safeguard the dead against the attacks and demands of spirits of the other world.

the care of the feet entrusted to the daughter-in-law, which is to prevent them touching the ground, as well as the precautions taken against the body being allowed to fall when it is moved from the central hall to the ceremonial apartments, suggest that although these measures are intended to prevent ill befalling the dead man in the after-life, their original purpose was to give the spirit no excuse or opportunity to retain its hold on this world.

When the end is near the dying man's head is shaved, his body and extremities are bathed and the nails of his hands and feet are cut. These parings are put into a little bag, one of five which are put in the coffin, the others containing fallen teeth, rice, etc., for the needs of his journey. In Japan the collection put in a bag which goes into the coffin is of a more miscellaneous character and includes everything which would be needed on a journey. Paper ' money ' is also burned at the foot of the bed and the ashes placed in the dying Chinaman's hand. He is told that he is provided with money for his journey. In Japan the money is represented by paper stamped in the form of coins. This is the fee to the ferryman who will take the dead man across the Japanese equivalent of the River Styx.

After the ceremonial lustration, to which reference has been made, the body is placed upright in a chair, and from that time forward in both China and Japan the dead man is regarded as still present in the house. In China the body sits in the ceremonial chamber behind a screen, while a ' filial curtain ' hangs before it at the opening of which are a table and a chair, the latter occupied by his ancestral tablet, on which are particulars of his rank, name, date, etc. The horoscope prepared by the Taoist priest hangs near the body—in Japan this fixes the auspicious date for the funeral and the posthumous name—and will be placed on his shoulder in the coffin. Near the body are the ' Hill of Gold ' and the ' Hill of Silver ' in paper and behind them are ' the Golden Youth ' and ' the Jade Maiden,' who will guide him across the fairy bridge with paper streamers. Near by are vast quantities of paper ' money ' for the expenses of his journey. If the family is wealthy, at the foot of the bed will be bearers and a sedan chair in paper and bamboo which will be burnt later. At every stage, it may be noted, paper ' money ' is burnt in great quantities.

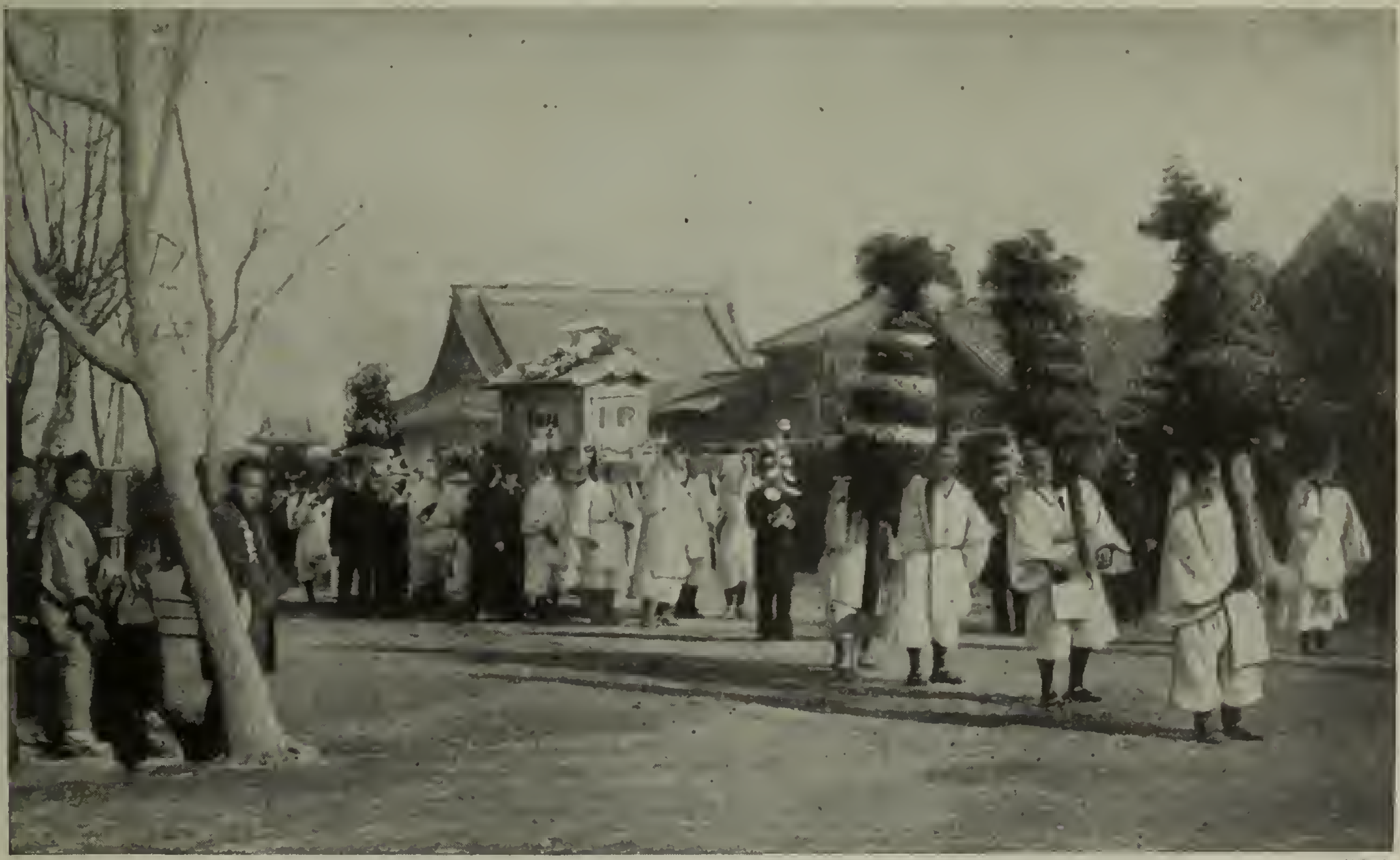
The table at the opening of the curtain is used for the dead man's share of the offerings of food which are made to the spirits and of which he is believed to partake.

On the day before the funeral the Taoist priest holds a service, in which the dead man joins the priest in a confession of sins, and the priest then preaches a sermon on the vanity of life and describes in great detail the journey the dead man is about to take. An important part of the ceremony is the undoing of a seven-stranded thread on which twenty-four copper cash have been knotted. This releases the dead man from all tightness and difficulties in the next world. It may be mentioned here that the dead man's dress must have no knots or buttons to impede him in the next world. The ceremony on this day ends with a joyous vocal and instrumental concert given by a number of Taoist priests.

The funeral procession is an affair of great elaboration in which everyone has an allotted place. It is headed by an immense paper effigy of the ' Clear the way God.' The son-in-law carries a dish of rice in which is the ancestral tablet. The son, the chief mourner, and the daughter-in-law each wear head-dresses of coarse gauze. The coffin, which is in the form of a tree trunk, is surmounted by the figure of a crane, which will bear away the soul.

On arrival at the place of burial a feast is given to which the dead man and the souls of those buried near are invited. The body is placed, not in the ground, but in a sarcophagus, on which earth is heaped now and at each successive anniversary. The gauze head-dresses, garments and paper money, also any paper attendants, are burnt and the mourners join hands and revolve three times around the grave. This performance is repeated three days later. The mourners then return to the house for a feast, but before they enter everyone must pass through a great purificatory bonfire. After the feast candles are lighted before the ancestral shrine and the new tablet fixed in its place. At the end of the seventh week after death the chief mourner shaves his head for the first time since his father died and the mourning is over.

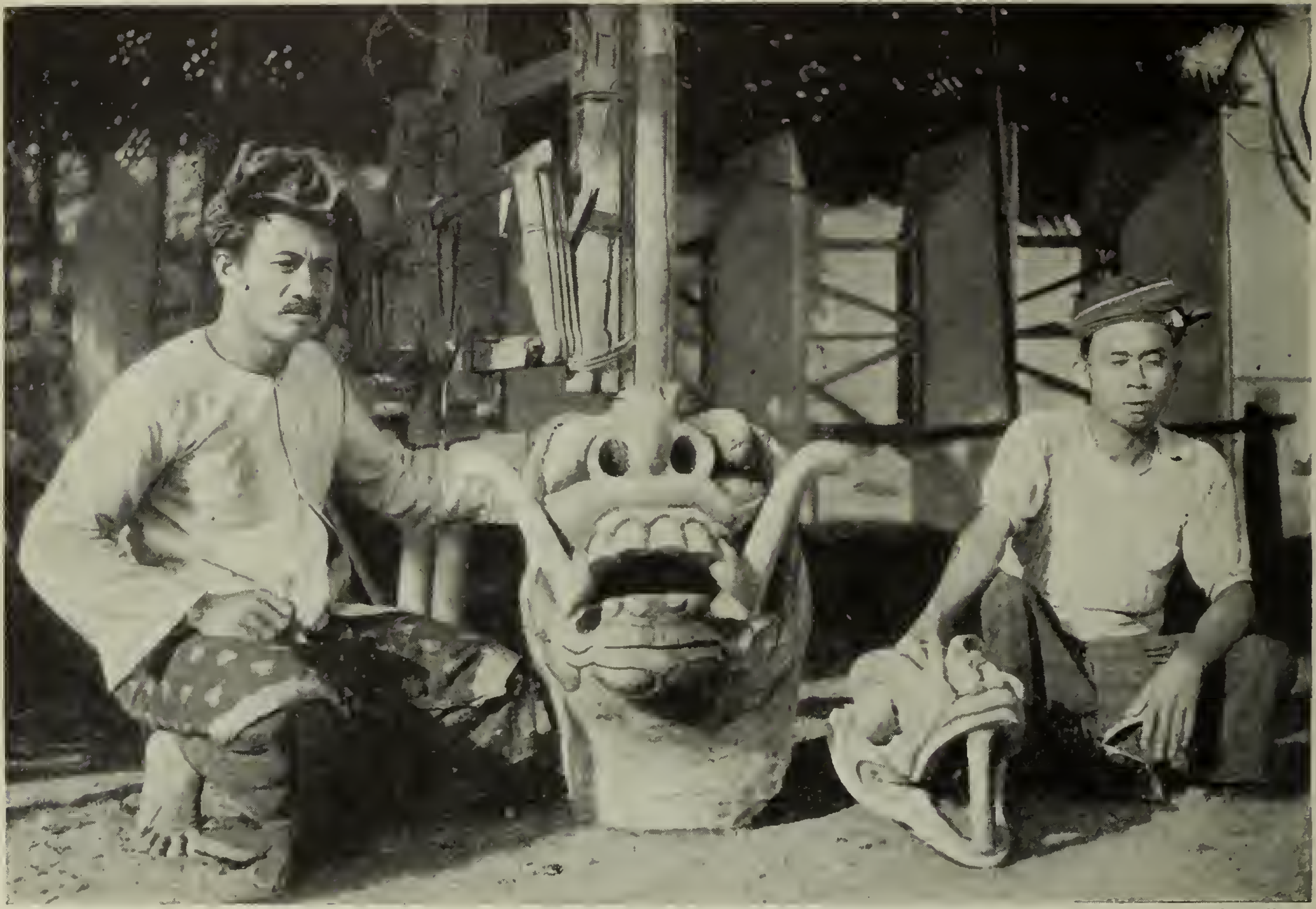
In Japan the customs accompanying and following death bear a general resemblance to those of China, as might be expected from the close relation of the two cultures. It is conceived in both cases that death is followed by a long journey for which the dead must be prepared both by the instructions of the priest and in the material which will be required to meet his needs. One difference, however, must be noted,



E.N.A.

PROCESSION OF THE DEAD ACCORDING TO THE SHINTO RITE

Though they are fundamentally alike, Buddhist and Shinto funerals in Japan differ in a number of details. Shinto funerals are usually carried out by Buddhist priests. The attendants in advance of the coffin in this procession carry leaves of sacred trees of Japan (sakaki) dressed on bamboo poles. Immediately behind them two assistants in black carry the ' go-hei,' paper offerings fastened to a stem of the sacred japonica tree, which in solemn ceremonials are supposed to incorporate the god. In the most elaborate form of funeral procession Shinto priests on horseback, and others with brooms to sweep the place for offerings at the grave, would precede the leaf carriers.



Ewing Galloway

LORD OF THE UNDERWORLD ATTENDS A BALINESE FUNERAL

Among the many elaborate and carefully observed customs of Bali in the Dutch East Indies, funeral rites rank high, since, as is common to the ideas of most peoples of the Far East, it is essential that the soul of the dead man should be given every possible assistance on his journey to the other world and kept in contentment there. Even demons are propitiated. The larger head here is that of Naga, chief of the Balinese hell, carved expressly so that he may attend a royal funeral.

and that is that before the final disposal of the body it is carried in solemn procession to a mortuary chapel in the case of Shintoists, and to the temple in the case of the Buddhists. In each a funeral service is held, that of the Buddhists being of a much more elaborate character. The Buddhists also differ among themselves in the character of the service, according to the sect to which the dead man belonged. The differences, for the most part, are in highly technical matters of a ritual character—one sect, for instance, carries on the service almost entirely in dumb show, making use of the ' mudras ' or mystic manual signs which transmit invocations to the Buddha, while another sect makes an extended use of the mystic secret formulae in debased Sanskrit of which the meaning more often than not has been lost. A further difference between Shinto and Buddhism is the greater prominence of the priest in the rites of the latter.

In both cases death is followed by a ceremonial lustration, the Shintoist washing, however, being of a very perfunctory character. The Buddhist priest also shaves the dead ceremonially, thus admitting him, according to Buddhist practice, to the order of priests. Until the funeral takes place, the dead man is believed to partake of all meals and offerings in the house. While the watching of the dead is taking place the body rests behind a screen, near it being the posthumous tablet, which corresponds to the Chinese ancestral tablet, and a sword and mirror which will serve to protect him in after life. Among the Buddhists on the day before the funeral a service, in which the dead man takes part, similar to that of the Chinese is held in the house.

The Shinto funeral, whatever the time of day at which it takes place, is in theory at night. When the body is brought out a bonfire burns in the courtyard and coolies in the procession carry torches. The order of procession in both cases is very similar, but the Buddhist procession is by far the more imposing owing to the splendour of the vestments and the huge paper dragons which are borne aloft. At the end of the Buddhist procession is a cage of birds which are released at the graveside. In Shinto burial when the body has been lowered into the grave each of the mourners casts a handful or spadeful of earth into the grave. If, however, the body has been burned the mourners have to be purified and a priest must purify the house. The period of mourning corresponds to that of the Chinese, a period of fifty days in which certain rites have to be observed at stated intervals to assist the dead man on his way.

MONASTICISM IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

THE monastic system of the Christian Church is a development of the practice followed by holy men in the early Church of living apart from the world as hermits. The hermit of modern times, found chiefly in the East, is considered in the chapter on Hermits, Fakirs and Ascetics of Today. Monasticism in Non-Christian Religions is the subject of a chapter under that title.

THERE is a legal phrase which continues in the English-speaking world of today all the fears and anxieties of pre-Reformation times. When a lease is made to a man for the life of another person, the words employed are always for the 'natural life' of this other person—a precaution rendered necessary before the Reformation because a man who 'entered into religion' or was 'professed' was dead to the law, and consequently the holder of the lease might find himself at the mercy of anybody who suddenly determined to enter a monastery.

Monachism was practised, of course, long before the Christian era; it was common to the Brahmanical and other religions of the East, and the sect of Nazarenes among the Jews embodied the same notion of separation for devotional purposes from ordinary life. The earliest Christians, however, to practise it did not form themselves into monastic groups, but carried out their ascetic discipline in their own homes. A monk, indeed, as the name implies, is simply a man who lives alone—a person who withdraws from society—and originally was indistinguishable from what we now call a hermit. It was not until between the third and fourth century that the communities of Christian monks, or monasteries as we understand them today, were established. The honour of founding these establishments where men could retire from the world for mortification of the flesh and pious meditation belongs, it is traditionally supposed, to two Egyptians, named Paul and Anthony. In a world in which ordered society seemed to be breaking down, the lure of the monastic settlements was very strong, and Gibbon has told us how 'the prolific colonies of monks multiplied and were rapidly increased from the sands of Libya to the rocks of Thebais. To the south of Alexandria the mountain and adjacent desert of Nitria were peopled by five thousand anchorites; and the traveller may still investigate the ruins of fifty monasteries which were planted in that barren soil by the disciples of Anthony . . . Pachomius successfully founded nine monasteries of men and one of women.'

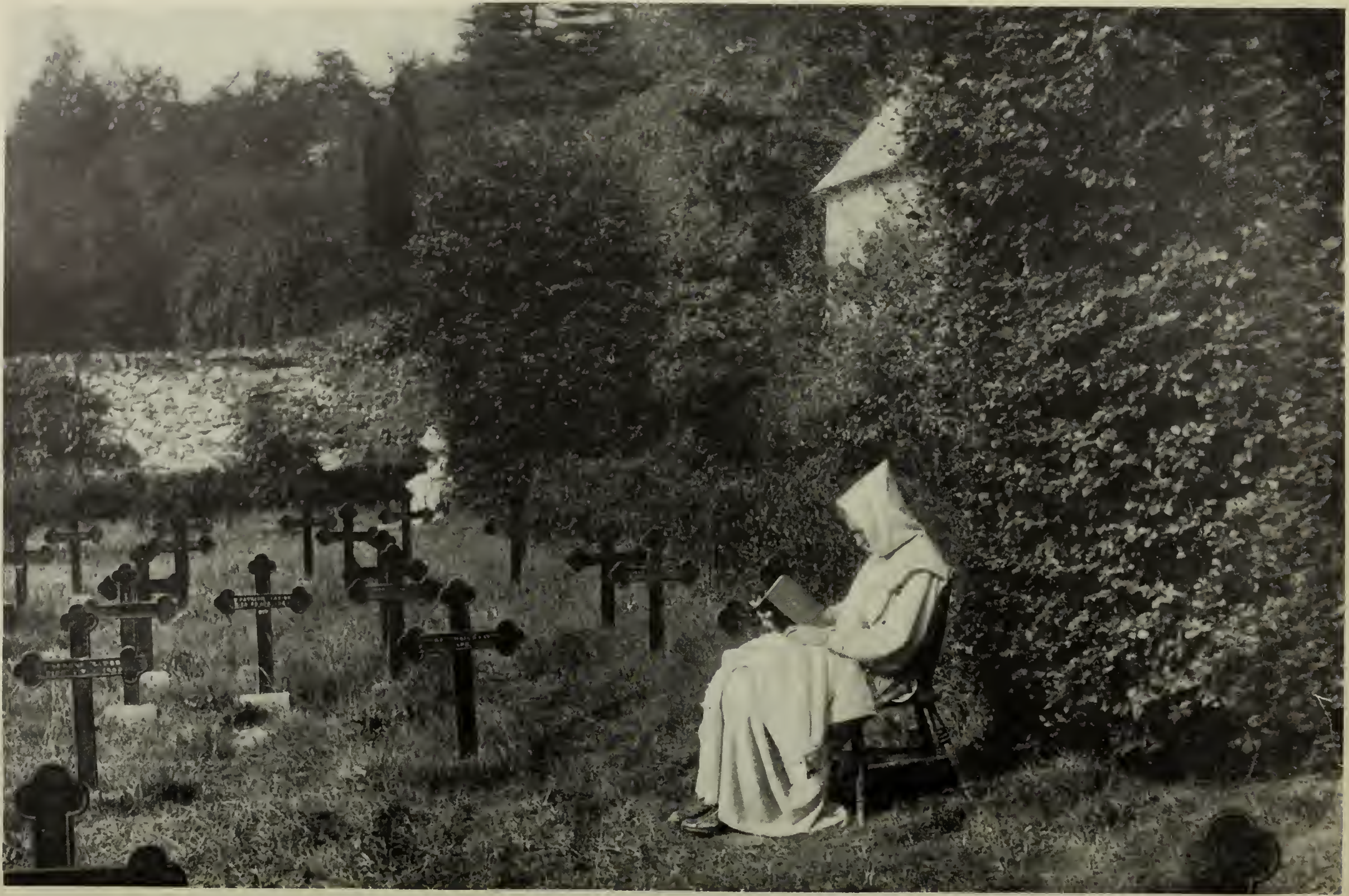
In the course of two hundred years the institution of monachism had undergone almost inevitable corruption both in the eastern and in the western churches. It was left to Saint Benedict to strike that first note of reformation which was continued at intervals throughout the ages, sometimes, indeed, taking the form of total abolition.

UNTIL the thirteenth century all the monasteries were imitations of that established by S. Benedict at Monte Casino somewhere about the year 530 and were governed by the same rules. England in the early years seems to have been unique among the Christian countries of the Western Church in not accepting the rule of S. Benedict. The Venerable Bede and other British monks of the time followed the ancient rule of Pachomius, and it is an open question whether S. Augustine brought over the new system with him from Rome, or whether its establishment was deferred until the age of S. Dunstan in the tenth century. Glastonbury was probably the first English Benedictine monastery.

G.P.A.

COBBLER TO THE TRAPPISTS OF ENGLAND

This placid-faced old monk is a member of the Trappist order. He has made and mended shoes for over half a century in the cobbler's shop of the Trappist monastery of Mount St. Bernard, not far from Leicester. The Trappists are strictly enclosed, and employ themselves in choir offices and manual labour.



G.P.A.

CEMETERY OF THE ENGLISH TRAPPISTS: MEDITATING ON ETERNITY IN THE ABODE OF THE DEAD

The inmates of the Trappist monastery of Mount St. Bernard, in Leicestershire, follow the same observance, wear the same habit, and use the same liturgy as did their Cistercian ancestors eight centuries ago. As at Buckfast, the building of the monastery was undertaken entirely by the monks themselves, who, in addition, reclaimed the site from the barren district of Charnwood Forest. The monks keep poultry, grow vegetables, and perform such other useful labours as go to make the little community self-supporting. When they come to end their lives of silence they are buried without coffins in their own cemetery, in which the graves of the dead are marked by black crosses inscribed merely with the name in religion of the deceased and the date of death.

G.P.A.

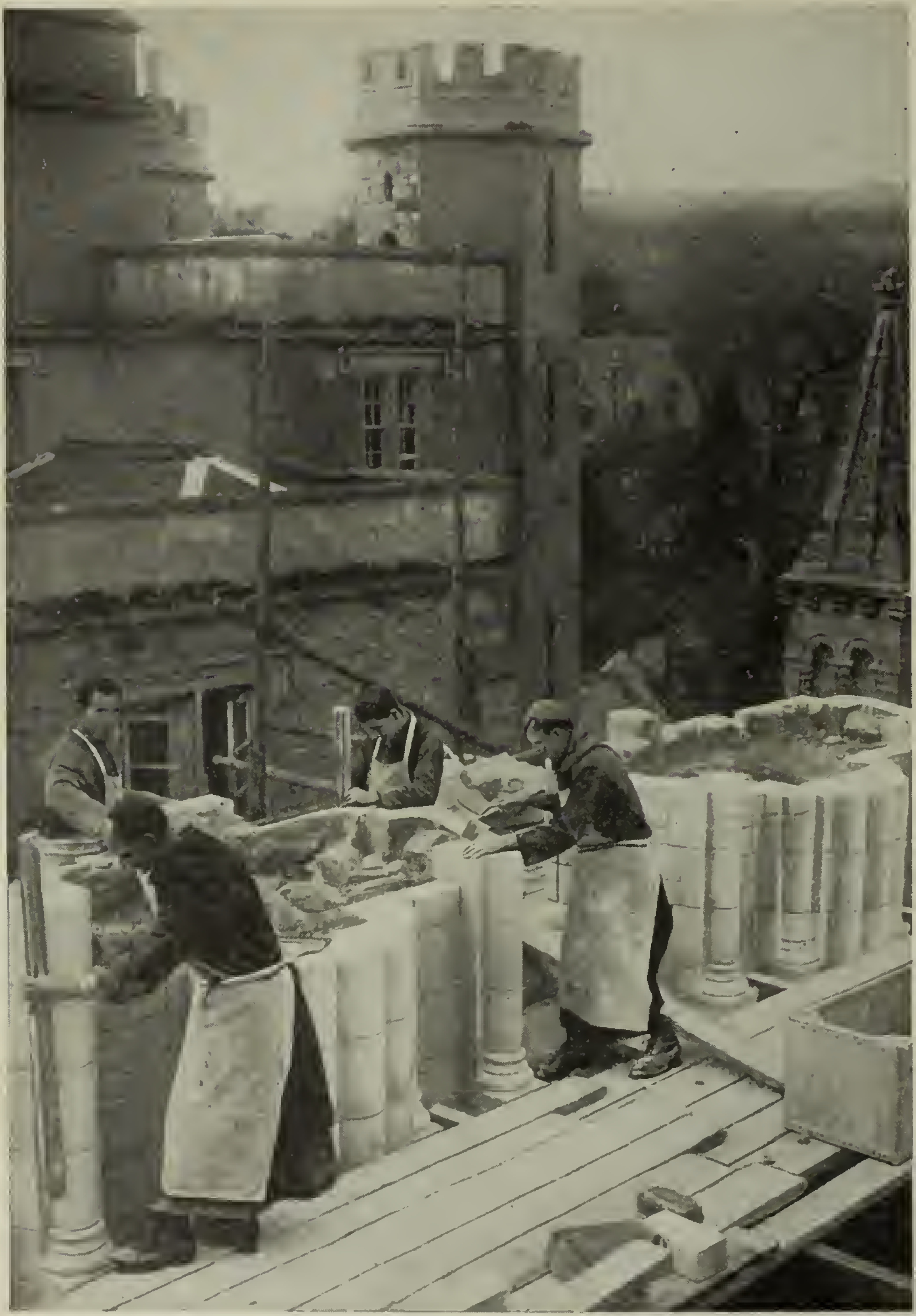
IN THE READING CLOISTER OF AN ABBEY OF PERPETUAL SILENCE

No notice boards enjoining silence are required in those parts of a Trappist monastery that are devoted to reading, for the rules of the order impose perpetual silence on its members. There are some sixty Trappist monasteries—the English house of the order being the Abbey of Mount St. Bernard—and about twenty nunneries, the latter including one at Stapehill, near Wimborne. The Trappist régime is exceedingly severe, and much the same austerities are expected of Trappist nuns as of monks of the order.

During the Crusades monachism took a curious form, relics of which survive to this day, in the establishment of two military orders, the Knights Hospitallers of S. John and the Knights Templars. Much confusion has existed as to the distinction between monks and friars, and it may here be noted that monks belong to a fixed community to whom their monastery is their home, while the friars, like the Franciscans and Dominicans, who did much noble work in the Dark Ages, were attached to no definite establishment but simply owed obedience to their Order. The new broom of the Reformation swept away the monasteries in England, but the abbots in Scotland, by seeking the protection of some great landowner, continued for a while to function, oddly enough, in a Protestant state. There would appear to be nothing in Protestantism opposed to the principles of monachism. There were Protestant monasteries in Germany, and today in England, as the result of the High Church movement, there are several establishments of the kind—though probably in their case the term Protestantism would be regarded as a label of reproach. The Cowley Brotherhood and the Cowley Sisterhood, both Anglican orders, have done a great deal of admirable religious work, and it may be noticed that Dr. Frere, appointed bishop of Truro in 1923, as a member of the Community of the Resurrection, was technically an Anglican monk. He was Superior of this Order, which has its home at Mirfield, in Yorkshire.

While on the subject of monachism and Protestantism mention may be made of perhaps one of the most curious sects in the world—the Church of the Dependents, popularly known in the neighbourhood of Loxwood in Sussex as the ‘ Coklers.’ Except for marriage, which they regard not as a happy ceremony but almost as a tragedy, they may be said to practise all the rigorous rites of the earliest Christians who set themselves apart from the rest of the world. They deny themselves all luxuries, sports and amusements. Their only reading is the Scriptures, and theatres, cinemas and even wireless are unknown to them. They dress in the fashions of a hundred years ago and a spinster is more esteemed among them than a married woman. Births are not hailed as occasions for especial rejoicing, but death, representing the stepping-stone to the higher life, is approached with gladness. They live in a sort of communal state with their own farm and their own store. The sect was founded by John Sirgood in the early part of last century. He was a Clapham cobbler who migrated to Sussex and there by his preaching established a very austere sect which still exists.

The history of monachism would seem to suggest that it preserves within itself a deep-rooted human instinct which urges a man or a woman to follow on occasion the difficult path of renunciation. A graph of its rise and decline would tend to show that in times of great world unrest it has invariably reached its peak, as in the Middle Ages, and perhaps we may distinguish the same tendency in our own time. Since the beginning of the present century, indeed, monachism has spread enormously in this country, especially under the rule of the Roman Catholic Church. At Ampleforth the first abbot since the Reformation has been enthroned and religious communities have sprung up all over the country. The foundation of the Trappist monastery of S. Bernard, at Leicester, is a good illustration of this tendency.



Central News

LOVING CRAFTSMANSHIP OF THE MONKS AT BUCKFAST

One of the most remarkable tasks undertaken by monks in modern times is the rebuilding of Buckfast Abbey church, in Devonshire. Every detail of the construction has been carried out by the monks with their own hands. Visitors to Buckfast have been struck by the small number of men at work, but surely, if slowly, the noble structure has proceeded to completion.

THE Trappists were an austere monkish order founded at La Trappe in Normandy in 1140. After suffering a decline in common with other monastic institutions they were re-established by Rance in 1663. The order he imposed enjoined perpetual silence, prayer, manual labour, and the interdiction of any study, fish eating or wine drinking. They were established in France until the Revolution, when for a time they settled in Worcestershire. A certain amount of political feeling was raised against them and, finding the atmosphere of England uncongenial, they removed to Mount Melleray, in county Waterford, Ireland, where they established a new community which exists today. Later monasteries were re-established in France, Belgium, Italy, Algeria, and the United States. Comparatively recently they returned to England and founded the monastery near Leicester where in a modern world of hustle and ambition they set an example of quietness and devotion.

The monastery is designed to be self-contained and self-supporting. All the building is done by the monks. The novitiates are given the more unpleasant tasks, such as digging up clay for building, and though the members of the community are forbidden to eat fish, meat and eggs, the rearing of poultry is one of the activities of the abbey farm. When finally the building is completed it will be a monument to the persistent labours of these ascetics, who have not

G.P.A.

BROTHERS OF THE BRUSH AND OF THE ROD IN A MONKISH STRONGHOLD OF GREECE

Mount Athos, the easternmost of the three prongs of the peninsula of Chalcidice, is famous for its monasteries. The monks, who for the most part are Greeks, occupy themselves with such tasks as farming, fishing and weaving; in fact they carry on the secular duties of the community in addition to their religious offices. Some of the monks are self-taught painters, and produce frescoes and other works of art of high artistic merit. Each of the twenty monasteries is a sort of little republic in itself.

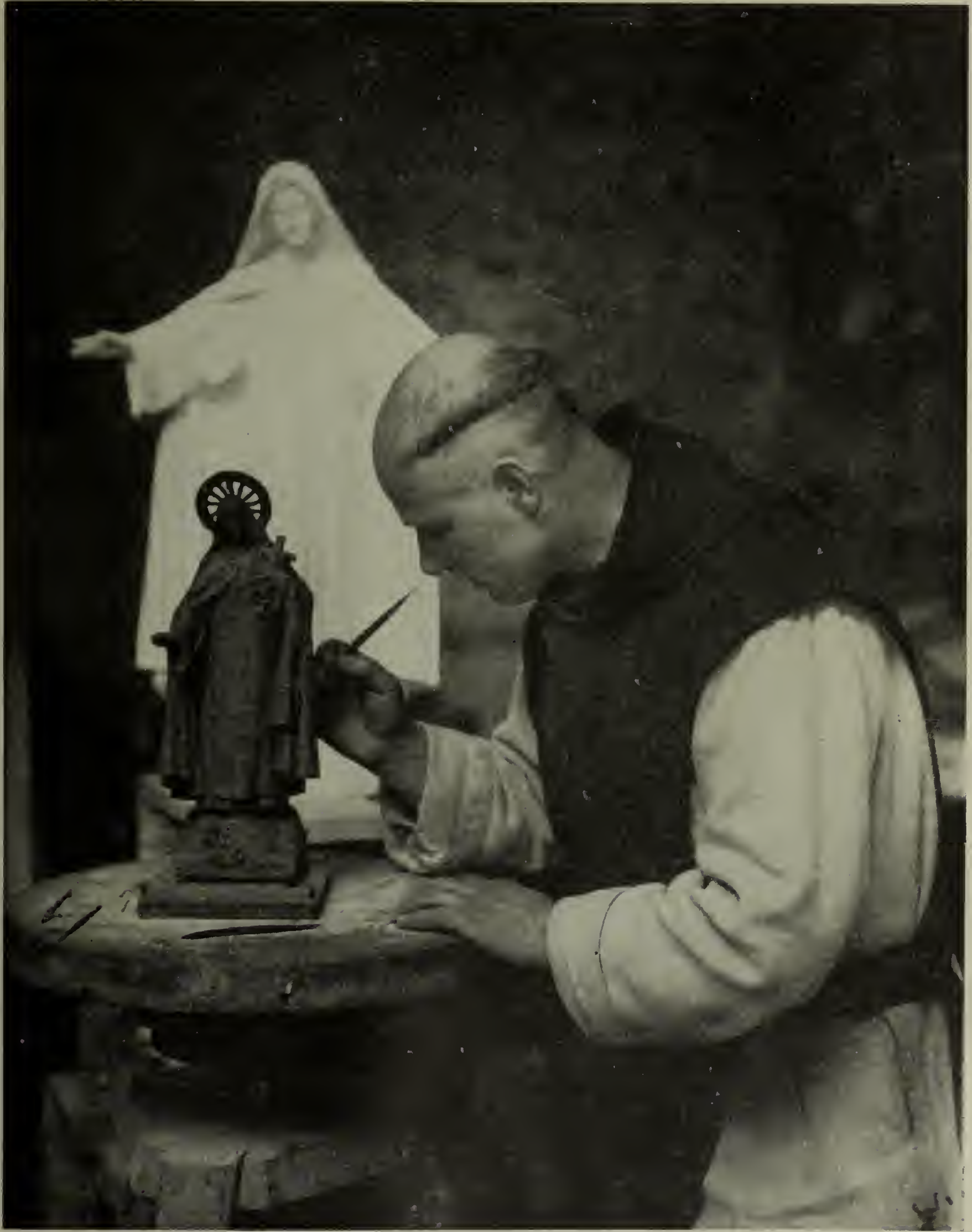
only put every stone in place but have even reclaimed the ground on which the monastery stands. Within the confines of the monastery are the graves of those monks who have died, and over each is a plain black iron cross bearing the religious name of the deceased.

Building and architecture indeed may be well called a traditional monastic exercise, and another great feat of these Catholic communities is the rebuilding of Buckfast Abbey church, near Ashburton, Devon. The Benedictine monks here began their self-imposed task in 1908 on the old twelfth-century foundations, and the beautiful building which now rears itself against the background of Dartmoor owes its existence entirely to their labours. The church, it may be noted, is 242 feet long and 62 feet wide. But these monks do not lead the severely austere life of their Trappist brothers in Leicestershire. They have beautiful grounds for their recreations, and even pets in the shape of two great St. Bernards.

WHILE the rather arrogant Evangelicalism of the Victorian age still dominated the public mind—the Great War seems to have bred a kindly tolerance and charity towards all brands of religion—any attempt to found a Roman Catholic monastery in this country might have led to an actual breach of the peace. Nowadays these communities devoted to the religious life are accepted and welcomed by the people living in the neighbourhood. It is interesting to note that many of these religious communities are springing up in the neighbourhood of old Catholic houses. One of the most notable is that of the Passionist Fathers who have established a monastery at Middleton Lodge, near Ilkley in Yorkshire, close to

DOMINICANS AT HOME: STUDIES AND DEVOTIONS IN A GERMAN FRIARY

Today in the famous old Dominican friary of S. Paul in Berlin life goes on in much the same way as it did in the lifetime of the founder of the order. The friars, in accordance with century-old rules, say the office (bottom) seven times every day. The Dominicans are a preaching order, and the library, representing every shade of theological thought, is an essential part of their equipment. The librarian of the establishment is here seen (top) at work among his volumes and manuscripts.



André Kertész

QUIETLY FOLLOWING HIS CRAFT, OBLIVIOUS OF THE GAY WORLD OUTSIDE

Until the fourteenth century monasticism was the determining cause of the development of Christian art. Subsequently, although some individual monks gained renown as artists, the monastic orders exercised little influence in this direction. The Benedictines have always been specially distinguished for their learning, but from the eighth to the eleventh century their artistic influence was considerable, and they excelled in fresco painting. The monk here seen, in the Benedictine monastery on one of the Iles de Lerin, opposite Cannes, is at work on a little statue of S. Theresa.

Andr Kertesz

SIMPLE FARE AND HOMELY GARB OF THE BENEDICTINE MONKS

The lives of the monks of Lerin afford a strange contrast to the careless gaiety associated with Cannes, on the mainland. The monks occupy themselves with study, devotional labours and agricultural work. One of their number is here seen (bottom) laying the frugal meal. The Benedictine habit comprises a long robe and a hood, as seen in the upper photograph.

the seat of one of the few old Catholic families—the Middletons of the famous dale. They, too, are, as far as possible, self-contained, and in the summer and harvest time they can be seen working in the fields. Though they have only been in existence a few years they seem already to have become part and parcel of the life in the neighbourhood. Time plays some curious tricks, and we may piously wonder what Lord Fairfax, the famous Parliamentary general, would have thought had he been able to visualise the existence of this monastic community upon the threshold of his neighbouring estate at Denton Hall.

Though monasteries have been suppressed at various times on the Continent there has been no break there in the continuity of the practice of monachism as there has been in England. One of the most remarkable monastic settlements is that on Mount Athos, the so-called inaccessible holy mountain of Greece. There is no trustworthy record as to when Athos became a holy place, but its story begins with that sainted theological expert

Athanasius, who in the tenth century obtained permission from the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas to found a monastery there. In the imperial permit granting the application Athos is referred to as the 'Holy Mountain,' so presumably it had long been the refuge of religious recluses. Today hermits live there in single huts built on the steep sides of the southern face of the mountain. Many of these huts are built in the fissures of inaccessible rocky heights with no paths to lead to them. To secure supplies the hermit lowers a basket by a long rope, which he then pulls up when it has been filled. There are also on Mount Athos, besides these anchorites, little communities of religious men whose asceticism is not quite so severe. The

Barnaby's, Ltd.

MONKS OF A SWISS CHARTERHOUSE AT FIELD WORK AND AT PRAYER

Apart from their meetings in the church, their weekly walks and refectory meals, and their agricultural activities, the monks of the Carthusian order live the life of hermits. Each monk has a separate dwelling house in the precincts of the charterhouse, which should comprise the cell proper, bedroom and oratory (top), and workshop, with a little private garden attached. Talking is not allowed except on Sundays and during the weekly walk. The habit is of white serge. The photographs show monks of the Chartreuse of La Valsainte, in Switzerland.

greater number of monks live in the twenty monasteries on the summit of the mountain. To this day the rule that no female shall set foot upon Athos is kept so strictly that not even female animals are permitted to wander there.

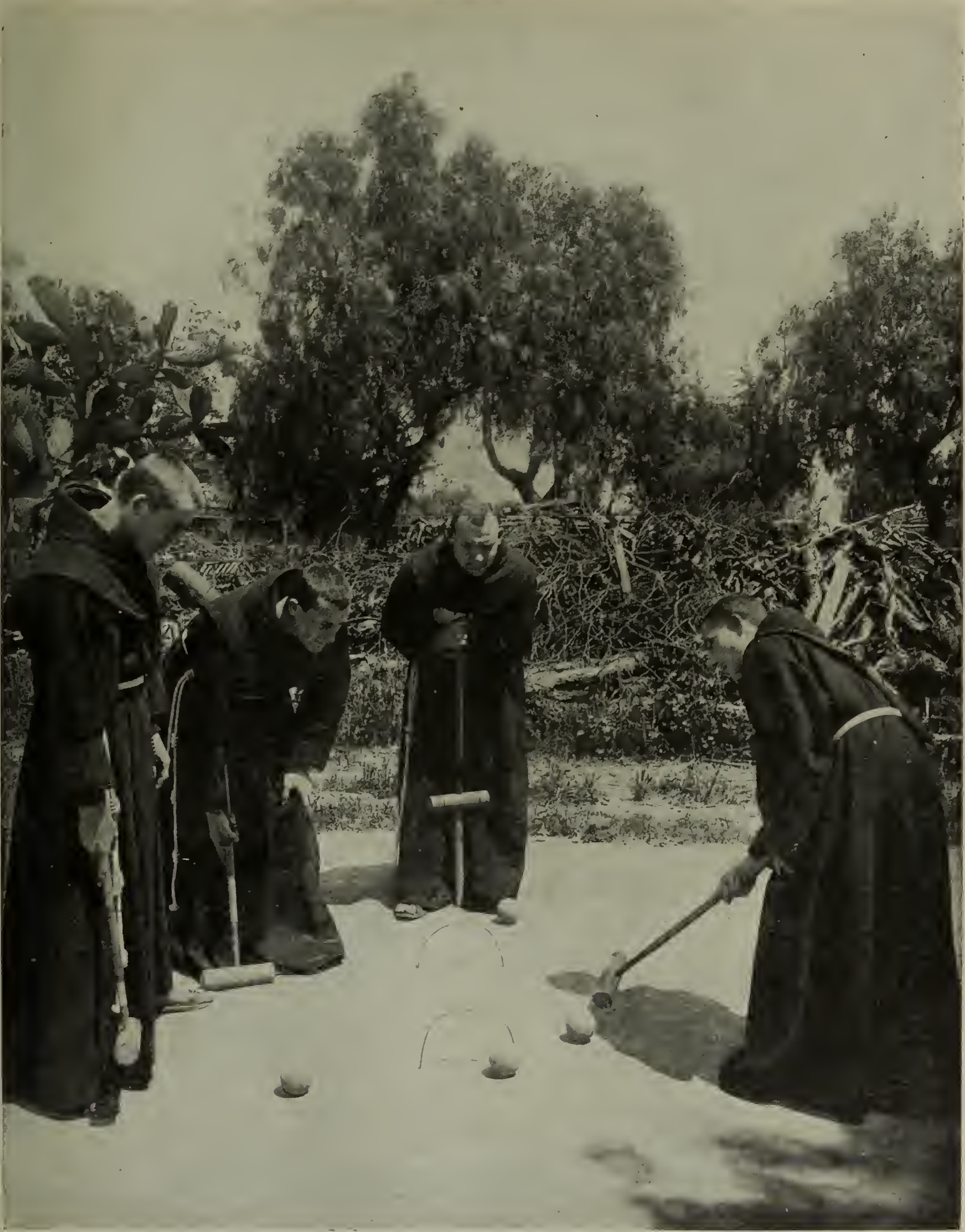
Except for the Trappist rule, life in one monastery, with a few variations, is very much like life in another. S. Dominic, who was the originator of the rosary, with which is connected one of the most beautiful rites of the Catholic Church, founded the monastery of S. Paul in Berlin in 1215. There to this day, carrying on the régime laid down by the great Spanish ecclesiastic, the monks are to be seen strictly obeying the routine rules of the Order, doing their own domestic work, feeding the poor children, making themselves efficient exponents of their theology in their magnificent library—for they are a preaching order—and leading hard, useful, devoted lives. A curious touch of modernity, however, is given to the establishment by the existence of a telephone and an up-to-date typewriter used by the abbot's secretary.

To hold up the torch of renunciation to a world too much concerned with temporal affairs and material things is the root principle of the Trappist monachism, and nowhere is the contrast more startlingly seen than in the Benedictine monastery on the island of Lerin, off the coast of that playing ground of luxury—Cannes. Here, vowed to poverty, the Benedictine friars, in their sombre brown habits, limit their interests to agricultural pursuits and a devotional life. The gay world at their doors has no existence for them. Here they live, working and praying, and here they die and are buried in the God's acre of the monastery. Though there is no vow of silence, none of them is allowed to speak at mealtimes, and a rule enforces the order of wearing hoods while they are eating. A pathetic sight in the refectory is the empty seats of those brothers who have passed away. That labour is also prayer would seem to be one of the admirable mottoes of the Carthusian monastery of La Valsainte in Switzerland. Here the monks, in their beautiful shelter from the world in the heart of the mountains, spend their lives in toil and prayer. They are great carpenters and agriculturists, and they believe in the dictum that a good gardener should spend the longest time upon his knees. Flowers

American Colony, Jerusalem

CHRISTIAN MONKS IN A STRONGHOLD OF JUDAISM

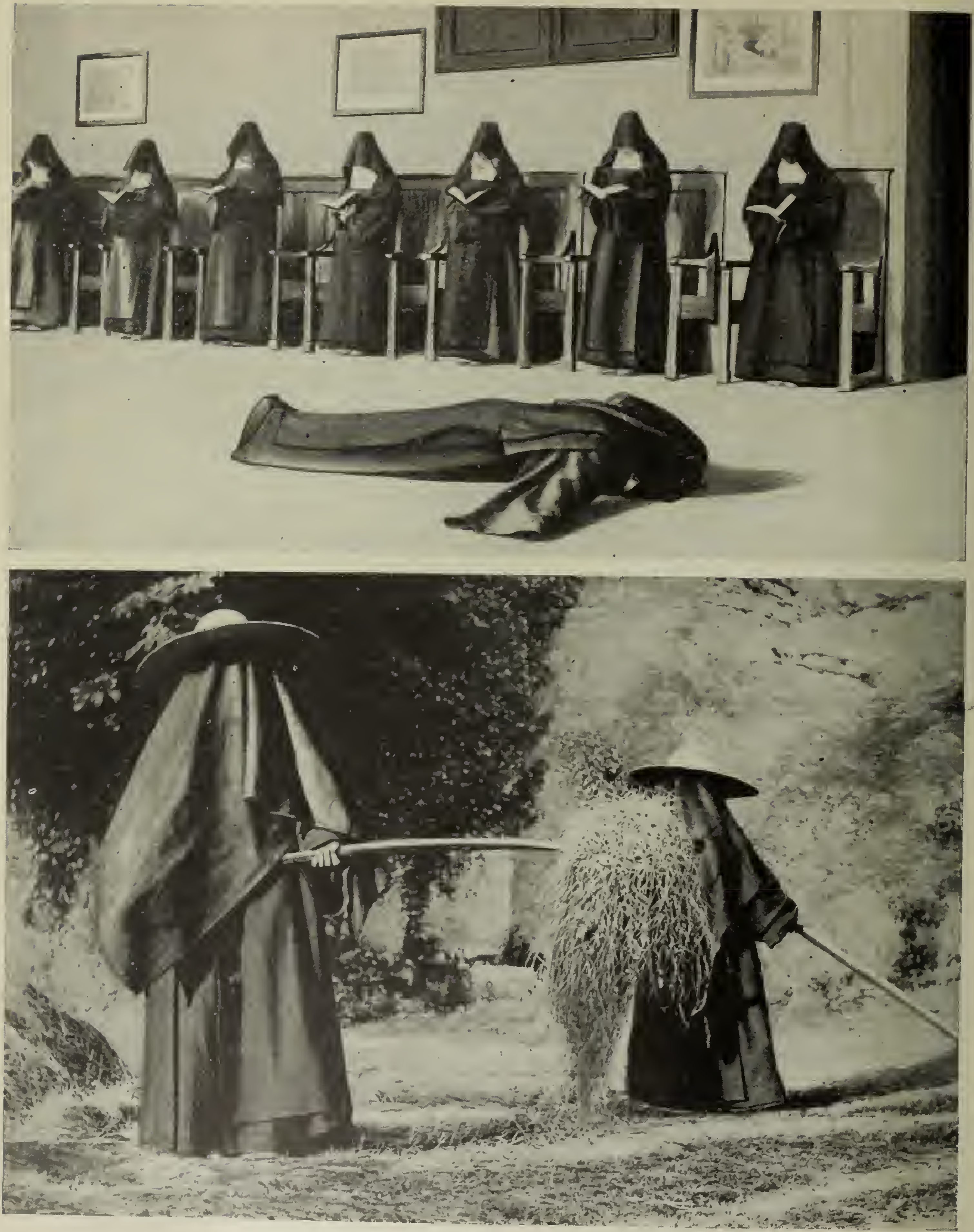
Built by the Emperor Justinian in 530, the Greek Orthodox monastery of S. Catherine in Sinai is set fortress-like in rugged granite hills, five thousand feet above sea level. It is so named from the legend that the body of S. Catherine was conveyed by angels to Mount Sinai. The clergy, as is usual in the Orthodox Church, wear magnificent vestments



H. J. Shepstone

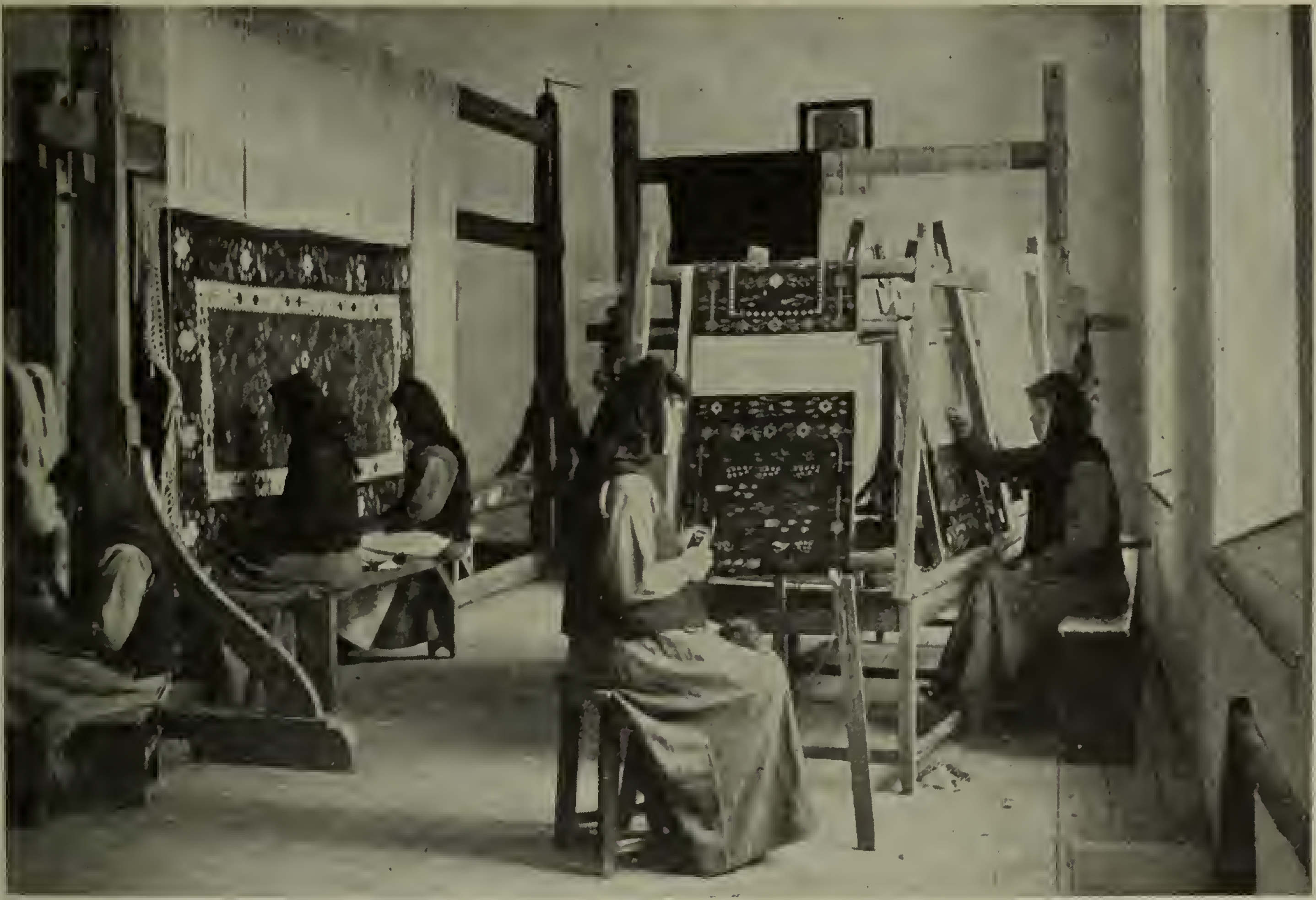
FRANCISCAN FRIARS OF CALIFORNIA ENJOY A QUIET GAME OF CROQUET

Largely recruited from the poor, the Franciscan friars have throughout their history zealously carried on their founder's great work of ministering to the spiritual needs of the poor. Franciscan missions are found in almost every quarter of the globe. That at Santa Barbara, in California, established in 1786, has become the Franciscan headquarters of the Pacific coast. The mission building is well preserved, and is the only one in the state in which ministrations have continued without intermission since the year of its foundation.



HARD WORK AND RIGOROUS PENANCE AT A CONVENT OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL

The rule of the Carmelite order is distinguished for its severity and for its attention to the contemplative life. In Carmelite convents all field labour is performed by the nuns, who wear wide-brimmed hats to protect them from the sun (bottom). The nuns here seen at work covered their faces with heavy veils while they were being photographed. As a mark of a penitence a Carmelite nun who has erred prostrates herself before the altar with face pressed to the floor and arms outstretched, her body forming a cross (top).



E.N.A

NUNS OF MOLDAVIA BUSIED AT THEIR CARPET LOOMS

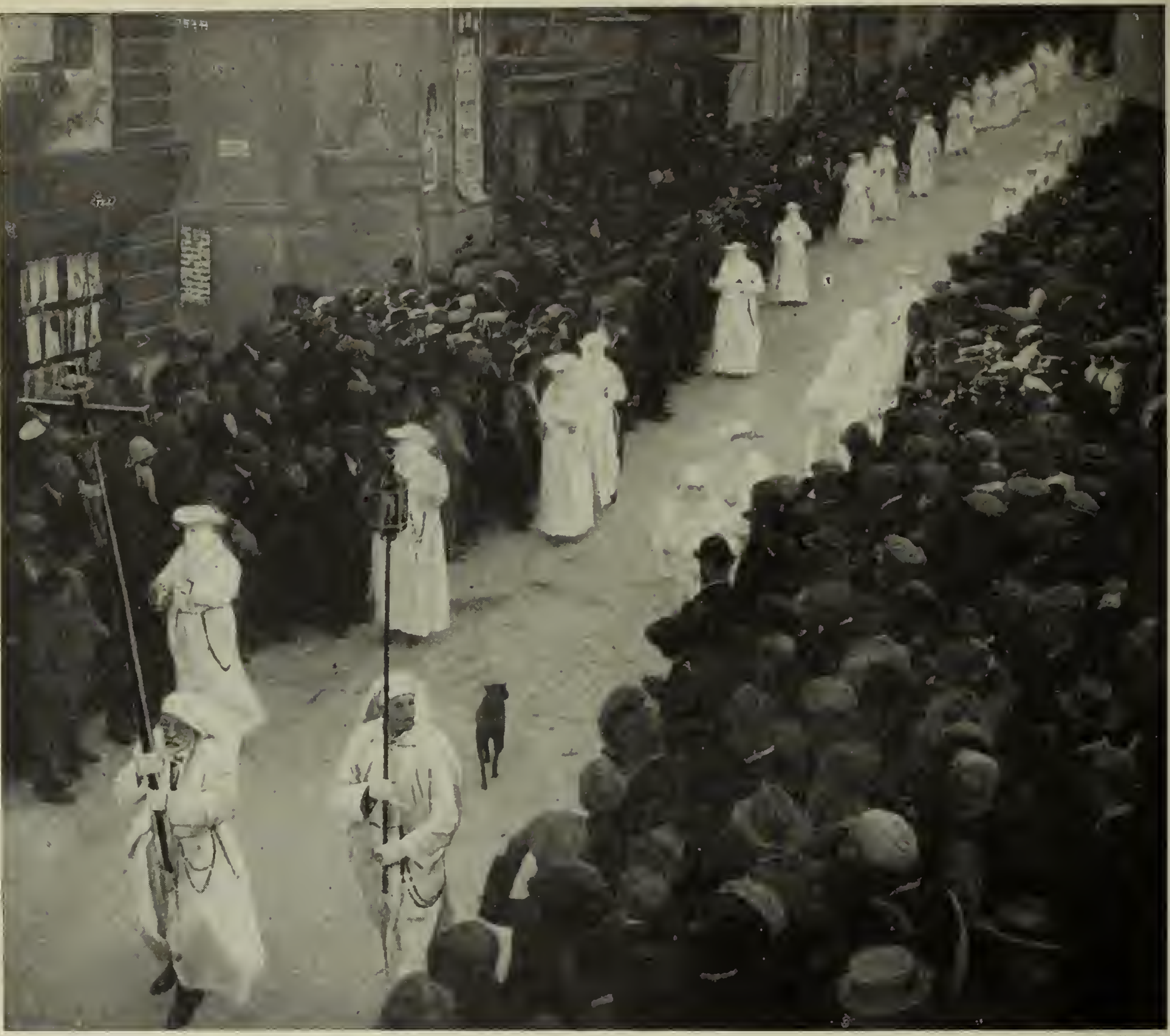
Over and above her spiritual exercises and duties, the life of a nun may be occupied with various practical and artistic activities. In some of the orders the nuns act as teachers and nurses, or collect money for the poor. Many nuns are accomplished needlewomen, much exquisite embroidery being made in convents. Weaving is another of the crafts that are pursued by nuns, and from some of the convents of Europe, especially from houses in Rumania, come beautifully woven carpets of high artistic merit.

and vegetables are their delight, and they make a curious picture starting off in their robes covered with aprons for their daily toil. Although they labour so hard in the fields and gardens they have an admirable library and museum.

Some of the monasteries connected with the Greek Orthodox Church are remarkable for their ornate architecture. Particularly is this true of the Monastaire Vacaresti at Bucharest, where the interior decorations glow with colours and gilding. A feature of the chapel is a lifelike figure of S. Michael, who is a favourite saint of the Orthodox Church. Another remarkable monastery is that at Cainerri, which stands on a high part of the Carpathian mountains overlooking the river Olt. These monastic communities are to be found everywhere today, from Palestine, where from early Christian days the monastic ideal has been preserved, to the New World. There is indeed no more curious contrast than that between the ancient monastery of S. Catherine on Mount Sinai, which has to be entered by a rope, and the modernist settlement of monks at Santa Barbara in California. But as far as the life of the monks is concerned the site on which they have happened to settle makes little difference. At Santa Barbara they work at the forge and the carpenter's shop just as they toil in that strange building on the mountain where amidst the thunders the Almighty gave the foundation rules of the religious life to Moses.

The religious life of the nunnery has always made a strong appeal to women, and today in this modern world thousands yearly perform the act of renunciation and retire behind convent walls. The Order of Carmelites, founded in 1156, was originally limited to men. Having been expelled from Mount Carmel by the Saracens, they settled in Europe. The women's Order was founded in France in 1452, their dress being almost exactly the same as that worn by the brothers. To this Order belonged the great saint Theresa, who combined with her spiritual devotion a genius for organization and 'getting things done' which inevitably suggests a comparison of her with Florence Nightingale. The rule of these nunneries is very strict, and though permission has been given for some of the nuns to be photographed the permission was only granted on condition that their faces were veiled.

In order that they may live always in the thought of the future life a human skull is placed upon the refectory table, and it is also the practice for the nuns to meditate on these relics while walking in the



R. Ellis, Valletta

PURSUING EACH HIS WORLDLY PATH, BUT JOINED BY COMMUNITY OF GOOD WORKS

For men who cannot join a religious community or embrace the monastic life, but who wish to observe a simple rule of life and unite in pious works, the Roman Catholic Church has many brotherhoods. The Brethren of the Holy Rosary, commonly known as Brethren of the Hanged, are here seen returning from an execution to their confraternity chapel in Valletta, Malta. They are making the last collection for masses for the repose of the soul of the deceased criminal. Each of the masked figures carries an alms box.

garden. During meal times, too, at certain periods, one of the nuns kneels in the centre of the refectory bearing a heavy cross upon her shoulder and a crown of thorns on her head in memory of Christ's Passion. Penance for any fault is sometimes performed by the nun lying stretched on the floor before the altar during service with her arms outstretched to form a cross and her face pressed to the ground. Today there are seven Carmelite houses in England and eight in Ireland, where the rule of poverty, chastity and obedience is strictly followed.

In many Catholic countries nuns perform useful educational and nursing services. In the medieval convent of Moldavia they weave beautiful carpets which are famous all the world over. There can be few places in England unfamiliar with those devoted Sisters of the Poor who collect money for their noble charities from door to door. It should be noted that any reproach of ecclesiastical tyranny has long been removed from the profession of the nun. No vows are allowed to be perpetual, but are taken only for a period of five years. It is true, of course, that the pressure of public opinion in certain Catholic countries makes it difficult for a girl once she has taken the vow to leave her convent and return to the world, but every year many women at the end of the quinquennial period take advantage of this regulation.

The practice of monachism today in a world of mass-production, hustle and rush may seem to many a curious survival, but stronger than the glamour of twentieth-century civilization is the old ineradicable influence of service and devotion to the spiritual life through that renunciation which holds high the Cross of Christ for all to see.

END OF VOLUME THREE

[illegible] COUNTY [illegible] LIBRARY
[illegible]